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BETWEEN GLOBAL AND LOCAL

Glocal Refractions in Roman Material Culture and Society

Edited by
Rubén Montoya González, Emlyn Dodd

Edizioni Quasar

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Acknowledgements

This book finds its origins in a workshop held at the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome (KNIR) on 3 February 2023, entitled Visualizing Global, Local and Glocal in Roman Archaeology, and co-organized by the editors. We are grateful to those who presented papers and the general audience, all of whom contributed to the stimulating discussion that forms the foundation for the chapters herein. Thanks must also go to those speakers who were unable to contribute to this volume – their ideas generated rich intellectual discussion on the day itself, and are preserved here in the framing of the introduction and several other chapters.

The contributors to this volume worked impressively quickly to bring together in written form ideas presented at the workshop and formative discussions, particularly through periods of high workload, to keep to our aspirational publication timeline. We recognize that without this commitment to the project and the cumulative expertise of individual contributors, this volume would not stand in its current shape. Anonymous reviewers for individual chapters along with editorial staff also provided crucial feedback that strengthened the conceptualization and contents of this book. For all this, we are thankful.

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Rubén Montoya González
Emlyn Dodd
Madrid and London, October 2024

Chapter 1
Why Go Glocal in Roman Archaeology?

Rubén Montoya González*, Emlyn Dodd**

Abstract: This chapter introduces our exploration of the concept of glocalization in the context of Roman archaeology, including its potential application as theory and interpretive framework. We discuss how the theoretical framework of glocalization (global phenomena adopted and adapted through local contexts) provides a fresh perspective on Roman material culture, architecture and history. Following an overview of glocalization and its historical development, we sketch the diversity of topics presented in this book and demonstrate how global-local interplay combined to shape the Roman world. Reflecting on the contents of various chapters, challenges and advantages of using this approach are outlined, from the origins through evolution of the term glocalization, noting a need for ongoing theoretical refinement in its application to different datasets. By testing this concept flexibly across scales, and applying it to different types of material and in the context of various specializations, this book aims to provoke further consideration of glocalization as an analytical tool that can generate new perspectives on Roman archaeology and history.

Introduction

This book arose from a workshop, held in February 2023 at the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome, that explored the theoretical concept of glocalization as applied to Roman archaeology. Its contents now extend beyond the limits of the 10 papers presented, incorporating new topics with generously expanded and fine-tuned ideas, informed by the rich discussion afforded by the opportunity to bring together a group of international researchers with other archaeologists and historians in Rome. Indeed, this was one of our primary aims from the outset: assemble a group of scholars working on a wide range of topics and specializations for which glocalization might provide an appropriate analytical approach. We tasked presenters with the job of discussing their specialist material through this framework and expected substantial variation in application, approach, applicability and results. This much remains evident in the contents of this book.

The fruit of this labor, we believe, is the exemplification that glocalization is indeed an enormously useful thinking and analytical tool, as shown across chapters in this volume. This framework is present across and applicable to a wide range of specialist fields, sub-disciplines and methodologies in Roman archaeology. Debated at the workshop from which this book originates, however, was the extent to which we are able to differentiate between what might be considered glocalization, and what were simply localized or regionalized responses and evolutions. This tension remains present throughout many of the chapters herein with authors explaining their choice of terminology and approach in different ways. We see such debate as a strength rather than weakness of this volume and its origins. The comparatively new conceptual approach of glocalization should be questioned, refined and applied in different ways so that we can continue to ascertain its usefulness and the extent of its malleability.

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Through this book, we aim to contribute to and advance the application of this framework to Roman archaeology – the potential of which was made clear during a debate held in Cambridge in February 2018 on interdisciplinary perspectives in the growing use of the glocalization framework[1]. Although fairly sparsely used until 2017, the application of glocalization to archaeology has increased in recent years. Our hope is that by bringing together researchers working on diverse themes – from architecture to agriculture, iconography, trade, infrastructure, materiality and economy – we can build a forum for discussion that explores the extent to which we might continue or adjust our use of glocalization in studies of Roman archaeology and material culture.

Glocalization as a Theoretical Approach

Glocalization, defined as "globalization refracted through the local"[2], has emerged as a crucial concept in the study of global phenomena, emphasizing the importance of diversity and agency in local contexts. The term originated from the world of business and the Japanese word *dochakuka* (global localization), coined in the late 1980s. It has since expanded beyond commercial use, however, to become central in multiple academic fields, particularly within the humanities and social sciences[3]. As cultural sociologist Victor Roudometof noted, the initial application of glocalization in the social sciences suffered from a lack of clear theoretical formulation, leading to inconsistent interpretations and a conflation of global and local scales[4]. While more recent studies have refined the concept, similar tensions persist in contemporary contributions, reflecting ongoing development in the nature of the framework and the need for a more standardized theoretical approach. A precise definition of glocalization might situate it as the simultaneous interaction of global and local forces, where global trends do not merely dominate but are transformed through local conditions, practices and interpretations[5]. Unlike traditional models of globalization that emphasize homogenization, glocalization acknowledges that cultural, social and economic exchanges are reciprocal, reflecting the dynamic nature of a process that can reconfigure cultural interactions rather than simply serving as an intermediary between the global and the local.

The sociologist Ronald Robertson first introduced glocalization in the early 1990s within globalization studies, particularly in relation to cultural transformations. His work positioned glocalization as an alternative to theories that viewed globalization as an overwhelming, top-down force. He instead argued that the global and local are mutually inclusive, existing interdependently as different manifestations of reality[6]. However, this model has been critiqued for not fully explaining how these interactions occur in specific contexts or how they evolve over time[7].

While Robertson's model emphasizes the interdependence of the global and the local, George Ritzer, another sociologist, critiqued this approach and proposed an alternative model

1 Barret *et al.* 2018, 11–32.

2 Roudometof 2016a, 65; id. 2016b.

3 Robertson 1992, 173–74; id. 1995; Roudometof 2016a, 2–3, 30. See also Roudometof and Dessi 2022, 1–26; Montoya González 2021; id. 2024.

4 Roudometof 2016b, 391–92. See also Roudometof and Dessì 2022.

5 Robertson 1995; Montoya González 2021.

6 Robertson 1992, 173; id. 1994; id. 1995

7 E.g., Radhakrishnan 2010, 27.

where the relationship between the global and local is mutually exclusive. According to Ritzer, as the global spreads, the local disappears, leaving behind only the glocal[8]. This model acknowledges temporality and change over time but has been criticized for suggesting that the glocal cannot exist independently of the global. Despite these differing views, both interpretations have played a significant role in influencing our understanding of glocalization over the past 25 years, particularly in the context of globalization in Roman studies[9].

More recently, cultural sociologist Victor Roudometof sought to refine glocalization into a distinct analytical tool that emphasizes local agency within globalization processes[10]. He proposes a metaphor in which the global is a beam of light passing through a prism, and therefore glocalization is represented by the diverse refractions seen across different local contexts. This approach highlights the diversity of outcomes that emerge as global influences interact with local contexts, underscoring the active role of local actors in shaping these transformations. However, even Roudometof acknowledged that this remains dependent on a broader globalization framework. A dependency that continues to inform its application in archaeology and Roman studies.

A More Precise (New) Concept for a Well-known Phenomenon?

One of the challenges faced by the application of glocalization has been whether or not this new concept contributes meaningfully to debate on well-known phenomena. After all, different terms, such as hybridity, syncretism, transculturality, or regionalism, have already been used to approach and comprehend similar cultural contact[11]. The term glocalization and its theoretical framework, however, offer a distinct perspective compared to these earlier concepts, particularly in its emphasis on the dynamic interplay between global and local forces. Hybridization is particularly recurrent across past studies, often used interchangeably with glocalization to describe processes of cultural change[12]. Substantial divergence in their conceptual underpinnings must be emphasized here[13].

Hybridization, a term popular in post-colonial studies, has been widely accepted due to its potential to transcend binary categories[14]. However, there has also been criticism from other disciplines: the archaeologist Silliman, for example, argues that hybridization has become an ‘untheorized’ concept, used too casually to describe any cultural mixture without adequate consideration of specific contexts, especially in relation to global-local dynamics[15]. Pitts and Versluys further caution against the indiscriminate use of ‘hybridity’, noting that its meaning is frequently overlooked in the broader framework of globalization[16]. Kraidy challenged traditional interpretations that see hybridization as a neutral zone where global and local influences merge, by instead

8 Ritzer 2003; id. 2006.

9 E.g., Hodos *et al.* 2017

10 Roudometof 2016a; id. 2016b. See also Roudometof and Dessi 2022.

11 E.g., Hannerz 1999; Burke 2009.

12 E.g., see Nieuwenhuyse 2017, 841.

13 Montoya González 2021, 98; id. 2024.

14 E.g., Nederveen Pieterse 2015, 124; Hodos 2017, 5.

15 Silliman 2015, 282.

16 Pitts and Versluys 2015, 20 n. 111.

presenting it as a site of ongoing power struggles where these relations are continuously re-inscribed[17]. This led to suggestions that hybridity could be replaced in some cases by glocalization: a concept that more effectively captures the intersection of global and local forces.

The distinction between glocalization and hybridization, as articulated by Roudometof and others, lies in the specific focus on the local within globalizing processes[18]. While hybridization refers to the merging of cultural streams without necessarily specifying their origins, glocalization always demands the presence of a local element, thereby offering a more precise analytical tool for examining cultural forms produced within global contexts. It is particular apt at navigating complex, multi-scalar interactions. Emphasis on the local allows for a more nuanced understanding of how global processes are adapted and transformed by local influences, emphasizing the importance attributed to local agency within a glocalization framework. In archaeology, this distinction has proven essential in reinterpreting material culture beyond simple cultural fusion or hybridization, focusing instead on localized strategies of adoption, adaptation and resistance[19].

The key difference between hybridization and glocalization, therefore, lies in how the local element is understood and its role in global processes. While both concepts involve the integration of local and global influences, hybridization has been linked to elite-driven identity formation, from an implicit top-down perspective, with the local acting as a passive context for cultural exchange. Glocalization, on the other hand, lends agency to the local in its ability to shape global influences[20].

Glocalization in Roman Archaeology

Although initially rooted in sociology, glocalization has since been widely adopted in other fields, such as anthropology, geography, media studies and archaeology. The transition from a primarily sociological concept to a broader interdisciplinary framework reflects its utility in explaining cultural contact, exchange, adaptation and identity formation. In particular, glocalization has become increasingly influential in archaeology. From the early 2010s, the concept of glocalization began to be used by researchers studying the Roman world in the context of globalization.

A prominent example of how deep the term has permeated archaeological scholarship can be found in the pages of *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*[21]. Several contributions implicitly draw on the glocalization models of Robertson and Ritzer, sometimes equating glocalization with other concepts like hybridity (above). Hodos succinctly captures the essence of glocalization, highlighting how local responses to global engagements do not merely imitate, but instead adapt and modify top-down or external forces to fit local customs and beliefs. This perspective emphasizes the cultural specificity of these responses, arguing for consideration on their own terms rather than as lesser versions of global phenomena[22]. Since the publication of

17 Kraidy 1999, 472.

18 Roudometof 2016b, 14–15. See also Khondker 2004, 6–7; Ritzer 2011, 160.

19 Maran 2011; Cobb 2020.

20 Montoya González 2021, 97; id. 2024.

21 Hodos *et al.* 2017.

22 Hodos 2017, 6–7.

this volume in 2017, engagement has increased not just with the glocalization framework but also by incorporating a more nuanced approach integrating Roudometof's model to further unlock local agencies in globalizing processes[23].

The emphasis on local agency and the creation of various glocalities, made possible within the framework of glocalization, offers promising avenues for future archaeological and historical research, particularly in understanding nuances in the ways in which ancient communities navigated global influences across scales. Indeed, a balanced scalar approach to the Roman world has been defended by scholars engaging with globalization and glocalization[24]. This book pursues a similar trajectory by testing whether a glocal approach can be productively applied to aspects of the Roman Republican and Imperial periods, from highly localized (micro-scale) developments in funerary architecture or agricultural production to transregional (macro-scale) responses in the design of fora or economic infrastructure.

Especially by the time the Roman Empire took its most extensive form, though undoubtedly much earlier too, the Mediterranean and broader European, African and Middle Eastern regions were an undulating patchwork of cultural groups, topographies and social systems. Such diversity can be flattened by top-down approaches, which, even more crucially, fail to color our understanding of the dialogues, connections and interactions between local actors and overarching 'global' (often state) institutions. These limitations have previously been made clear, for example through extended debate on concepts of 'Romanization', while other terms, including 'acculturation' and hybridization (above), continue to minimize the voice of local, often subaltern, communities[25]. Globalization can illuminate the results of increased connectivity, and imperialism the impact and imposition of power structures, however by relying solely on these interpretive frameworks, our analysis of cultural and material phenomena can altogether miss what happens at the intersection of global and local practice. More importantly, it can elide the existence and agency of people and communities entirely. We should instead be using glocalization to ask, for example, in what way did local customs and materials shape the adoption and adaptation of imperial innovations (e.g., Flohr in chapter 5)? Or how did highly interconnected islands respond on a local level to changing global networks, and were the outcomes intentional (e.g., Sweetman in chapter 2)? Questions like these cannot be responded to by existing frameworks or toolkits alone. They require an ability to acknowledge multiple agencies, remain cognizant of multi-scalar interactions, and visualize how global developments could evolve into specific or bespoke forms at the local level.

Glocalization theory is able to work across this multiplicity, pivoting between scales, accounting for globalizing or imperializing powers, but giving more equitable agency to those that might be swept aside by other analytical tools. This is particularly important, for example, when set within recent scholarship that advocates for acknowledgement of subaltern or indigenous populations[26]. By applying a glocal lens, it is possible to extend our increasing understanding

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23 E.g., van Alten 2017; Montoya González 2020; id. 2021; id. 2024; id. 2025, in preparation; Szabò 2022, 695–705; Sokolowski 2022; Peer 2023, 1–29; Montoya González *et al.* 2025, forthcoming; Mazzili *et al.* 2025, forthcoming.

24 Witcher 2000, 220–21; id. 2017, 645. See also Knappett 2011, 10; id. 2017; Hodos 2015; id. 2017; id. 2023: 264–73; Montoya González 2020; id. 2021; Domínguez 2023, 223–30; Kistler 2023, 231–45; Berger 2024; Versluys and Lilley 2024, 8–9.

25 E.g., Millett 1992; Mattingly 2004; Roth 2007; Versluys 2021.

26 E.g., Knapp 2013; Theng 2021; Courrier and Oliveira 2022; Ramgopal 2022.

of what were previously thought to be "simply unknowable" ordinary people[27]. Furthermore, as has been argued for globalization, and unlike, for example, Romanization, glocalization as a framework and concept can also function independently of historical, geographical or cultural context, allowing one to explore comparative analysis across space and time in a manner prevented by other theoretical approaches.

The Present Volume and Future Directions

The chapters of this book explore different topics related to Roman history and archaeology and apply glocalization in distinct ways. It is in this manner that we interrogate the viability of glocalization as a theoretical approach to Roman archaeological and historical material, questioning whether it is useful across the board, or only in specific instances. Above all, we hope to provide a platform to test glocalization, rather than accept or reject it at face value. Given the fundamental importance of this concept as a tool capable of working across scales and degrees of agency, chapters are arranged roughly from macro- to micro-scale. The book opens with those that span broader spatial areas or wider chronologies (e.g., chapters 2 and 3, which cover almost pan-Mediterranean space), then continues through to more tightly focused contributions, including explorations in the architecture of South Etruria and construction communities of northwestern Sicily. Differences in spatial, cultural and thematic breadth of these chapters mirrors to some extent (though of course does not capture in its entirety) the diverse yet simultaneously globalizing character of the Roman Empire.

The impact of using glocalization as tool to understand how, why, and in what form certain things occurred should not be underestimated. It has the potential to nuance comprehension of developments long considered central to Roman archaeological scholarship. An obvious example is construction technology, first illustrated by Miko Flohr in chapter 5. The chronological development and sociohistorical context of techniques pivotal to Roman construction are refined by applying glocalization and the newly termed 'imperialization'. The forum, as an iconic form of Roman architecture, is used in chapter 4 by Javier Domingo to highlight functional and architectural malleability in the provinces. Global motivations provided by imperial fora developed in the metropolis of Rome are argued to have been refracted through local styles in the northwestern Mediterranean. Max Peers develops this further in chapter 6 by overlaying community theory with glocalization, highlighting how people-centric approaches can build our understanding of the integration and use of specialized construction techniques in certain settlements or regions, set within broader technical, economic or social frameworks. In these instances, glocalization provides novel and more granular perspectives on elements critical and long-studied in Roman archaeology. While scale and local diversity can still present challenges in coherently synthesizing data (e.g., across forum sites in chapter 4), there are clear advantages offered by untangling complex multi-directional dialogues with local and transregional dynamics, rather than relying upon straightforward explanations of imitation (*imitatio Romae*) or linear diffusion. It also encourages the identification of outcomes that fit neither local nor global, but instead appear at an intermediary scale, perhaps resulting from secondary glocal-global interactions.

27 Crawford 1983.

Similarly central to Roman archaeology is material use and resource exploitation, and here, too, glocalization can be productively applied. Beatrice Fochetti shows in chapter 8 how architectural forms in certain regions, particularly funerary landscapes, depended upon regional geologies aligned with specific craft expertise – in this case, rock-cut tuff. While these may on the surface appear as local or regional habits, they sit within much broader, global typologies of architectural form and monumentality, exemplified by Fochetti through comparative discussion including other central Italian sites (e.g., Rome, Ostia and Portus). There are of course limits in the extent to which glocalization can offer solutions. One such challenge might be found in mausolea constructed using *caementicium*, and therefore a distinct non-local funerary architecture, which appear alongside the glocal rock-cut tombs. This prompts questions around the dynamics between simultaneous glocal and global manifestations and how this impacts our understanding of the reality of multi-scalar connection and activity.

The use of rock-cut architectural techniques, dependent upon particular local geologies, is echoed through chapter 3, where Emlyn Dodd uses agricultural production installations hewn from the bedrock, and often interpreted as winemaking facilities, to illustrate the intersection of a global phenomenon with local cultural habit. While the technique of cutting into the bedrock to create these production installations is visible across an enormous geographical area, various local responses were implemented to produce specific local agricultural products. Through a second case study, Dodd explores *dolia defossa* in *cellae vinariae*: large clay jars set into the ground of wine cellars. Specific organoleptic qualities created by the strawberry or ovoid shape and ceramic material of these jars and cellars, which were to some degree a global Roman form that expanded into several provinces, might have been mimicked by ovoid masonry and plaster vats in regions where *dolia defossa* are rarely found. In the case of something so intertwined with local environments and global economies, agriculture might find an obvious partner in glocalization. Past work on the Roman "global countryside"[28] goes some way towards explaining global-local agrarian dynamics. Glocalization, however, offers an advantage to analyzing sites of agricultural production, which are connected to evolving architecture, technology, agronomy and craft expertise, and therefore a complex and multifaceted dialogue between top-down global pressures and local customs.

Rebecca Sweetman in chapter 2 highlights how glocalization might be helpful to untangle the trajectories of particular landscapes, in this case islands. By observing local resources and global networks across the Cyclades, Sweetman explores themes of temporality, location and agency. Islands provide a natural setting for the genesis of glocal outcomes – they can be at once hyperconnected, insular and exposed to a range of local and global forces. Glocalization offers a promising approach to unpick these dynamics. Sweetman, however, convincingly problematizes the identification of the glocal, highlighting ways in which glocalization might be challenged to determine degrees of (un)intentionality, and concluding, as others might elsewhere, that some outcomes were simply local.

Other contributions provide more provocative, exploratory discussion. In chapter 7, Alice Poletto uses a case study of the grain supply via the imperial *Annona* to highlight how port infrastructure might have developed with a particularly glocal vision. Trajanic developments along the Tyrrhenian coastline of Etruria (Italy) are used to illustrate an alternative shipment route from the North African provinces, which is argued to display indications of local refractions

28 Witcher 2017.

through the overarching global *Annona* system. By taking on this challenge, Poletto attempts to illustrate how glocalization might be used not only to assess the point at which global and local interconnect, and the resulting outcome, but also how one might be used to prop up the other (in this case, the grain supply). While slightly more abstract in its vision and implementation of glocalization, this theoretical approach warrants investigation and could be used profitably in other studies of transport infrastructure and economy.

The particular utility of glocalization to move across scales is illustrated by Rubén Montoya González in chapter 9, unveiling individual artistic responses in the local context of Pompeii. The relationship between broader urban decorative trends and Pompeii's sociocultural elite highlight local agency in decision-making processes of craftmanship and social self-representation. By selecting a particular iconographic and decorative type found across several Pompeian residences, Montoya González explores the extent to which a micro-local context was created in interaction with other local elements, representing the presence of a shared visual koiné.

When taken as a whole, these contributions illustrate how glocalization forms not just an analytical tool, but also describes some degree of historical reality. It can be used to traverse complex material manifestations in a more flexible and inclusive manner, but also to envision aspects of society and culture otherwise inaccessible. Whether this means exploring how the cross-pollination of global architectural trends and deeply rooted local construction traditions generated occupation spaces that were neither entirely imperial nor indigenous, resulting in "unique architectural expressions"; or instead approaching this phenomenon from the community's perspective, providing insight into their contribution, agency and therefore lived experience (cf. chapter 6). All of these provide a glimpse via material culture into some form of lived glocal history.

We contend that these contributions therefore illustrate the utility of glocalization as an analytical – or exploratory – tool and that its use should be encouraged across Roman archaeological research. While experimentation is necessary and challenges remain, the advantages provided not only aid in more holistic and inclusive research of material phenomena, understanding how and why things occurred at various scales, but also enable visualization of otherwise unseen histories.

The evolution of glocalization, from business term to a widely applied, multidisciplinary theoretical framework, illustrates its increasing relevance in contemporary scholarship. While initially conceptualized within sociology, its application across disciplines such as archaeology and cultural studies has demonstrated adaptability and analytical depth. The potential of glocalization as a theoretical and methodological tool in Roman archaeology will require further refinement into the future. A key challenge remains the development of a more systematic framework that allows for comparative analysis across different regions and time periods, moving beyond isolated case studies to establish broader methodological consistency. Future research could also expand upon intersections with mobility studies and sensory archaeology, further enriching our understanding of cultural transformations in the Roman world. Moreover, while this volume primarily focuses on the Roman Republic and Empire, testing glocalization beyond this setting – whether in pre-Roman societies, Late Antiquity, or comparative studies with other imperial formations globally – would help to assess broader applicability across different historical contexts. The challenge ahead is not merely to use glocalization as an interpretive tool but to continue its theoretical evolution, positioning it as a critical framework for understanding multi-scale cultural dynamics.

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Chapter 2
Using Glocalization to Think With: The Case of the Cyclades

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Abstract: This contribution explores the concept of glocalization within the context of the Cyclades, a region that exemplifies the diversity in relationships between the islands and the Roman Empire over time. It highlights the crucial role of agency and organic development in the manifestation of local identities within a globalized framework. The complexities and limitations of applying glocalization, particularly concerning temporality, location and intentionality, are discussed. By examining specific cases in the Cyclades, such as the economic rise of Melos and Paros due to their natural resources, it becomes evident how local and global networks intertwine, fostering a dynamic process of cultural adaptation. This approach emphasizes that glocalization, rather than being a unidirectional phenomenon, is a dialectical process that combines the global and the local, allowing for the creation of unique cultural expressions. It is argued that glocalization in the islands can be seen as an organic development rather than a direct imposition by the Empire.

One of the great realizations of the application of globalization theory is that it enabled scholars to move beyond the idea of the imposition of one culture upon another; that is to say, the old idea of the creation of mini-Romes as a means of controlling a growing Empire. The other essential element is that it allowed for local agency and choice: for example, willing participation in what the Empire had to offer, such as access to economic opportunities. Essentially, globalization enabled enhanced views of the diversity of cities and provinces of the Empire and, instead of labelling those that did not conform to expectations as 'backwaters', they could be seen as making choices dependent on circumstances and local context, such as population, connectivity, location, resources and timing. Furthermore, it is not about a simple two-way relationship between the global center and local periphery. Globalization offers a way to see that the Empire in all its complexity in terms of populations, temporality and geographical attributions (e.g., belonging to a particular province) are probably not as meaningful to the residents as the modern scholars who study them[1]. Hartog suggested that Philo's *Legatio*, in discussing Rome and Judea, reflected an awareness of the dynamics of the value of access to what Rome had to offer without necessarily losing local identity[2]. Some scholars see the expression of choice as a form of resistance, particularly when articulated through the modification of global ideas or objects to a local form[3]. Theories of glocalization began to be discussed and many argued that this concept offered a positive way to interpret local manifestations of what the Empire could offer, from knowledge to religion, and practices to products. However, when one starts to apply the idea of glocalization, issues of the impact of temporality, location and agency come to the fore, bringing into question how the theory can best be used.

This chapter explores issues with the concept of glocalization with particular reference to the Cyclades; an island region that is appropriate for such analysis due to their significant levels

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1 Sweetman 2016.

2 Hartog 2019.

3 Adams, Centeno and Varner 2007; noted in Hartog 2019.

of diversity in relationships with each other and the Empire over time. This variety of experiences should also provide insights on agency and afford an ability to assess levels of intentionality. There are so many permutations and possible explanations of glocalization it is necessary to note the definition and methodology that I will follow for the purposes of this chapter and, indeed, what I see as a result of looking at the islands.

In his 2021 article, Montoya González deftly summarized the state of scholarship on glocalization, outlining in particular work by Robertson, Ritzer and Roudometof, and the analysis of the theory by archaeologists such as Hodos[4]. Montoya González has focused on visual koine[5], while Van Alten has looked at religion, and both applications work well[6]. Typically, few scholars agree with each other on the meaning and use of glocalization. In spite of his original definition in 1995 of glocalization as a result of the impact of the existence of both global and local and a form of low level resistance, Robertson went on to suggest that only the glocal exists and that globalization has essentially failed[7].

Contrary to Roberston, Roudometof argued that glocalization and globalization were not necessarily related[8]. He also noted Chew's 2010 coining of the phrase 'lobalization' as a new cultural phenomenon, where locally manufactured products are packaged up in the guise of imported products. Far from being new, of course, this was frequent practice in the Roman world; for example, lamps and pottery were commonly copied and remade in local clays.

Scholars such as Van Alten specifically discuss the value of glocalization for showing top-down and bottom-up perspectives (the global and local respectively)[9]. And it is not just in material culture; Whitmarsh and Vlassopoulos suggested that local communities consciously adapted and reformulated their own identities in accordance with the changing wider environment[10].

Although he noted the diversity of glocalization, Ritzer saw the power in the globalization of nothing, in which he contrasted Globalization (hard imperialism) with Glocalization (soft colonialism), but all from a top-down angle[11]. In many of these theoretical discussions, the agency behind the action is assumed and in the modern context it is more often top-down. For example, Ritzer notes that in the cases of globalized products, such as Coca Cola, Barbie, Starbucks and Disney, the localization of these products is undertaken by the multinationals who make the products and not the local community who consume them[12].

Ritzer's point about both globalization and glocalization being top-down is well made, but that then undermines the local agency that archaeologists ideally want to identify, particularly when it comes to discussions of the ancient world: central to the reason why the concept of globalization was so important (for me at least… in terms of the levels of choice)[13]. As indicated above, however, resistance to the top-down imposition is seen as local choice. While this may

4 Robertson 1995; Ritzer 2003; id. 2004; Hodos 2006; Roudometof 2016.

5 Montoya González 2021.

6 Van Alten 2017.

7 Robertson 2013.

8 Roudometof 2016.

9 Van Alten 2017.

10 Whitmarsh 2010; Vlassopoulos 2014; Hartzog 2019.

11 Ritzer 2003.

12 Ritzer 2003.

13 Ritzer 2012.

be the experience of some places, it was certainly not for all. Following Robertson[14], Hartog stressed the value of finding the element of resistance in the space between local and global[15]. In many respects, seeking agency in globalization/glocalization introduces a paradox. Globalization theoretically allows us to see local agency, but glocalization can be seen, in some respects, as a top-down activity[16].

Agency is clearly central in understanding the variety of relationships that globalization enabled, but in contemporary organization studies natural developments through social movement (seeking what the other has) and tipping point run alongside determined choice, and we need to allow for this. As we will see for the Cyclades, it is difficult to identify local agencies in adoption of global phenomena. While this may in part be because it is more of an organic development, rather than intentional, quite often it is difficult to distinguish what is simply local.

As such, in terms of glocalization, we need to think about both intentionality and organic development. Connected to this is the ease of communication and network development, along with maintenance, that being part of the Roman (globalized) Empire brought. The vastness of networks and connectedness suggests that there was knowledge of other people but the extent to which it percolated and permeated though society may have been contingent on those who could travel (craftspeople to elite), including where and why they travelled.

With all this in mind, the definition I am most comfortable with is that of Beck, who sees glocalization as a non-linear dialectical process that combines: the universal and particular; similar and dissimilar; and global and local. Rather than having cultural polarities, there are reciprocal and shared connections[17]. This resonates with Ritzer[18] and Hartog[19] and it is particularly salient to the multiple communities and inestimable number of relationships that they had with each other creating individual locals. As Ritzer notes: "glocalization fits to a postmodern social theory in which there is room for the local, diversity and at least partial interdependence from global processes"[20]. This works well because it allows for natural development of the glocal, albeit not necessarily in the places one would expect, nor does it have to be directly tied to globalization.

Consequently, we can anticipate that in the archaeological record there are (at least) multitudes of local objects and traditions alongside global objects and traditions and there is not necessarily a set pattern for how, who, why or when. This does not undermine the value of looking for the glocal but it does require parameters to be set; for example, can we attribute 'glocal' to a product or event 100 or 200 years after the globalization process? If not, for how long might it be relevant? Another question might be whether it is possible to have glocalization before globalization. For example, I would argue that the globalization of Knossos took place a century after it became part of the Roman Empire[21]. In Knossos, a short-lived impact of being included as a province is seen in the use of Latin for official documents and a transitory increase in Italian ceramic imports. In contrast, the impact in Gortyn has a long-term endurance seen in the visual

14 Robertson 1995.

15 Hartog 2019.

16 Even if some scholars argue that resistance is glocal.

17 Beck 2000.

18 Ritzer 2004.

19 Hartog 2019.

20 Ritzer 2004, 13.

21 Sweetman 2008.

culture, architecture and other material culture. When Knossos finally become globalized, a level of resistance had already been present nearly a century before, for example in the rapid decline of the use of Latin[22]. This leads on to the question of location. How well networked does one have to be for glocalization to take place? If a place is more connected than its neighbor, can we see more evidence of glocalization? Does glocalization automatically follow globalization? And finally, to what extent does individual or even local agency impact on glocalization?

Islands represent a positive challenge in considering glocalization, because of the changing spatiality (levels of connectivity and isolation) but also the constant traffic of people through migration, exile, trade and so on. Work already undertaken on the Cyclades has shown that individual islands participated in diverse ways in the Roman Empire over time[23]. The majority of the Cycladic islands likely became part of the Empire in the latter part of the 2nd c. B.C. However, ancient authors do not agree on what islands belonged to Asia or Achaea and there is uncertainty about what islands were Cycladic in the first place[24]. Additionally, in the Hellenistic period the islands were under different rulers at various times, including Ptolemies, Attalids and Macedonians. Interconnection with Delos, as a commercial and religious hub in the archipelago's network, caused nearby islands, such as Andros, Tinos, Syros, Paros and Naxos, to thrive. Delos attracted significant numbers of bankers and traders from across the Mediterranean, especially from Italy[25].

These islands flourished because of their proximity to and relationship with Delos, not necessarily by being part of the Empire. After the collapse of Delos due to the Mithridatic wars and destruction of the island, the network broke up and the Italian bankers and traders left. Some moved to other islands (such as Tenos and Syros) readjusting their geographic scope, while others left[26]. The common assumption has been that after the Delian collapse the islands suffered and were of no value to Rome. This is of course incorrect, as new networks were formed and different islands such as Paros, Melos and Thera began to flourish. What we see here is typical of network behavior; when a network collapses it naturally breaks into smaller new networks; here, we see them forming around Melos and Paros[27].

Becoming part of the Roman Empire would not necessarily have been a significant conceptual change for many of the islands, though it would have created new prospects for some. Melos is an obvious case, with its significant resources of alum and coupled with its small harbors and industrial facilities it was able to create a significant economy through the manufacture and export of this mineral[28]. The impact of various network connections can be seen in epigraphic data, which record thanks to external individuals for their investment in the island (*IG* XII 3.1126 (Aurelia Euposia); *IG* XII 3.1119 (Ti. Claudius Frontonianus)) as well as the records of merchants (*CIL* III.14203; *IG* XII 3.1097)[29]. The strong personal and family connections (e.g., the Frontonianus family) with Asia Minor and particularly between islands, such as Amorgos and Thera, are clearly evidenced in the epigraphic data. This is also manifested in some shared

22 Sweetman 2008.

23 Sweetman 2016; id. 2019.

24 Sweetman 2016; id. 2025.

25 Sweetman 2016; id. 2019; id. 2025.

26 Mendoni and Zoumbaki 2008, 36, 41–42.

27 Sweetman 2019.

28 Sweetman 2016; id. 2025.

29 Zoumbaki 2014.

architectural preferences. For example, the form of the agora in both Ephesus and Thera suggests the movement of people between key cities in Asia Minor and the Cyclades[30]. Le Quéré has noted in particular the attention given to propylaea and porticos to enclose the agora space[31]. In Melos, Lucius Magnus Eros and his daughter, respectively, restored and dedicated a new portico to Athena (*IG* XII 3.1078, 1079). As rightly stressed, there were opportunities to build more contemporary Western basilicas, but the patrons and architects opted instead for traditional Greek and Eastern stoas, as was common in Asia Minor[32]. On one level, this may be indicative of glocalization or more simply the choice of some well-connected individuals for stylistic purposes and not for the intention of making something more palatable for local use.

There was a resurgence of interest in Parian marble, which led craftspeople, merchants and businesspeople to the eponymous island. Epigraphic data shows us that some of the better-known Roman citizens were connected with Paros and other locations in Italy and Asia Minor, such as the Cossutii (Paros, Italy, Aphrodisias) and the Babullii (Paros, Kythnos, Italy and Naxos)[33]. It is likely that the networks created through quarrying also invigorated agricultural production, especially wine or olive oil, and the amphora industry grew significantly on the island[34]. Many of the sarcophagi found during the excavations of the multi-period cemetery of Paroikia show reliefs of an individual woman reclining on her own. It was more common to depict either men on their own or men and women together. While the form is eventually found in other areas of the East, it is found much earlier (2nd c. A.D.) on Paros, Siphnos and Thera[35]. This interpretation of the traditional funerary scene may be a Cycladic glocalization. But given the length of time it happens after globalization, perhaps it is simply indicative of new trends, not just in the depiction of women, but, given the parallels in the rise of women in epigraphic data, likely in the more public role of women in Cycladic society in the second and third centuries[36]. For example, Aurelia Leite was a gymnasiarche from Paros who was also a benefactor of the island in the early 4th c. A.D[37]. She was also a priestess of the Imperial cult.

The widening participation of women is paralleled by their increasing visibility as patrons[38] and finally manifested strikingly by female landowners as shown by the fourth century Theran Cadastre. Stavrinopoulou argues based on evidence across the Empire that increasing participation of women in civic, religious and property roles was a trend that had been developing from the second century and that the Cyclades were at the front of this movement[39].

The differences between individual islands on the Cyclades may be explained through globalization processes. I would argue that those who wanted to participate in the wider imperial network, and were welcomed into it, were those who had resources worth exploiting. Islands that could not (for resource or economic reasons) or did not want to participate in the wider imperial network, did not have to, in part because there was no benefit to the Empire in forcing

30 Le Quéré 2011, 338.

31 Le Quéré 2011.

32 Le Quéré 2011, 338.

33 Stavrinopolou 2017; Zoumbaki 2014, 323; Sweetman 2025, 122–23.

34 Diamanti 2015; id. 2016; Dodd 2021; id. 2022.

35 Sweetman 2025.

36 Sweetman, forthcoming.

37 Bielman Sánchez 2004, 209.

38 Van Bremen 1983, 224.

39 Stavrinopoulou 2017; Sweetman 2025.

this. But still, they did well. On all islands there is a mix of communities of residents and, while bilingual inscriptions are common (seen at Knossos and Corinth), Greek remains the dominant language. During the Roman period, island populations appear to have grown, the numbers of settlements and sanctuaries increased and even islands with sub-par land, such as Tenos, were managed without disaster. The key to the stability and even growth of any individual island seems to be possessing diversity in resources. Those that do well, like Paros, Melos and Thera, possessed agricultural and natural resources as well as other attractions to keep them at the center of communication networks. And islands around them thrive because of phase transition, which is a slow-developing change as a result of long-term repeated contact[40].

What seems to have happened in the Cyclades is precisely the kind of mix to which Ritzer and Beck refer (above); but also, of course, what makes it difficult to define. Returning to issues of temporality, location and agency, by focusing on islands allows us to look at all of these elements. What we see in the material is a certain amount of intentionality and unintended consequences (or organic consequences), but not necessarily in the places that we would expect to find them.

A diachronic perspective shows us that much of what is local/glocal was established thanks to location and networks in the Hellenistic period. The islands are networked already and are operating in Roman space. But this does not last when the network breaks down. New networks form, around the three islands that are of most interest and have the most to gain from being globalized: Thera, Melos and Paros. These islands flourish, as do others around them. Glocalization is seen in Agora spaces (Roman citizens but local to Ephesus, Thera and Melos) and female cultural expression and mobility[41]. Spatially, the islands appear as individual entities, but what happens to one can impact on another... that is to say, through phase transition. What might seem to be glocal on islands that have been part of globalization processes spreads to islands that have largely been left out of the wider process, such as Siphnos (by choice). In all these examples, it is individual choice, or, perhaps, the impact of being chronologically or spatially too distant to be considered truly glocal. It is certainly expression of choice but in either case the manifestation does not appear to come as a direct result of globalization. It is simply local.

The Cycladic islands show more of an organic process of creation of definably local expressions thanks to opportunities provided by being part of the empire. These then spread to other islands regardless of their connections with the global network. Perhaps, therefore, we should think about globalization as a stimulus for creating networks and a means of communicating ideas that can wind up as glocal even in unintended spaces. The key changes that we see in the islands are the result of an ease of communication, and the creation of new network connections in part thanks to the ease with which interactions happened as a result of the globalized empire.

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40 Sweetman 2025.

41 Sweetman 2025.

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Chapter 3
Visualizing the Glocal Through Agricultural Production

Emlyn Dodd*

Abstract: This chapter explores the use of glocalization as a tool to nuance our comprehension of diverse agricultural practices in Roman antiquity. It grounds itself in the premise that agriculture is, by its very nature, both global and deeply intertwined with the regional and local. An overview of one of the most widespread crops of the ancient Mediterranean, the grapevine, and one of its derivative products, wine, illustrates dynamic global-local interactions using archaeological and historical evidence. Two case studies then exemplify how a glocal lens might be applied: 1) rock-cut production installations, which are largely globally homogenous but present distinct local adaptations; and 2) the regional use of dolia defossa*, linked to specific cultural influences, and adaptations in other regions to fulfill a similar purpose. Through these case studies, glocalization helps to untangle local and regional nuances in method, technology and infrastructure, often with distinct cultural roots, yet simultaneously influenced by and set within overarching global systems of practice.*

Introduction

Agriculture frequently sits within overarching global frameworks of shared practice, yet, at the same time, is shaped by the regional, local and microlocal. This is most immediately obvious in how specific individuals or communities adapt their practice to suit variations in microregional climate, topography, geology, or hydrology. Factors such as these can generate or even demand evolutions in agricultural technique. Intersections between the global and local can be seen through, for example, variable or fluid production habits and processes for the same commodity across regions, as well as interconnections to larger economic or logistical frameworks in tandem with localized networks and needs[1]. Indeed, agricultural practice illustrates how local receptions, selections, adaptations and practices shaped and transformed global influences, acknowledging and giving agency to local communities rather than merely top-down global impact, and supporting previous work on globalization as a generator of adaptation rather than homogeneity[2]. One might go as far as to suggest that a glocal agricultural approach was consciously favored in antiquity. Ancient writers advocate for the ownership of properties in different climatic zones and the diversification of production to minimize risks and failure – presumably usually set within global agricultural frameworks but keyed to beneficial local practices[3]. Elsewhere, farmers are urged to observe the techniques of their successful neighbors or prior owners if they are new to an

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1 Similar aspects have been explored by Van Dommelen 2019 in relation to ancient peasants and the rural world to which they were often intimately connected. Witcher 2017 highlights the Roman "global countryside" as a product of ongoing dialogue between local and global.

2 Pitts 2008; Van Dommelen 2017, 629. Heinrich 2017, in the context of cereal crop selection through the Roman Empire, shows how globalization can impact regions and their choices differently, contrasting the diversity of cereal crops in Italy with relative homogeneity in Egypt. Feinman 2017, 424 provides several examples of how globalization can impact ancient economic processes in a heterogenous manner, especially contrasting elites and local subalterns.

3 Cf. Plin., *Ep.* 3.19.

area[4] – perhaps leaning towards glocalizing practice. Agriculture therefore presents a lens through which we can consider the applicability and usefulness of glocalization as a concept in building our understanding of the dynamics related to ancient production processes.

The importance of probing agricultural practice through a framework like glocalization should not be underestimated. Broadly speaking, agriculture underpinned ancient economies. Roman rural inhabitants engaged in agriculture, forming the bulk of the population, were almost entirely dependent on it for income generation, food, clothing and fuel – even the majority of "non-agricultural production chains relied on agriculture to supply raw materials"[5]. Such an approach offers a promising tool to comprehend lived experience for a large proportion of the population and how this central facet of Roman life functioned within a multi-scalar, increasingly integrated yet simultaneously diverse and fragmented Mediterranean landscape.

This chapter takes one of the most widespread crops in the pre-modern Mediterranean, the grapevine, and one of its derivative products, wine, as an example of an agricultural product integral to Roman society, culture, economy, religion, medicine and daily life. While spatially widespread and engrained within global social, economic and cultural structures, this crop and its derivative products are highly sensitive to localized variability in climate, landscape and weather, which, in turn, give rise to local practices[6]. This was already acknowledged in antiquity. For example, Pliny the Elder, when discussing optimal situations for planting grapevines, states that "the most careful attention on the part of the cultivator ought to be paid to the nature of the soil, the character of the locality, and the respective influences of climate" (*HN* 17.2). The grapevine and wine's permeation of an enormous amount of Roman culture also meant that they became sensitive to changes in the economy and could be leveraged politically; for example, Domitian's Edict in A.D. 81–96 that prohibited the planting of grapevines in the provinces, or the emperor Aurelian's supposed purchase of land for vineyards along the Via Aurelia west of Rome to revitalize Italian viticulture and add wine to the *Annona* in the 3rd c. A.D.[7]. By using a case study so culturally engrained and spatially widespread, yet highly variable and sensitive to local nuance, one can consider to what extent the concept of glocalization might be productively applied to ancient agriculture.

Grapes and Wine: The Local Impacting the Global

Grapevines grew wild across most of the Mediterranean littoral, as well as further inland into Europe via river valleys and into Asia across the Caucasus and fertile crescent[8]. The production of wine from this plant had a lengthy history often already spanning thousands of years in many Mediterranean regions[9]. We might therefore consider winemaking a well-established 'global' production process long before the Roman Republican period in Italy. Similarly, integration

4 E.g., Varro, *Rust.* 1.18–19

5 Kron 2017, 141–42. See estimates in Garnsey and Woolf 1989, 154–55; Temin 2001, 180; Scheidel 2007, 80; Garnsey and Saller 2015, 107; Hollander 2019, 1. The contributions in Bowman and Wilson 2013 make this clear, along with highlighting spatial and temporal diversity.

6 See Van Limbergen, Dodd and Busana 2025.

7 SHA, *Aurel.* 48. See also chapter 7 in this volume for the *Annona*.

8 Zohary and Hopf 2000; Dodd, forthcoming.

9 Dodd, forthcoming.

within transregional economic and trade networks occurred from at least the third millennium B.C. in much of the eastern Mediterranean and Mesopotamia, and the Late Bronze Age and early first millennium B.C. in the western basin, if not earlier. The creation and expansion of the Roman Empire certainly served to solidify and build on these existing global characteristics, but was by no means starting from scratch. Wine had, in many respects, long been a global commodity in the ancient Mediterranean (along with the other components of the so-called Mediterranean triad, olive oil and grain).

While wine spanned a 'global' Mediterranean area, often using similar production processes and technologies, some aspects of associated agriculture and production techniques were deeply interconnected with and refracted through the local. Grapevines are influenced by the land on which they are grown, the soil, microclimate, topography and so on. This then impacts the products produced, whether grapes, wine, or raisins, and our modern sense of *terroir* begins to take shape. Indeed, recent work studying the 'palaeoterroir' of grapevines hopes to nuance our understanding of the impact of microregional landscapes on the grapes and wine produced[10].

Similarly, different regions or microregions favored their own evolutions in production techniques and tools; sometimes drawn from longstanding local or regional cultural practice and habit, other times due to dynamic connectivity and interaction (though these were not mutually exclusive). Spatially distant regions could utilize similar or even identical techniques and tools due to past connectivity, while neighboring areas possessed completely different production habits due to different cultural traditions, historic influences and contexts. Winemaking facilities in Roman *Hispania*, for example, present a fascinating case study with dual cellaring and fermentation traditions: one embedded locally probably following much earlier Phoenician colonization and therefore emulating habits from the eastern Mediterranean, whereas the other mirrored techniques found commonly in Roman Italy[11].

Local variations and transregional patterns also extended to the organization of land, production and associated agricultural systems. Some regions used systems of large landholdings with centralized production infrastructure dominated socio-economically by the few (e.g., estates in *Hispania*, Gaul or North Africa); others favored dispersed production infrastructure and landholdings across a more socially even playing field (e.g., Late Roman villages in North Syria)[12]. These diverse patterns of organization caused by dynamic global-local relationships also saw production take on entirely different technologies, types and scales of equipment, despite overarching processes (e.g., winemaking) often remaining static.

Ancient agricultural writers lend historical context, nuance and descriptive weight to some of these local differences. Pliny (*HN* 14.27) mentions regionally changing practices, contrasting those in the Alps with milder climates and showing how local adaptations were used in the global framework of wine production to cater for different climatic or weather conditions. In some provinces, the grapevine was able to stand by itself owing to thick and stout growth which reduced requirements for trellising or supports, whereas in Africa and some parts of *Gallia Narbonensis* stronger winds meant that grapevines were left to crawl along the ground[13]. Wine was produced in cooler, Alpine regions by ageing in barrels in specifically heated rooms

10 Dodd and Van Limbergen 2024.

11 Dodd 2022; Peña Cervantes 2023; id. 2024.

12 On the latter, see Van Limbergen 2017.

13 Plin., *HN* 14.3. See also the conclusion to this chapter.

to maintain an appropriate fermentation process[14]. Elsewhere, Pliny (*HN* 17.35) mentions that cross-pieces for training grapevines were generally made from a stake or reed, but in Spain and at Brundisium a rope of hair or hemp was used, presumably due to local resource availability or cultural practice.

The important and often underappreciated factor of personal choice likely also bore substantial weight in the decision of a producer or owner to use certain production technologies or processes. This meant that, even in spatially small localities, there could be several farmers or producers making different decisions that led to variable outcomes. The degree to which personal choice can be considered in assessments of glocalization remains opaque: is this the local refracted through the global, or is it too variable and individualized to be meaningfully evaluated? Of course, socio-political and economic contexts were also a factor in much of this, as was an area's connectivity or insularity, as argued by Sweetman elsewhere in this volume. Cumulatively, it might therefore be possible to reflect on whether the production of commodities like wine illustrates "the global coming into conjunction with the local", and how "broadly shared ideas, goods and practices are modified and adapted locally to accord with local practice, customs, habits and beliefs"[15].

The following case studies, among many others possible, probe the potential of interrogating ancient agriculture through the framework of glocalization. The pliable concept of 'local' may in some instances be quite different to its use elsewhere in this book – perhaps spatially broader, at times encompassing regions rather than smaller-scale locales. This illuminates both the flexibility of this interpretive framework, but also the need to define one's notion of 'local' in the context of studies in glocalization[16].

Rock-cut Production Facilities

Installations of simple basins, vats and floors can be found hewn into the bedrock or rocky outcrops, in which grapes were trodden, pressed or crushed with the resulting liquid collected in an adjoining rock-cut vat (fig. 3.1). Some have niches and cuttings that indicate the use of presses using levers and screws alongside treading (figs. 3.2 and 3.3)[17]. It is now widely accepted that many of these were used to produce wine, however suggestions remain around their possible use for olive processing or other multi-purpose use. More problematic is the dating of these facilities. Identical structures were used through the Medieval and Byzantine eras and into the early modern period, called *palmenti* in Italy, and even still used today in some parts of Greece and the Aegean islands. Their perennially difficult chronology is only abated in a handful of cases where excavations were able to reveal well-defined stratigraphic material; for example, the complex at Ambarçay in Türkiye[18].

What is perhaps most notable is that these rock-cut installations are found across an exceptionally broad geographic area. Well-known examples exist in Italy, including Sicily and

14 Plin., *HN* 14.27; Martial, *Epigrams* 10.36. See also Busana 2025.

15 Robertson 1992; Hodos 2017.

16 Cf. Sherratt in Barrett *et al.* 2018, 18

17 Olcese 2013; Peña Cervantes 2019; Olcese *et al.* 2024.

18 Oğuz-Kırca and Coşkun 2022.

Fig. 3.1: Rock-cut winemaking installation of San Prudencio, Ábalos, Spain (photo: Colecciones Vivanco, courtesy Yolanda Peña Cervantes).

Fig. 3.2: Rock-cut winemaking installation with cuttings to house a beam press, modelled on right, at San Cibrao, Oímbra, Spain (photo: servino.net, courtesy Yolanda Peña Cervantes).

Sardinia where organic residue analysis using Gas Chromatography-Mass Spectrometry has revealed positive indicators for wine along with the use of pitch or resin as a waterproof lining to the vats or additive to the must (grape juice)[19]. Countless others can be found in the western Mediterranean, in Spain and Portugal, and across the eastern Mediterranean in Türkiye, Crete, Cyprus and throughout the Levant[20]. The region of the limestone massif in North Syria presents an

19 Garnier 2020; Olcese *et al.* 2020.

20 E.g., Olivieri *et al.* 2006; Aydinoğlu and Alkaç 2008; Baldiran 2010; Peña Cervantes 2010; Olcese 2013; Oğuz-Kırca and Coşkun 2022; Johal 2025; Loi 2025; Olcese *et al.* 2025.

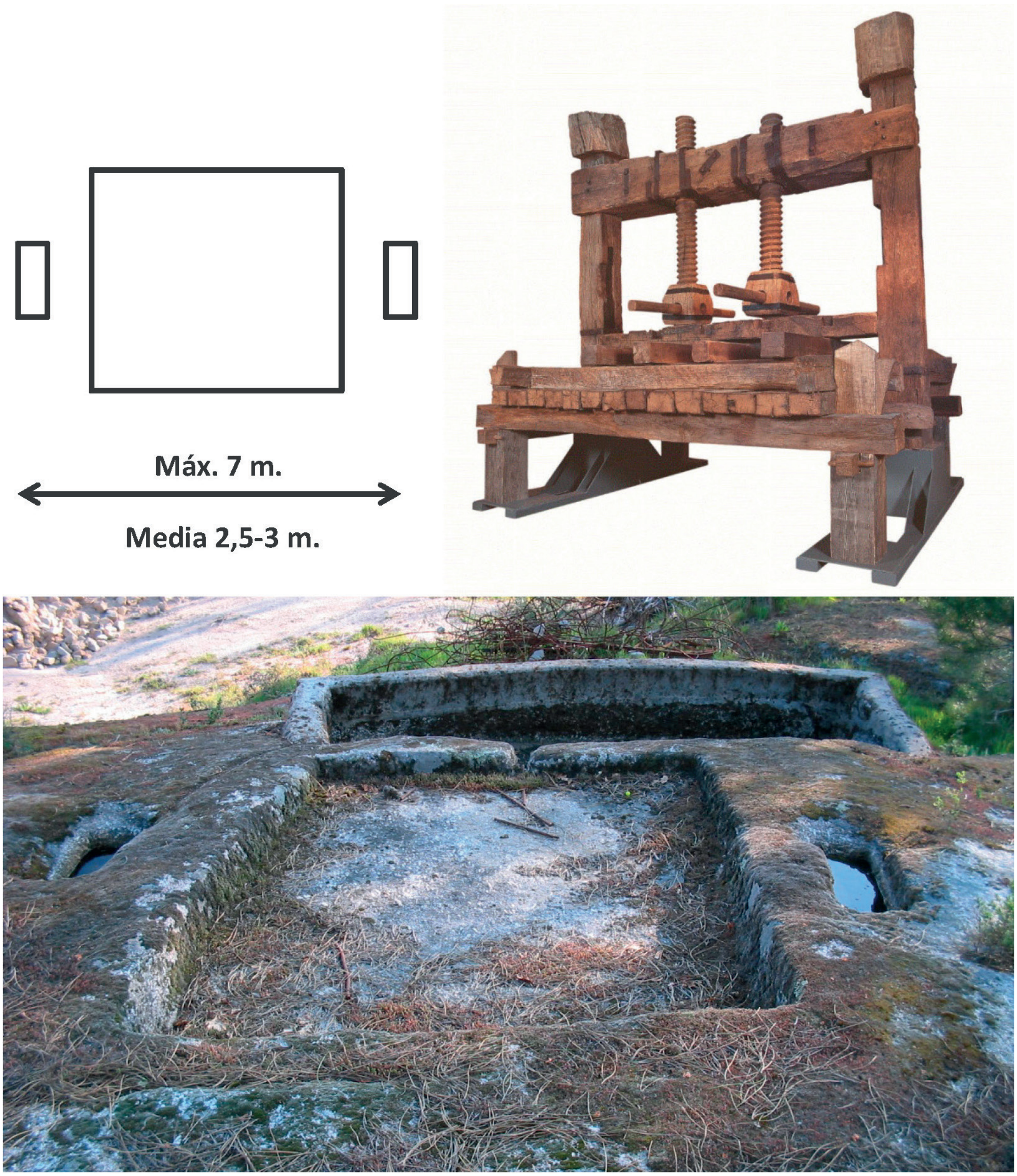

Fig. 3.3: Rock-cut winemaking installation with cuttings to house a direct-pressure screw press at Quinta da Tapada, Viseu, Spain (photo: Yolanda Peña Cervantes). Modelled above with an early modern example from 1704 at Museo Vivanco (photo: Colecciones Vivanco).

immense dataset, with hundreds of rock-cut facilities documented within and around Late Roman villages[21]. Most importantly, however, this continues much further from the Mediterranean than one might initially expect, across the fertile crescent and Iranian plateau. Facilities almost identical to those found in Mediterranean regions can also be seen in great numbers in the northern

21 Callot 1984; id. 2002-3; Van Limbergen 2017.

Indian subcontinent, around ancient Gandhara, and especially across the Swat Valley in modern Pakistan. Recent research provides convincing evidence for these to be used as wine production facilities no later than the 5th c. A.D., connected to Buddhist settlements and monasteries of the same areas and their control of agrarian activities[22].

These rock-cut facilities could be considered an example of global wine production infrastructure – relatively materially and morphologically homogenous at large geographical and temporal scale. They also generate a sense of the immutability of wine production in the ancient and pre-modern era, with slow moving technological change, or no change implemented when it was not necessary, and comparatively simple methods used to extract must in a process that need not be complicated.

Within this enormous rock-cut dataset, however, aspects of glocalized production are also visible. In the eastern Mediterranean, for example, especially the North Syrian facilities, stone rollers are often found *in situ* or closely associated with these facilities. These were likely used to produce a particular type of sweet wine, made from sun-dried or raisined grapes, famous from certain parts of the eastern Mediterranean, and which required a harder stone surface and crushing/rolling tool to extract the juice[23]. This local evolution in technique and process might have been encouraged by traditional cultural practice and production habit (crushing sun-dried raisins). Indeed, the production of wine from raisins has a long history in this part of the world, with Hittite tablets indicating its presence already in Bronze Age Anatolia (e.g., *KUB* 17.13 col. ii, 5–8) and the 8th c. B.C. writer Hesiod (*Op.* 609–18) outlining the process of drying grapes for wine production[24]. This was then refracted through a type of global production infrastructure (rock-cut facilities), though one still dependent on a particular regional landscape: i.e. one with plentiful stone resources from which to carve the installations and create the rollers.

These rock-cut facilities could therefore be interpreted through the framework of glocalization. They illustrate how the global (rock-cut production facilities with a treading area and collection vat) can be refracted through local cultural habit and tradition (the production of wine from sun-dried grapes or raisins) using local innovations (stone rollers). That installations with these particular features are found only in a discrete geographical area might further support their glocal nature.

The Phenomenon of *Dolia Defossa* in *Cellae Vinariae*

Fermenting grape juice in large clay jars or vats was a practice established in prehistory and, since its supposed conception in the Caucasus, continued to spread across a vast geographical area[25]. As a general feature of wine production, it was not particularly new by the Roman period. However, *dolia defossa* might, on the other hand, illustrate a Roman evolution in this widespread and long-standing production habit. These were large clay jars buried either completely or partially into

22 Olivieri *et al.* 2006; Falk 2009; Johal 2024; id. 2025; Dodd, forthcoming.

23 For example, see Plin., *HN* 14.11; Columella, *Rust.* 12.27, 12.39; Palladius, *Op. Agr.* 11.19. For more, see Van Limbergen 2017; Dodd 2020a, 59–64.

24 Cf. Dodd 2020a, 59–64.

25 See Van Limbergen and Komar 2024, 88 for historical and archaeological summaries of the ancient and more recent use of large clay jars in winemaking. Cheung 2024b, 3–5 discusses differences and similarities between *dolia* and similar, earlier *pithoi*.

Fig. 3.4: The *cella vinaria* with *dolia defossa* at Villa Regina, Boscoreale, Italy (photo: Emlyn Dodd; © Ministero della Cultura, Parco Archeologico di Pompei).

the ground, often to ferment and store wine and built into *cellae vinariae* (wine cellars; fig. 3.4). While the temporal and geographical origins of the *dolium* are challenging to discern, archaeological evidence suggests some sort of regular establishment by the late 3rd to early 2nd c. B.C. in central Italy[26]. Even within this region, adoption at various urban sites appears to follow different trajectories[27]. Their gradual appearance then radiates outwards from Italy – though not in all directions – following Roman expansion and growing influence into several new territories.

Some examples exist of large, buried clay jars in earlier periods of the eastern Mediterranean (though not always for wine production and storage, and seemingly not used in the same way

26 The earliest secure evidence is mid-Republican, with more tenuous examples from the 4th c. B.C. and earlier (Cheung 2024b, 5–6).

27 Cf. Cheung 2024b, 19ff.

or scale as Roman *cellae vinariae*). It is not until the Roman era, however, and really the mid to late Republic, that the characteristic globular or strawberry shaped *dolium* emerges at scale throughout the production and storage landscape for a variety of commodities (often wine, but probably also olive oil, grain, water and other foodstuffs). *Dolia* were challenging, expensive and time-consuming to make, requiring mastery of specific materials and expertise[28]. Across Italy, wine cellars connected to production facilities contained up to 80 or 90 *dolia defossa* and thus *circa* 80,000 L of potential storage (e.g., at the Villa della Pisanella in Boscoreale, Campania); however, this pales in comparison to those in Gaul and Iberia where some production facilities have cellars with over 300 or perhaps even 400 *dolia* (e.g., Els Tolegassos in Tarraconensis, Saint-Bézard at Aspiran, or the villa of Vareilles)[29].

Despite this Roman production habit and equipment being taken up in several colonized regions, including much of Gaul, Iberia and the Adriatic coastline, *dolia defossa* were very rarely, if ever, integrated into vinicultural infrastructure of the eastern Mediterranean and North Africa. Not in the quantities of Italy, let alone the several hundred found at sites in Gaul and Iberia. This is despite eastern Mediterranean and African regions still amalgamating other parts of 'Roman' and local production habits and socio-culture. *Contra* Ulpian, writing in the 3rd c. A.D., *dolia* were clearly not the defining architectural feature of a wine cellar, at least not across the entire Roman Empire. Wine fermentation and storage areas, like other aspects of agriculture, cultivation and crop processing, were highly glocalized facilities that responded to a range of global and local concerns, habits and influences; climate and resource availability chief among others.

Herod's Palace in Judaea presents an interesting possible exception, where more than a dozen *dolia defossa* were found and are suggested to have been imported from Italy[30]. This creates an opportunity to think about how and why responses that might be considered glocal were enacted. The use of *dolia* in new regions was not simply a local adoption or adaptation of global features in a purely physical sense; they could also have imbued cultural and ideological meaning. In the case of Herod's Palace, production infrastructure and habits were brought in from Italy, the heart of the Roman Empire, to the Levant, where *dolia* were not routinely used in the vinicultural *chaîne opératoire*. Could this be considered a deliberate local choice in this political, social and cultural context to more closely connect Herod and his property ideologically with the political center of the Empire in Rome? This example highlights how glocalization as a concept might not always have to take a physical form, but could rather combine the physical and ideological to generate and project more profound socio-political meaning. Herod took an already glocal object (*dolia defossa*) and set them within a new glocal context (an elite local palace aspiring to fit within global state structures).

A more important question remains: why was the phenomenon of using *dolia defossa* never picked up in certain regions? Regional climate and weather were clearly important factors, and vinicultural production and cellaring infrastructure responded to this, influencing the uptake of certain pieces of equipment[31]. Yet, while microregional climate and weather patterns varied

28 Cheung 2024a.

29 Dodd 2022, 470–71; Peña Cervantes 2023; id. 2025; Poux and Mauné 2025; Cheung 2024b, 112–15.

30 Porat *et al.* 2018. Waliszewski 2014 includes several examples from Syria-Palestine, though all on a small scale, even with comparatively small *dolia*, and I remain unconvinced that they can be directly compared to *cella vinaria* with *dolia defossa* in the central and western Mediterranean.

31 Dodd 2022, 469–70.

Fig. 3.5: Aerial view of a winemaking installation at Antiochia ad Cragum, Türkiye. The conical collection vat is in the foreground (© ACARP 2012).

substantially, some parts of Anatolia, the Levant or North Africa hardly possessed wholly distinct characteristics to other areas of Mediterranean where *dolia* were used, including southern Italy, coastal Mediterranean France or Spain. The deeply embedded nature of localized production habits and tradition, despite powerful external influence, might have played a more substantial role. Producers continued to ferment and store wine in open air vats, then decant it directly into *amphorae* for secondary fermentation, storage and trade as they had for millennia (cf. depictions from dynastic Egypt)[32]. In the hyperconnected landscape of the Roman Empire, craftspeople specialized in the construction of *dolia* could certainly physically access or transfer knowledge into other areas. Similarly, the natural resources of clay, water, temper and a suitable climate for drying these bulky vessels could also be found in these regions, though this may have been more limiting.

In some areas, tasks fulfilled by *dolia defossa* might have been met by using alternative infrastructure in the form a regionalized response. The stereotypically strawberry, conical or globular shapes of *dolia* are mirrored in many of the conical or strawberry-shaped masonry-built and plastered collection vats found especially in late antique wineries across Anatolia and the Levant. The facility built into the temple at Antiochia ad Cragum illustrates this clearly (figs. 3.5 and 3.6)[33]. Although different in terms of materiality, the morphological design served roughly the same purpose by facilitating easy removal of liquids down to the bottom with its tapering profile, and by promoting continuous circulation of the fermenting must inside. This free circulation

32 Dodd, forthcoming.

33 Dodd 2020a; 2020b.

Fig. 3.6: The conical collection vat at Antiochia ad Cragum from above (photo: Emlyn Dodd).

encouraged constant contact with the lees during fermentation, which experimental archaeology has shown to enhance the wine's flavor and texture, reduce the need to regularly stir the must, and promote stable temperatures[34]. Furthermore, the flavor characteristics and organoleptic qualities imparted by the porous ceramic material of *dolia* may in part have been mimicked by the porous plasters that coat these masonry vats, including *cocciopesto* and *opus signinum* (materials with crushed ceramics in their fabric). Was the latter a more cost-effective solution that still went some way to achieving a desirable flavor profile? Must is hypothesized to have been left in masonry collection vats to undergo initial primary fermentation – the so-called turbulent period – after which it was decanted into portable transport vessels (e.g., *amphorae*) for secondary fermentation and storage. Archaeological evidence suggests that in some instances these collection vats might have utilized lids or covers, but in others may well have been open-air. This mimics processes used with *dolia* in cellars, where they were kept open initially, for 9 to 30 days, and then sealed with plastered terracotta or wooden lids, or animal skins[35].

However, *dolia defossa* were produced, installed and used in cellars in declining numbers from the 3rd and 4th c. A.D.[36], whereas many of the conical masonry vats appear to date to subsequent centuries. It is difficult to determine, therefore, the degree to which this might be a simultaneous, regionally distinct glocal phenomenon or rather a later imitation to continue generating similar vinicultural equipment and features of production.

34 Van Limbergen and Komar 2024.

35 Van Limbergen and Komar 2024, 90; Columella, *Rust.* 12.28 and 12.39.

36 Cheung 2024b, 174 and 191.

The use of these various systems – region by region, locality by locality – sits within an overarching global framework of wine fermentation and storage practice but is influenced by different local cultural traditions, resources, expertise and knowledge, climatic and weather factors, and personal decisions. Particularly important in this chain of decision making was one's economic capacity, ability and appetite to take risks. For example, winemakers had to judge the correct moment to seal a clay jar during fermentation – too early and the release of carbon dioxide during turbulent fermentation might cause the jar to crack[37]. In light of the large financial cost and length it took to commission and create a *dolium*, or undertake repairs, this was presumably to be avoided at all costs. Along with local tradition and resource availability, was appetite or ability to deal with failure or risk another reason to use more durable and sturdy masonry vats in some locations?

Conclusion

Agriculture, and by extension the production of derivative commodities, provides a window into the local-global nexus, making clear the "agency of the local" within overarching, global production processes[38]. This is tested through the two case studies above: 1) the broad spatial spread of rock-cut facilities, which, on one level, are largely homogenous but, on another, present distinct local adaptations linked to cultural tradition to produce regionally specific wine types; and 2) the manufacture and use in certain geographical areas of *dolia defossa* within *cellae vinariae*, stemming from central Italy but set within a broader tradition of fermentation and storage in large clay jars, their potential links to specific cultural influences, and adaptations in other regions using different architectures to fulfill a similar purpose (e.g., conical masonry vats).

Of course, many others can be added to these. The Cyclades, for example, present a simultaneously insular yet hyper-connected island archipelago landscape with immediately recognizable agricultural adaptations that might be termed glocal[39]. One of the most obvious is the common method of vine-growing across these islands, where grapevines are trained in basket shapes to protect the fruit from damaging sun and winds (fig. 3.7). Although still used today (a traditional practice called *koulara*), similar practices are attested for antiquity, even recommended by Roman agronomists as particularly suitable in certain landscapes and climates[40]. More broadly, Roman agronomists point to the use of readily available local resources and materials to construct adaptations of globally visible grapevine training systems[41].

Similarly, press technologies to produce wine and olive oil existed in a seemingly infinite range of shapes, forms and types – often visible through evidence left behind in the form of counterweights which served to anchor their mechanisms. Counterweights might even be interpreted

37 Van Limbergen and Komar 2024, 90–91.

38 Roudometof 2016a; id. 2016b.

39 See also the chapter by Sweetman in this volume.

40 Brun 2003, 38–39; Dodd 2020a, 79; id. 2020c; id. 2025. Columella, *De Re Rust.* 5.5.13 mentions training vines in a sort of crown shape. Late Roman mosaics from North Africa depict vaguely similar practices, including one from *Thabraca* in Tunisia (early 4th c. A.D.), where grapevines are trained in circular shapes up tiered wooden frames, and another from Cherchel (early 3rd c. A.D.); see Jashemski 2018, 139.

41 E.g., Varro, *Rust.* 1.8.

as "boundary objects"[42]. They are plastic enough to adapt to local needs and the constraints of people employing them, yet robust enough to maintain a common identity across sites and regions. In other words, similar types and morphologies are found across the Mediterranean but distinct regional and local selections, evolutions and adaptations emerge from this overarching framework. They are, in essence, glocal, with broader designs adapted to individual, local contexts.

Fig. 3.7: An Assyrtiko grapevine trained in the *koulara* style on Santorini, Greece, with its branches woven in a basket shape (photo: Wikimedia Commons).

Simultaneously, however, we must continue to think critically about the nature and applicability of glocalization as a theoretical concept. We might question to what extent some of these examples should be interpreted as glocalization rather than regionalization. This reinforces the importance of ensuring that examples termed glocal retain characteristics representative of overarching global models. Farmers selecting suitable grape varieties for their microlocal conditions should therefore probably not be considered a form of glocalization. We could also query whether phenomena spread across vast spatial areas can immediately be termed 'global', or if they must also display secondary characteristics that align to global social, economic or political systems.

Future work in this space will also open up new questions applicable to other sub-genres of ancient history and archaeology. One particularly important example might be to query whether the extent of agricultural glocalization varied socio-economically. Were wealthy estate owners more, less or equally as likely to generate or implement glocalizing strategies? Did their increased time, land availability and diversity, necessary capital and potentially broader networks encourage or enable them to buy into more globalizing structures of production? Or, on the other hand, were poorer farmers more likely to generate glocal solutions due to, for example, pressure to innovate, or their intimate familiarity with the land and ability to harness it glocally? It is perhaps by expanding assessments of glocalization along adjacent trajectories like these that we can begin to perceive subaltern communities in a more rigorous manner, shifting attention from the few to build more holistic understanding of the many.

This chapter has attempted to provide several examples to assess whether glocalization can profitably be applied as a theoretical tool and framework for agricultural production, especially for wine. It is indeed useful to untangle local and regional nuances in method, technology, infrastructure and so on, often with their own traditional cultural roots, yet simultaneously influenced by and set within global systems of practice. The greatest challenge, however, and an

42 For this term, see Van Oyen 2020, 171.

aspect of increasing interest to archaeological and ancient historical studies, is to generate decisive information about the human mechanics behind these processes[43]. By integrating glocalization with analysis of, for example, the labor, workforce and other social aspects that underpinned agricultural production, we might begin to more fully comprehend significantly variable lived experience between sites, regions, systems and traditions.

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Chapter 4
The Reflection of Imperial Architecture in the Forums of the Western Provinces

Javier Domingo*

Abstract: Rome's role as a center for the generation and diffusion of imperial fashions is well known, as is clearly shown, for example, in the distribution of certain imperial architectural models in the major cities of the western provinces. However, this diffusion did not always produce identical copies of the Urbs, but rather imitations and adaptations of these models adjusted to specific local contexts. This chapter highlights how these adaptations could be peculiar, i.e. present in specific groups, or general, spread over a wide geographical area, sometimes even beyond provincial boundaries. The reasons for such variation might include a specific desire to depart from the official models, the survival of local traditions or techniques, or the need to adapt models to topographical contexts.

Introduction

The designs of Roman urban forums illustrate a convergence of characteristics, mixing local traditions with models imported from the public architecture of Rome, especially those promoted by the imperial court. Indeed, it is precisely in these precincts where imperial exaltation was most effectively developed. This chapter analyzes the mechanisms behind the adoption of these architectural prototypes, identifying the elements that had the greatest impact on the formation of their provincial counterparts.

Scholarship has already devoted much attention to the phenomenon of the *imitatio Romae*, which took various forms and was at work in countless cities throughout the empire. Aulus Gellius, for example, defined the colonies as reduced images, almost reproductions, of the Roman people, as if they were 'little Romes'[1]. However, these imitations did not produce faithful reproductions of the Urbs, but rather reworkings that were adapted to a specific local context. This explains why the Forum of Augustus of Rome was never exactly copied in these territories[2], even though this was one of the complexes exercising major influence on the spread of imperial architecture in the provinces. Instead, "variations on the theme" were employed, in which the architects and commissioners enjoyed great freedom through dialogue with models in Rome[3]. This dialogue that suggests that the transfer of models did not take place in a linear or diffusionist manner via a top-down approach, but rather through an interaction between different global and local realities.

To better understand and define similar complex dynamics, the theoretical concept of glocalization has been developed in recent years[4]. Going beyond traditional definitions of

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1 Aulus Gelilius, *Noctes atticae* 16.13.8–9; Bertrand 2010, 593. It has been pointed out that mere urbanistic and architectural similarity with the capital would not have been enough to equate the colonies with Rome, but that this similarity had to be more concrete in social and political terms, an aspect to which the statement of Aulus Gellius could have referred (Canino 2022, 310).

2 For the adoption of the model of the forum of Augustus in the western provinces and in Rome itself, see Goldbeck 2015.

3 Maggi 2021, 10.

4 Cf. Roudometof 2015, 1–18; Montoya 2021, 93–101.

Romanization or hybridization, glocalization can be defined following Roudometof's studies as a process similar to refraction[5]. During this process, a global model – in this case an imperial forums of Rome – would be refracted and absorbed by a local one, generating modifications due to resistance or tension on the part of the latter. In other words, the local worked actively with the global to create new forms that could in turn be reflected in successive and different scenarios[6].

In analysing the process of the spread of Rome's forums to the provincial cities, it is also necessary to focus on the varying capacity of certain aspects of architecture, or planes of perception, to evoke urban models. Presumably, those that could refer most clearly and directly to these models had the greatest amount of attention given to them by commissioners and architects in their quest to emulate global models. In fact, it was not necessary for a building to faithfully reproduce a certain urban model to transport the observer symbolically or ideologically to the imperial architecture of Rome. Several features alone were often enough to achieve this end. For example, enormous proportions, the presence of monumental colonnaded orders or specific decorative or sculptural motifs, the use of certain materials (e.g., white and colored marble), or the functionality of an enclosure in relation to the type of ceremonies it hosted and similarities to the public festivals of Rome all had a high capacity to refer to global models. On the other hand, the presence of spaces open to the porticoes and even the structure of the forum itself, may have played a secondary role. A relief from the Troad colony of Alexandria depicts a priest of the divine Julius wearing an *apex*, a distinctive element of the *flamines* in Rome and one which clearly referred to the ceremonial and ritual landscape of Rome, in a physical space which does not adopt the same structure as the precincts of the Urbs. The three altars of the colonies of *Ariminum*, *Narbo* and *Salona* contain dedications that refer explicitly to those of the temple to Diana on the Aventine Hill in Rome[7], thus encouraging a clear association with an urban model without necessarily adopting the same architectural structure. Varro even noted the importance of the replication of the foundation rite for the generation of shared identity between the cities founded by Rome and the metropolis itself[8].

This chapter observes the dynamics that govern the generation of forum models and sub-models in the cities of the western provinces. It begins with an analysis of the buildings constructed during the first half of the 1st c. A.D., followed by those erected in the second half of the same century to highlight several differences. Multi-scalar interpretation illustrates: 1) the global, identified as the imperial complexes of Rome; 2) the glocal, corresponding to the translation of a model to each of the cities; and 3) an intermediate level, comprising the diffusion of characteristics that result from the interaction of the former two at a provincial or supra-regional scale.

5 Roudometof 2015, 9.

6 Roudometof 2015, 7–12. Previously, Robertson 1992 had defined glocalization as the fruit of a relationship between the local and the global, where the former is but one of many necessary manifestations of the latter, and therefore perfectly integrated into the local. Ritzer 2003, 193–209; 2006 later defined this concept as an intersection that would cause the global and the local to be mutually exclusive realities, in that the local would be progressively cancelled out in favor of the global.

7 Bertrand 2010, 592.

8 Varro, *De Lingua Latina* 5.143.

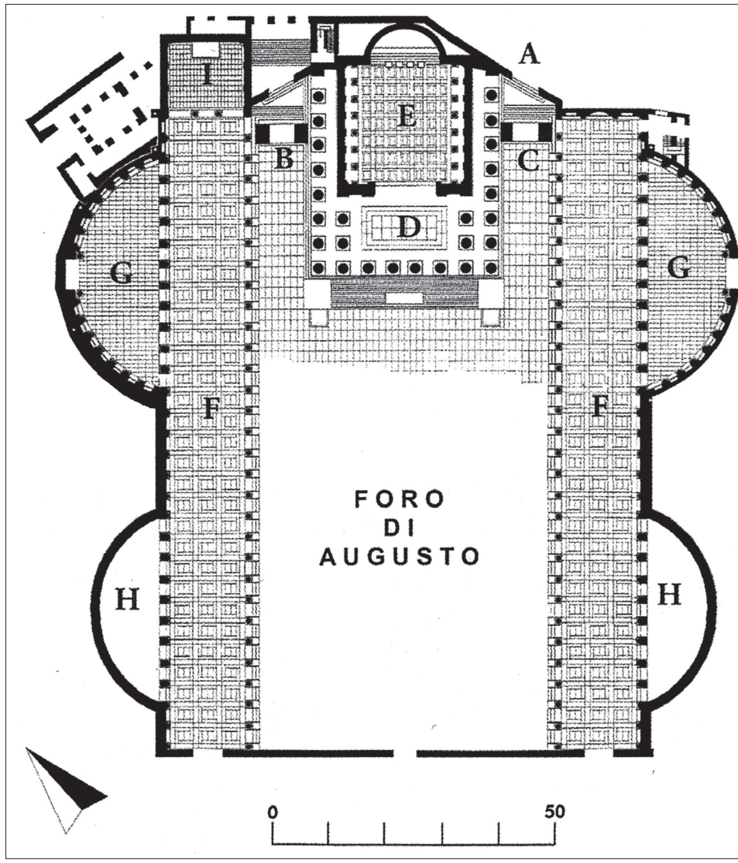

Fig. 4.1: Rome, Forum of Augustus (Anonymous, 1937: Dura-Europos archival photograph, Yale University Art Gallery, negative number y680a. Creative Commons Zero license).

First Half of the 1st c. A.D.

In this period, two forums can be considered as prototypes or global models (although they were erected in the second half of the 1st c. B.C.): the forums of Caesar and of Augustus in Rome. The Forum of Caesar was the first to be added to the Republican forum of the city and is characterized by a plaza enclosed by a portico, overlooked by a large temple dedicated to Venus Genetrix located at the back of one of its short sides. In its initial phase, this forum did not have a basilica, nor did it have the apses that appear at the ends of the porticoes, which were added in the Trajanic period[9].

Similarly, the Forum of Augustus (fig. 4.1) is characterized by a space enclosed by a portico with a temple at the back of one of its sides and is also without a basilica[10]. Its new features include four open *exedrae* behind the portico, 40 and 30 m in diameter, a temple and the hall of the Colossus, almost hidden behind one of the porticoes, a series of niches along the back walls reserved for Rome's *summi viri*, and an attic above the portico decorated with *clipei* and caryatids. This last element concentrates an important part of the symbolic message of the forum, becoming an essential part of the propagandistic and ideological programme of the site[11].

9 Meneghini 2009, 43–57.

10 Carnabuci and Braccalenti 2011, 40, 45–48, 57 and 59. Regarding the possible presence of a basilica on the side of the forum, see La Rocca 2001, 192–94; Ventura 2006, 59–84. Ungaro 2007, 122 fig. 145 is in favor of the presence of a portico on the south side of the forum piazza.

11 Marfil Vázquez 2022, 143.

In contrast, there is great variation among the forums erected during the first half of the 1st c. A.D. in cities of the western provinces, although most of them possess a tripartite structure consisting of temple, piazza and basilica[12]. The location of the basilica inside the forum also takes several forms: it can be located on the side opposite to the temple (e.g., Augustan *Barcino* and *Caesaraugusta*; Julio-Claudian *Baelo Claudia* and *Valeria*; and Flavian *Clunia* or *Conimbriga*); other times it is located in one of the side porticoes of the plaza (e.g., *Bilbilis*, Ampurias or *Conimbriga*, in their Augustan phases)[13]. Other forums still preserve the Republican tradition with a *porticus duplex*[14].

In a recent study on Baetican forums, different degrees of affinity to the imperial models were observed depending on the legal status of the cities, with provincial capitals and colonies closest to the global model[15]. However, the only Baetic forum that clearly emulated the models of Rome is that of Cordoba in its so-called *Forum Novum*[16]. In reality, this enclosure can be considered a *forum adiectum* (added forum), and it is precisely in this typology where the greatest affinities with the global models are noted. These were mostly erected in provincial capitals, did not usually contain basilicas, and were attached to the preceding forums in a similar way to those of Caesar and Augustus in Rome. However, in these instances, it is not the ground plan that most directly echoes the global prototype, but rather other features, such as the monumental temple presiding over the piazza and porticoes, the use of large quantities of imported marble, and the presence of decorative iconographic elements directly inspired by urban models and sometimes even made by workshops in Rome. The glocalization process, therefore, appears to be characterized by a refraction of a global architectural model, though takes different forms across provincial cities with the greatest affinity reserved for those features related to the precinct's ideological and propagandistic programme.

For example, at Mérida (fig. 4.2), the Augustan forum with its hexastyle so-called temple of Diana was joined by a new enclosure during the reign of Claudius, in the form of a *forum adiectum*, known as the "marble forum"[17]. Presided over by a temple which is no longer preserved, this enclosure did not have open *exedrae* in the porticoes, and therefore its plan diverged from the model of Augustus' Forum. On the other hand, some architectural features clearly refer to this prototype, including the presence of open niches in the perimeter walls of the enclosure, intended to house the statues of the local *summi viri*[18]; the probable presence of a sculpture identified as Aeneas,[19] which could belong to a similar sculptural group to that of Aeneas, Anchises and Ascanius that decorated one *exedra* in the Forum of Augustus; and an attic decorated with *clipei* and caryatids above the columns of the portico[20].

12 See Gros 2011, 244–48.

13 Tufi 2021, 54; Marfil Vázquez 2022, 245.

14 See Maggi 2021, 109–30.

15 Marfil Vázquez 2022.

16 Marfil Vázquez 2022, 249 fig. 202. On a lower level are the complexes of the conventual capitals, where the predominant feature is not the large octastyle temples but the hexastyle ones, often made of local stone or marble.

17 Ayerbe, Barrientos and Palma 2009. Another example similar to this forum is documented at Astigi, which adopts a tripartite structure to which several enclosures are attached at the sides (Marfil Vázquez 2022, 210 fig. 166). At Mérida, prior to the "marble forum", another Tiberian complex had been erected, overlooked by a hexastyle temple with a transverse cella (Maggi 2021, 70–71 fig. 32).

18 Against the interpretation of these sculptures as local *summi viri*, see Trillmich 1996, 98–99.

19 Trillmich 1996, 96–99; Trillmich and De la Barrera 1996, 118–38; Tufi 2021, 56 fig. 6; Maggi 2021, 69 fig. 28.

20 Maggi 2021, 67 fig. 25.

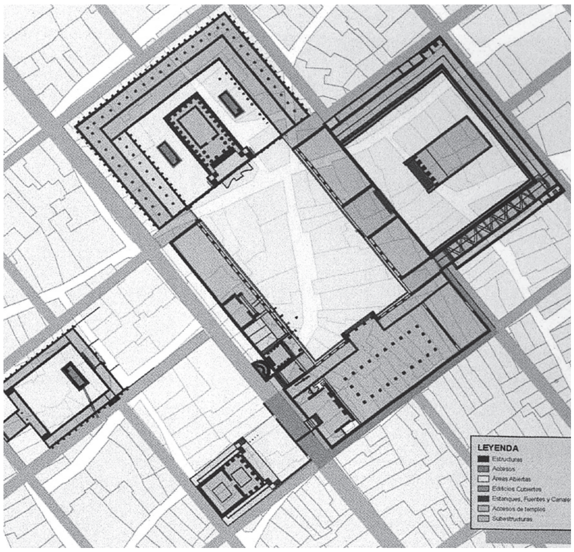

Fig. 4.2: Mérida, forum (after Ayerbe, Barrientos and Palma 2013, 314).

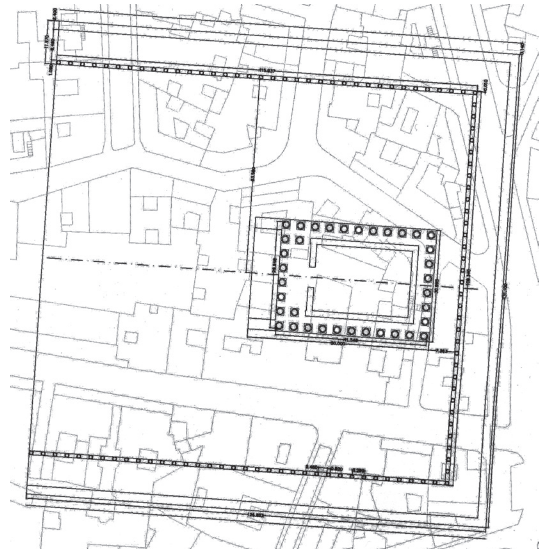

Fig. 4.3: Cordoba, *Forum Novum* (after Portillo 2018, pl. 5).

In Cordoba, the *Forum Novum* was built in the Julio-Claudian period (fig. 4.3) and was practically attached to the Republican forum, separated only by the cardo[21]. This example also has a different plan to the Forum of Augustus. It was previously assumed that there was at least one *exedra* (identified as the marble structure reused in the Late Roman complex of Cercadilla), and hence reference to the global model, however excavations indicate that no such structure existed in the forum, at least not coinciding with its transversal axis. Furthermore, the reduced dimensions of the proposed *exedra*, barely 12.27 m, suggest that it came from a hypothetical basilica that has not yet been located[22]. Despite this, other characteristics of the *Forum Novum* clearly echo Augustus' model, such as the presence of an octastyle temple whose dimensions and architectural decoration were clearly inspired by the temple of Mars Ultor in Rome[23], and even possibly from the same decorative workshop[24]. There is also a fragment of the torso of a Julio-Claudian loricata statue, perhaps representing Romulus and forming part of a sculptural group similar to the one that decorated another *exedra* in the Forum of Augustus[25], along with a fragment of a Julio-Claudian *mulleus*, perhaps belonging to the image of Aeneas fleeing from Troy with Ascanius and Anchises. It is possible that some of the fragments of the *clipei* found in the city of Cordoba also come from this forum[26]; although, in a recent reconstruction of this group this possibility was not considered, arguing instead that there is no certain evidence of their provenance[27].

21 Marfil Vázquez 2022, 249 fig. 37. The Republican forum consisted of a piazza with a temple and curia on opposite sides. A basilica was added in the middle of the 1st c. B.C. (Marfil Vázquez 2022, 207).

22 Marfil Vázquez 2022, 64 and 160 fig. 134.

23 Marfil Vázquez 2022, fig. 38.

24 Márquez 1998, 177.

25 Tufi 2021, 56 fig. 8.

26 Márquez 1996, 94–95; id. 2004, 342 fig. 8; Portillo 2013, 35.

27 Portillo 2018, 95.

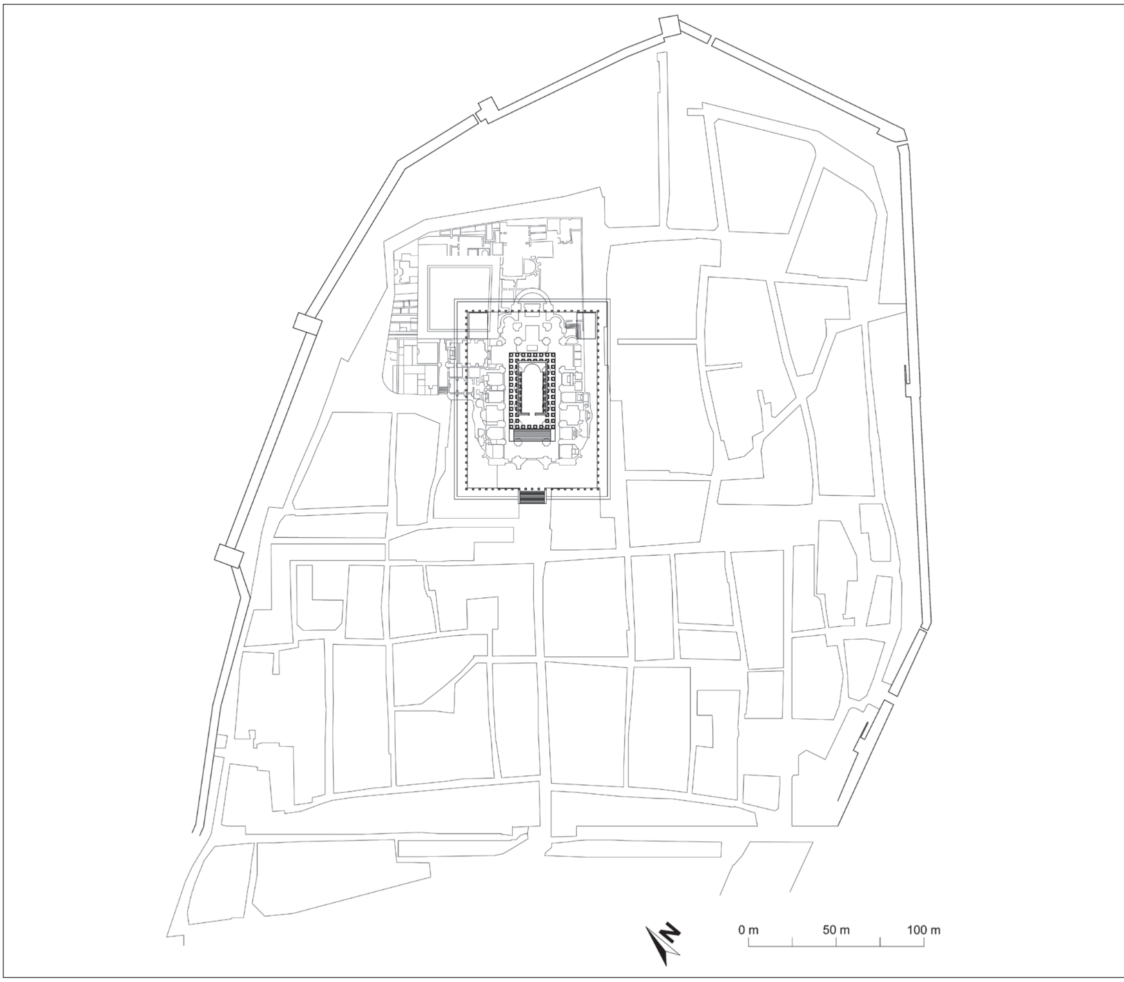

Fig. 4.4: Tarragona, upper forum, Tiberian phase (drawing by J. Á. Domingo).

Close to Cordoba are the fragments of a Julio-Claudian *clipeus* from *Italica*. These examples are the most similar to the *clipei* from the Forum of Augustus and it is assumed that they would have decorated a porticoed enclosure other than the forum[28]. From the same city also comes a fragment of a leg, belonging to a statue about 3 m high, and a fragment of a hand that could bear the *tropaeum* with the *spolia opima* of Romulus – pieces that once again refer to the sculptural groups that decorated the Forum of Augustus[29]. The *clipei* are thus one of the decorative elements that show the strongest connection with Rome's overall public architecture.

In the Tiberian period at *Tarraco*, a porticoed enclosure with temple dedicated to Augustus was built in the upper part of the city (fig. 4.4), separate from the colonial forum which stood in the lower quarter. While it is possible that the *temenos* was not completed at this time, the foundation trenches suggest the absence of open *exedrae* in the porticoes and therefore a different plan to the Forum of Augustus[30]. However, the typology of the temple, which is octastyle and of monumental dimensions, the materials used, including Luni marble, the decorative motifs

28 Peña 2007, 325–27, 335.

29 Peña 2007, 324–45; Maggi 2021, 141–42 figs 86–87.

30 Hauschild 1993, 114.

and the presence of an attic decorated with *clipei*, clearly reflect the Forum of Augustus[31].

Finally, the site of Arles in *Gallia Narbonensis* contains a complex clearly inspired by the model of the Forum of Augustus (fig. 4.5). A Tiberian enclosure was attached to the existing forum of the city, like a *forum adiectum*, placed at a higher elevation and accessed by a staircase crowned by a propylon. The new complex consisted of a narrow space with two *exedrae* at either end, perhaps inspired by those in the Forum of Augustus, although placed in a different position. This gave access to a broader area presided over by a large marble temple in the center with a perimeter portico and an attic decorated with *clipei*[32].

Fig. 4.5: Arles, forum (after Golvin 2021, lam. 9).

These buildings and complexes, a small sample of many more that could be cited, illustrate the existence of a global model – the Forum of Augustus in Rome – which was refracted at the local level to generate new forms[33]. It is possible to identify patterns indicating features that may have been perceived to be more important or far-reaching in the adoption of a particular global model, and which therefore experienced less local resistance in their application. These include the use of monumentality, especially in temples; the use of marble, although in provincial complexes white variants predominate rather than the overwhelming use of colored marbles in the Forum of Augustus[34]; architectural decoration inspired by the Mars Ultor model; the iconographic apparatus, especially *clipei* placed in an attic above the columns of the portico as an element essential to the symbolic and ideological programme of the Forum of Augustus[35]; and the direct spatial association of the new piazza with the old forum, to which it is attached in most cases. By contrast, the plan of the enclosure appears to be less important. *Exedrae* are generally absent, and the temple typically located at the piazza's center rather than rear of one of its short sides. Following Roudometof's theoretical model, these elements can provide further information about local agency and factors at play.

31 Regarding the decoration of the attic, see Domingo and Pensabene 2021, 51–57; id. 2024, 142–68.

32 Gros 1987, 359; Tufi 2021, 77.

33 Roudometof 2015, 1–18.

34 Ungaro 2004, 17–35.

35 Verzár 1977, 34–35; Zanker 1984, 13–14; Marco Simon 1990, 146–47, 162; Casari 1998, 398–404; Sauron 2006, 206; Rosso 2011, 199–200.

The examples of this period provide a clear example of the refraction of a global model, which, in turn, generates a multiplicity of glocalities. These then interact with the immediate local topography, architectural and decorative cultural traditions, knowledges and socio-cultural traditions of workers, and the economic capacity of those commissioning this work.

Second Half of the 1st c. A.D.

At this time, and specifically from the Flavian period onwards, the *Templum Pacis* in Rome became the model for numerous buildings erected in provincial cities (fig. 4.6), built by Vespasian between A.D. 71–75 and financed by victory over the Jewish revolt in A.D. 70[36]. This new architectural complex referenced the Forum of Augustus most clearly in the arrangement of an attic decorated with *clipei*[37]. The building also contained novel features, such as the absence of a temple in the center of the piazza, replaced by a large worship hall with a monumental façade along the axis of the back wall, and the alignment of the circulation level between the interior of this hall and the perimeter portico of the forum piazza proper[38]. These innovations suggest that this complex can be considered a different model.

The worship hall within the *Templum Pacis* is a monumentalized version of the sacrarium for the heroic cult of the ancestors of the Roman *nobilitas*[39]. Precedent for this can be found in the hall of the Colossus of the Forum of Augustus if it indeed housed the colossal statue of the divine Caesar[40]. However, the hall now becomes a major element of the complex, unlike in the Forum of Augustus where it was hidden behind the portico and again in Vespasian's remodelling of the temple of Claudius in Rome (fig. 4.6 top right; fig. 4.7). In the latter, although the worship hall opened onto the portico of the piazza, it did not yet possess a monumental façade[41]. The centrality now acquired by the worship hall of the *Templum Pacis* and mimicry in provincial comparanda suggests that the plan of the enclosure is one of the characteristics most faithfully disseminated and reproduced outside the capital. This sits in contrast to the first half of the 1st c. A.D. with respect to the Forum of Augustus (above).

There are numerous examples in the western provinces that adopt a similar plan, including aligned circulation between the portico of the piazza and the worship hall or, in the case of complexes presided over by a central temple, the temple's cella[42]. The Augustan sanctuary of Breno, near *Civitas Camunnorum*, for example, was remodeled in the Flavian period according to this plan[43]. The sanctuary of Cigognier in *Aventicum* (fig. 4.8), Upper Germania, dating to the early Flavian period, consists of a triportico and a hall-like temple at the back with circulation

36 Cass. Dio. 65.15: *ex manubiis.*

37 Tucci 2017, 76–115.

38 Tucci, 2017, 22, 33–37.

39 Pensabene and Domingo 2022, 25–31.

40 La Rocca 1995, 84ff and Ungaro 2008, 408–14 argue that it instead represented the *genius Augusti*.

41 Pensabene and Domingo 2022, 25–31.

42 Similarities can also be found in the eastern Mediterranean; for example, the Library of Hadrian in Athens, interpreted as a variant of the *Templum Pacis* with columns on the side of the portico and in front of the central hall that do not protrude with respect to the portico.

43 Maggi 2021, 51 fig. 13.

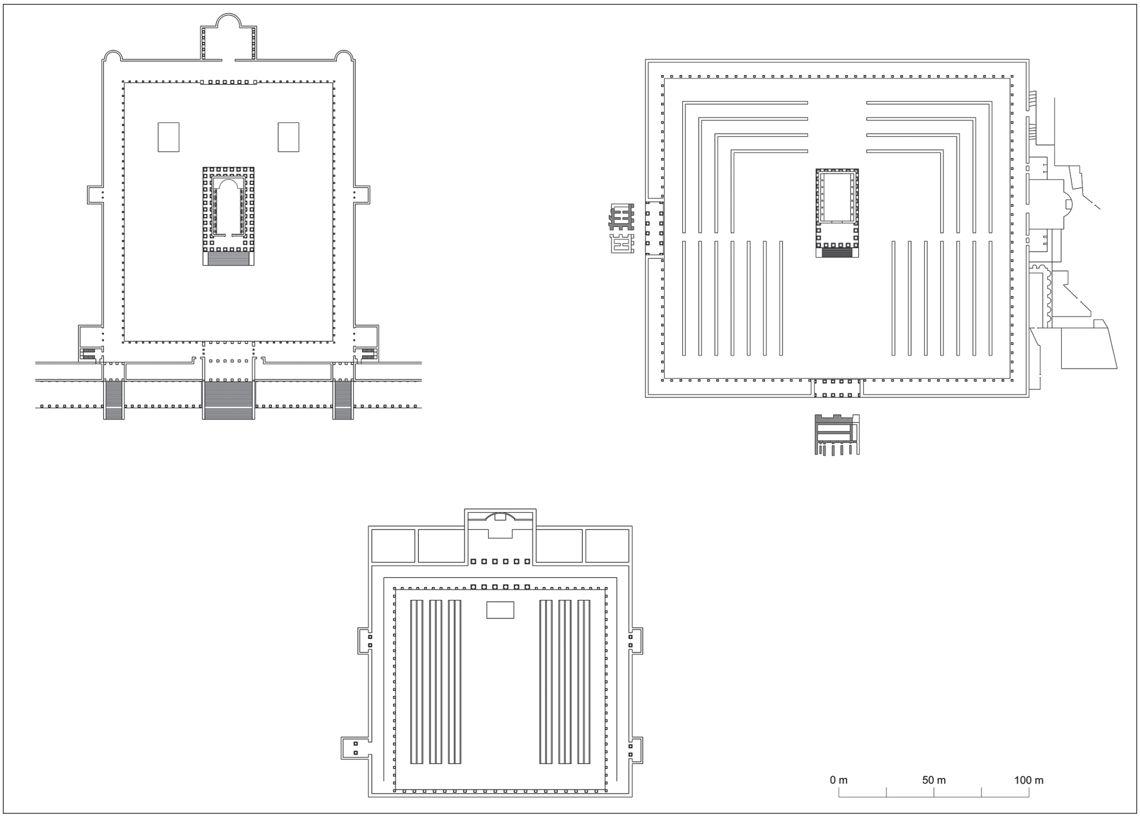

Fig. 4.6: Top left: Tarragona, upper forum, Flavian phase. Top right: Rome, Temple of Claudius, Vespasianic phase. Below: Rome, *Templum Pacis* (drawing by J. Á. Domingo).

aligned by constructing both on a podium[44]. Similarly, the forum of Brescia (A.D. 73) was built on the same level as a portico on a podium[45]. Lastly, the forum of Bavay, from the mid-2nd c. A.D., has a temple in the center of the piazza and, behind this, a hall (25 x 17.5 m) divided internally into three transversal naves[46]. In this case, the portico colonnade of the piazza sits on a podium with a height comparable to the podium of the temple[47].

An aligned circulation level between portico and hall-temple is evident even in some architectural complexes characterized by a temple in the center of the enclosure and, therefore, without a direct connection with the porticoes (rather than siting the hall at the back). The forum of Nyon, A.D. 30–50, contains a colonnaded portico on a podium 1.80 m high[48]; and the forum of Paris (2nd c. A.D.) sits the columns of the portico on a podium with a height comparable

44 Bögli 1989, 22–24. Built around A.D. 98, it is formed by a porticoed piazza of 106.80 x 76.65 m with the *aedes* included in the posterior portico, similar to the *Templum Pacis* (Gros 2001, 186 fig. 196). In the Gallic cases it is necessary to distinguish those examples in which the position of the temple at the back of the piazza derives from the Gallo-Roman tradition, where central plan and peristyle cells predominate, and where a porticoed piazza might signal the will of the local elites to fuse urban form with local tradition; for example, at Mars Mullo in *Gallia Lugdunensis* from the second half of the 1st c. A.D., or at Haut-Bécherel in the vicinity of Corseul at the beginning of the 2nd c. A.D. (Maligorne 2017, 201 and 203 figs 7 and 9).

45 Gros 2001, 185–87.

46 Balty 1989, 10–20; Byhet 2003, 209–28.

47 Thollard 1996, 39 and 49.

48 Hauser 1995, 122–23.

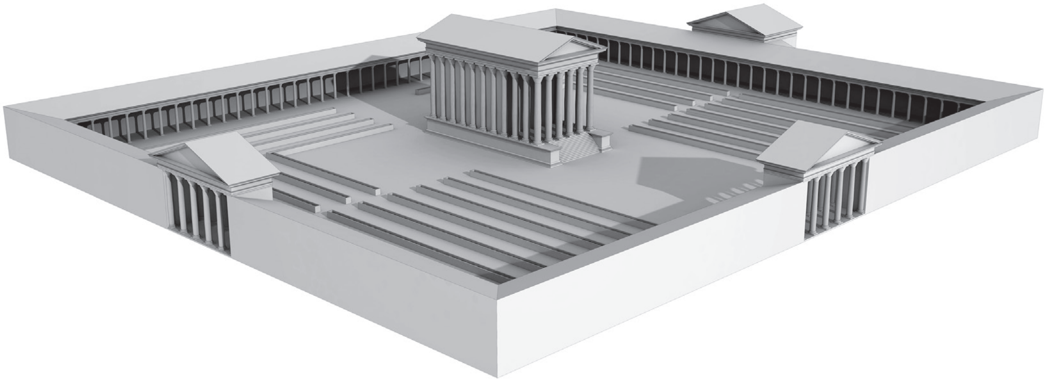

Fig. 4.7: Rome, Temple of Claudius, Vespasianic phase (model by J. Á. Domingo and J. R. Domingo).

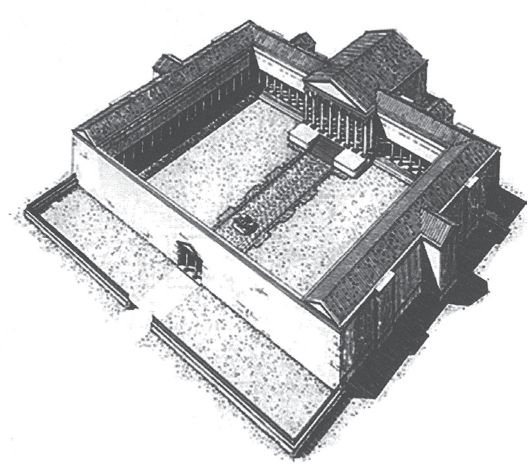

Fig. 4.8: *Aventicum*, sanctuary of Cigognier (reconstruction by Franck Devedjian 2019, Wikimedia Commons. Creative Commons BY-SA 4.0).

to that of the temple[49]. The "Grand Temple" d'Orange has a sacred building that dates between the second half of the 1st c. A.D. and the mid-2nd c. A.D. located inside a hemicycle piazza, in a layout remarkably similar to that of the Augustan sanctuary of Vernègues, both with a perimeter portico on a podium[50]. Finally, in *Hispania*, the remodeled Flavian forum of *Conimbriga* demonstrates similar features, with the columns of the portico on a podium 3.33 m high[51].

These innovative solutions, generated from a global model moving into a local context, could in turn be further refracted to produce supra-local and -regional models. This third scale of interpretation sits, in my opinion, between the first, 'global' and second, 'glocal', models. Such a phenomenon is clearly seen in the headquarters of the provincial forum of *Tarraco* (fig. 6, top left) – an enclosure built around the ancient Tiberian temple dedicated to Augustus that stood at the highest part of the city between the end of the Julio-Claudian period and the reign of Vespasian. The complex consisted of three terraces: the lower, occupied by a circus, the middle, by the so-called Plaza of Representation, and the upper, around the Temple of Augustus by the Plaza of Worship (fig. 4.9). The latter was formed by a new *temenos* that extended from the older Tiberian construction with a large propylon to access the terrace and, on the axis of the back side of the square, an imperial worship hall that probably also served as a provincial curia[52]. This hall, with its monumental façade open to the plaza and circulation level with that of the perimeter porticoes of the enclosure, was clearly

49 Busson 2019, 64–70.

50 Janon, Lafon and Paillet 2009, 123 fig. 8. Regarding this sanctuary of the Augustan period, see Agusta-Boularot, Badie and Laharie 2009, 131–58.

51 De Alarcão and Étienne 1973, 386–88. Regarding the Augustan, Julio-Claudian and Flavian phases of this forum, see Roth Congès 1987, 711–51; Correia 2013, 353–61.

52 Macias *et al.* 2010, 423–79; Mar, Ruiz de Arbulo and Vivó 2013, 25–41; Menchon 2020, 77.

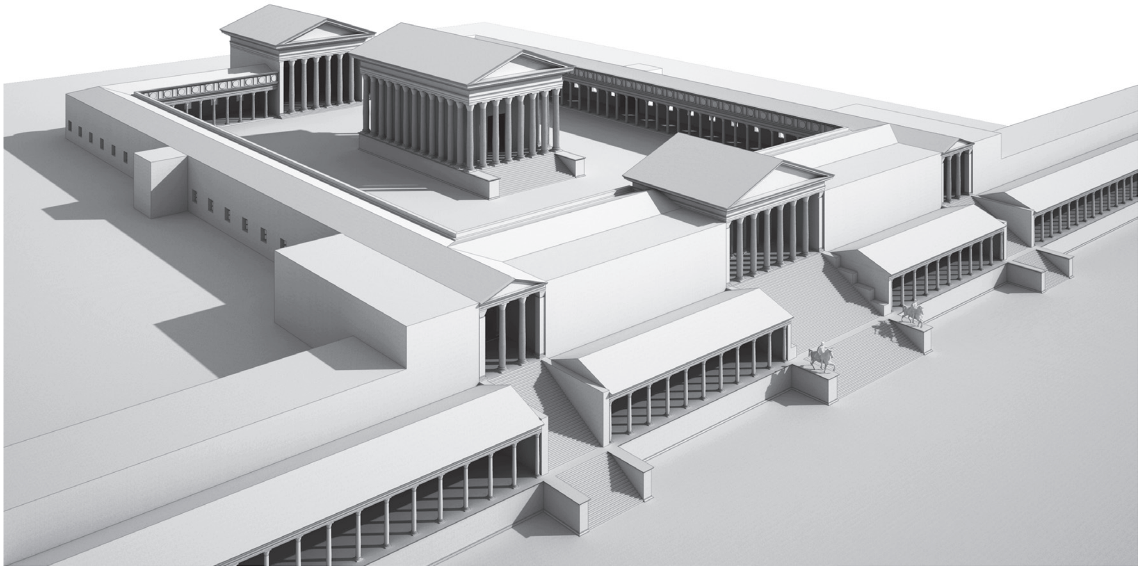

Fig. 4.9: Tarragona, upper forum, Flavian phase (model by J. Á. Domingo and J. R. Domingo).

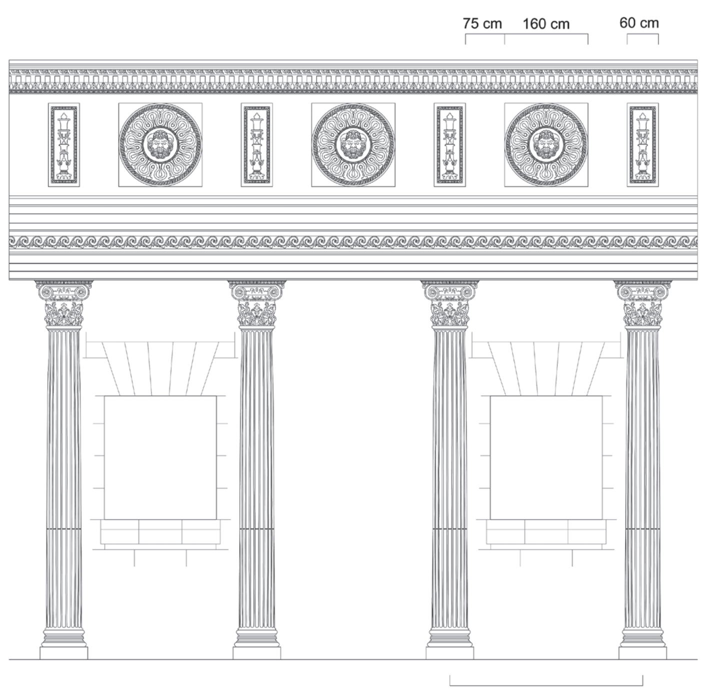

Fig. 4.10: Tarragona, upper forum, Flavian phase: decoration of the attic above the columns of the portico (drawing by J. Á. Domingo).

inspired by the model of the *Templum Pacis*[53]. Additionally, the portico of the piazza was crowned by an attic decorated with *clipei* (fig. 4.10), some perhaps reused from the earlier Tiberian *temenos* and including depictions of Jupiter Amun, Medusa and another unidentified bearded divinity[54].

The upper piazza is therefore a clear refraction of the *Templum Pacis* and shows how different variations were introduced into a global model to adapt it to a specific local context. In addition to the presence of a temple in the center of the plaza inherited from the earlier Tiberian phase, this includes the presence of windows in the perimeter wall of the complex – a design choice perhaps adapting the niches for the *summi viri* in the Forum of Augustus and in the "marble forum" of Merida to the specific needs of the *Tarraco* site, where the 11 m wide porticoes

53 Mar 1993, 107–56.

54 Koppel 1990, 336–39; Pensabene 1993, 89–97; Domingo and Pensabene 2024, 155–64.

of the piazza evolved into covered, light-filled processional routes[55]. Another variation can be detected in the frieze of the perimeter portico of the plaza, decorated with a 'can corrente' motif, an element with no parallel in other friezes. This has recently been interpreted as a symbolic allusion to the Scipiones, founders of the city, and to Augustus, to whom the piazza temple was dedicated[56]. An ideological programme was therefore employed in a glocal modality, adapted from the *Forum Pacis* in Rome.

Simultaneously, several other variants were introduced in the provincial forum of *Tarraco*, later refracted on a supra-provincial scale to generate new architectural models. Among these are:

1. The presence of composite column capitals in the portico and the propylon of the upper terrace. This architectural order is also found in the porticoes of several Gallic cities, such as the Forum of Aquileia[57], in the sacred area of the Forum of Nyon[58], in Trajan's Forum of Lyon, recently interpreted as a sanctuary[59], and in the sacred enclosure of *Nasium* (Leuques) in Belgium[60]. A composite capital volute in Córdoba has been suggested to bear affinity with examples from *Tarraco*, to the point of hypothesizing production by the same workshop[61]. It has been more recently suggested that this fragment of volute came from the *Forum Novum* complex, which would then be presided over by a Tiberian temple inside a square that could be from the Flavian period, thus reproducing an evolutionary scheme similar to the headquarters in *Tarraco*[62].
2. The presence of two *exedrae* closing the lateral porticoes on the back side of the forum, alike the scheme in the forum of Bavay, probably dating from the middle of the 2nd c. A.D.[63] This could have a precedent in the Julio-Claudian remodeling of the *Tempio con Portico* next to the forum of *Cuma*[64].
3. A decorative candelabra motif among the *clipei* that decorate the attic (fig. 4.10). The presence of caryatids cannot also be ruled out[65], with comparanda in Gallic cities such as Nyon[66],

55 Domingo and Pensabene 2024.

56 Domingo and Pensabene 2024, 137–42.

57 Casari 2004, 51–66, 77; Previato 2015, 62 fig. 23.

58 These are composite capitals made of local limestone in the early Julio-Claudian period, with a total height of 75 cm (Hauser 1995, 117–18). The Nyon forum is divided into two squares: a public piazza with the basilica at one end and a sacred one presided over by a temple. Both were separated by a staircase, a road that crossed the forum transversally, and a wall that obfuscated viewing the sacred area from the piazza (Rossi 1995, 20–24).

59 This is a group of composite capitals in local limestone dated between the Flavian period and the end of the 2nd c. A.D. They come from the area of the so-called forum, located on the Fourvière promontory, today interpreted as a sanctuary. The capitals, with a height of 89 cm, are associated with the portico of the enclosure (Fellague 2012, 205–55 with no. 7–8, figs 13–16 and 30).

60 This sacred enclosure, dating from the third quarter of the 1st c. A.D., consists of a porticoed piazza in the composite order and a central temple in the Corinthian order (Maligorne 2012, 520).

61 Márquez 1998, 99, 128, no. 876, lam. 15.4 and 16.1–2.

62 Peña 2009, 575; Portillo 2018. In a recent study carried out on this Cordovan complex, this possibility has not been taken into consideration, reconstructing the columns of the portico of the Corinthian order enclosure, Portillo 2018.

63 Balty 1989, 10–20; Byhet 2003, 209–28.

64 Bertoldi 1973, 38–42; Caputo *et al.* 2010, 153–56.

65 Domingo and Pensabene 2024, 167–68.

66 Bossert 2002, no. 26–27, lam. 32–33; Verzár 1977, pl. 25.3; Hauser 2012, 146 no. 10, fig. 136; Fuchs 2012, 458; Bozzi 2022, 124.

Avenches[67] and Arles[68]. While in these examples the candelabra are carved next to the *clipei*, without continuity and only on one of their sides[69], in *Tarraco* these form an independent decorative element and thus suggest a different interpretation.

A second piazza was added to the south of the *Tarraco* complex, without a temple and with a circus at its base corresponding to a model that refers to the Augustan complex in Rome of the Palatine Hill with the Circus Maximus[70]. Such a configuration is also present in Cordoba, where the so-called temple of Claudius Marcellus is formed by a piazza with a triportico around a hexastyle temple, in front of which there was a second plaza with a circus[71]. This second piazza of *Tarraco* also has its portico on a podium (fig. 4.9), which, as noted above, is a frequent variant in constructions in Gaul. At *Tarraco*, however, this podium appears completely detached from any temple and cannot therefore be interpreted along the same lines of level circulation between the temple and porticoes. This aspect of the complex shows the extent to which local agency and varied factors were at play during the refraction of a model through glocalization processes.

It is therefore clear that numerous variants of the *Tarraco* complex are found in other cities, especially in Gaul. The best parallel is, in fact, found in the forum at Arles (fig. 4.5), where the same compositional scheme is reproduced, consisting of a piazza with a perimeter portico on a podium (and possible temple inside) to which the *forum adiectum* was added at a higher level accessed by a staircase and propylon[72]. This *forum adiectum* had a narrow square with two *exedrae* at either end giving access to a larger porticoed enclosure presided over by a central temple of similar proportions to those of Mars Ultor. Its perimeter portico was also most probably supported by an attic decorated with *clipei*[73].

Conclusion

This chapter shows how the adoption of Rome's imperial architecture does not necessarily take the form a diffusionist scheme, where a global model was imitated to varying degrees of success in provincial cities. Rather, it was a dialogue, that might be analyzed using the concept of refraction between global model and local substrate to produce diverse glocal results[74.] In adopting these

67 Bossert 1998, 45–46 no. 19a–b and 19c; Verzár 1977, 14–16 no. 21–23; Bridel 2015, 135–36 no. 26, 29, 49 and 40, figs 110–15.

68 Gros 1987, 359; id. 2006, 117; id. 2008, 48–50 dates these to the first third of the 1st c. A.D. and probably Tiberian, while others interpret them as Julio-Claudian or Vespasianic (Verzár 1977, 40; Kleinwächter 2001, 145–66; Peña 2009, 576–77; Rosso 2011, 202; Goldbeck 2015, 97–98 fig. 138). The early interpretation, based on the hypothesis of Verzár Bass for the *clipei* from the sanctuary of Grange des Dîmes de Avenches, that placed these pieces on the podium of the temple can be discarded (Gros 1987, 357–60; id. 2008, 48–50).

69 Reconstructions of these Gallic pieces and their possible arrangement in the attic of various enclosures still present interpretative challenges, see Domingo and Pensabene 2021, 53–57; id. 2024, 142–55.

70 Martin and Rovira 2009, 45–50.

71 Royo 2009, 26–27.

72 The columns of the perimeter portico are more than 8 m high with capitals that can be dated to 25 B.C. (Heijmans, Rouquette and Sintès 2006, 58–59). The cryptoporticus of this forum protruded above the circulation level of the piazza, creating a sort of raised podium (Amy 1973, 275–91).

73 Gros 1987, 359.

74 In a similar sense to Bendala 2006, 289–292, who observes that models coming from Rome to *Hispania*, not only architectural but cultural, legal and so on, coexisted with a prior reality without necessarily displacing or erasing it.

models, distinct characteristics persist to various degrees, probably due to differing capacities to evoke a certain global model important to the commissioning agent. The most common include monumental proportions, the presence of large columned orders, use of certain materials, and the reproduction of specific decorative motifs. Other features enjoyed greater freedom. This can be seen occasionally in the plan and layout of temples inside the porticoed enclosure, a situation that changes in the enclosures linked to the *Templum Pacis* where the position of the worship hall at the back of the piazza is a fundamental characteristic of the whole complex and is, therefore, more faithfully reproduced. The evidence suggests that models most similar to the global prototypes were produced in cities that possessed a higher legal status; perhaps, as argued already, because their elites were more intricately linked by family ties and interests with the aristocracies of the Urbs that they wanted to emulate[75]. In these cases, local contexts and desires exerted less resistance to the implementation of an overarching global schema.

Any subsequent analysis of the configuration of provincial forums must consider mechanisms of refraction during, for example, glocalization processes, the generation of glocalities, and simultaneously the capacity and agency of local elements to evoke a certain model. Other aspects that were influential in the generation of glocalities to various degrees should also be elevated in analyses. This might include different commissioners and their relations with central power structures and the administration of the province, the available economic resources which could facilitate or hinder the emulation of certain urban models, regional topography, ease of access to certain materials and so on. The analytical angle pursued in this chapter opens new avenues and possibilities to comprehend the development of the forum in provincial cities, nuancing our understanding according to a scheme that goes beyond traditional definitions of Romanization.

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75 Marfil Vázquez 2022, 277–78.

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Chapter 5
Glocalizing the Pantheon: Empire and Innovation in Roman Construction Technology

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Abstract: This chapter examines the transformation of Roman construction practices within the framework of imperial hegemony, exploring the intersection of globalization and imperialism. Traditional views on Romanization and Hellenization have evolved, with recent scholarship shifting towards globalization and glocalization to account for cultural interactions in the Roman world. While globalization offers a nuanced view of increased connectivity and its effects on cultural and material practices, it often overlooks the power dynamics inherent in imperialism. This chapter introduces "imperialization" as a concept that bridges the gap between globalization's focus on connectivity and imperialism's attention to power structures. By focusing on key innovations in Roman building technology—such as opus caementicium, opus reticulatum, brick-faced concrete and the concrete dome—the chapter highlights how these developments were deeply rooted in the wealth and power inequalities fostered by Roman imperialism. Moreover, the spread of these technologies illustrates the glocal nature of imperialization, where local practices and materials shaped the adoption and adaptation of imperial innovations. Ultimately, this chapter offers a more precise analytical framework for understanding the impact of Roman imperial hegemony on technological practices, emphasizing both the imperial and local dimensions of change.

Introduction

The spread of Roman imperial hegemony over the Mediterranean and Europe in the last centuries B.C. and the first centuries A.D. has long been associated with profound cultural and material changes – both in the traditional imperial heartland in central Italy, and in conquered areas. These changes were long primarily seen in terms of what has recently been referred to as 'methodological nationalism'[1]. In this tradition, the cultural and material changes that accompanied and followed Roman conquest of the Italian peninsula, and, later, large parts of Europe, would be discussed in terms of 'Romanization' or 'becoming Roman'[2]. Likewise, scholars have argued that after Rome had conquered the Aegean and extended its rule over the Hellenistic kingdoms of Greece, Asia Minor and the Near East in the 2nd c. B.C., Roman culture went through a process of 'Hellenization', in which it absorbed key ideas, practices and symbols from the Greek world[3].

The limitations of this 20th c. terminology are now widely acknowledged, and from the later 1990s onwards, scholars have increasingly begun to look at processes of cultural interaction in the Roman world through more generic and flexible terms, such as 'acculturation', 'creolization', and even, simply, 'identity'[4]. After the turn of the millennium, scholars also began to explore the (post-national) concept of globalisation[5]. While most alternatives to Romanization failed to stick around, globalisation theory has become a key framework for studying cultural interaction in

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1 Cf. Hanscam 2019; Pitts 2021.

2 E.g., see Millett 1992; Mattingly 2004; Roth 2007; Versluys 2014.

3 Hellenization: e.g., Wallace-Hadrill 1998.

4 See the discussion in Versluys 2014. See also Mattingly 2004; id. 2024.

5 Early examples include Hingley 2005; Geraghty 2007. On the relation between globalisation theory and postnational thinking see Hanscam 2019, 3.

the Roman world, particularly for scholars wishing to emphasise the quantity and quality of connectivity[6].

In recent years, the emergence of new materialist approaches has put an increasing emphasis on the ways in which the mobility of objects and visual styles reflect cultural change. Thus, in a series of publications, Martin Pitts has used artefact assemblages to understand transformations in material culture in Northwestern Europe in the period following Roman conquest[7]. Miguel-John Versluys has repeatedly highlighted the ways in which visual style played a crucial role in cultural interaction in the Hellenistic and Roman Mediterranean[8]. Indeed, their co-authored 2021 article on 'objectscapes' theorises about the material impact of globalisation on the basis of precisely these two analytical perspectives[9]. It is in the wake of this growing interest in globalisation theory that scholars have recently begun to embrace the concept of 'glocalisation' to highlight the way in which global developments materialised at the local level in often quite specific ways[10].

Imperialization: Between Globalization and Imperialism

The globalizing, new materialist perspectives of Versluys, Pitts and several others have attracted substantial criticism in recent years, particularly because they have somewhat tended to obfuscate the violence and power inequalities associated with Roman imperialism[11]. While this criticism is partially well-founded, it should be acknowledged that globalization theory has, thus far, offered the most nuanced, and most credible alternative to methodological nationalism for exploring processes of change in the Roman world: it brings together, in one framework, a cause – increased connectivity – and an effect – changes in cultural and material practice. Unlike the notion of imperialism, which is mostly preoccupied with states and state actors, globalization is able to work across scales, being sensitive at the level of everyday practice as well as at the broader, structural or state-level[12]. Moreover, unlike Romanization, globalization, as a concept, can function more-or-less independently of historical context, thus making it much easier to connect debates about developments in the Roman world to developments happening in other historical contexts. This makes the study of changing cultural practice in the Roman Empire less parochial. We can now credibly draw on developments in, e.g., late 20th c. Indonesia to conceptualize cultural interaction in the Roman world – and that is a meaningful step forward[13].

Nevertheless, some challenges remain. One of these concerns the marginal role played, in current scholarship, by the limits of connectivity and cultural interaction. As was true for Romanization, globalization has mostly been studied in contexts where connectivity can be observed in the evidence, and its working has predominantly been studied through media and

6 For the Roman world see particularly Pitts and Versluys 2015.

7 Pitts 2019; id. 2021.

8 Versluys 2015; id. 2017a; id. 2017b.

9 Pitts and Versluys 2021.

10 See the introduction to this volume. On glocalisation in Roman archaeology see Montoya González 2020; id. 2021.

11 Fernández-Götz *et al.* 2020; Gardner 2020; Mol 2023, 716–7; Gardner 2024, 10–1.

12 Cf. Mattingly's definition of imperialism as 'the process and attitudes by which an empire is established and maintained' (Mattingly 2011, 6).

13 The example of Indonesia was used by Versluys 2021, 41–2.

ideas that can move large distances without much difficulty. The small mobile artefacts and visual styles that have recently dominated scholarly discourse are no neutral signifiers: both spread with relative ease. Thus, it is relatively easy to point to the occurrence of similar objects and styles in localities far apart, and to use these as a proxy for globalization and its impact. For instance, Carol van Driel-Murray identified parallel developments in styles of footwear decoration in places as far apart as Britain and Egypt[14]. Textiles, glass and pottery had an equally broad geographical reach, with similar products occurring in wildly different places. Artefacts and styles can spread relatively easily through social, political and economic networks: artefacts spread because they can often literally be carried by people, and styles because they are portable within people's minds as knowledge or ideas or on traveling artefacts.

The emphasis on mobile objects and ideas can result in confirmation bias: we see cultural interaction because we are looking at it through media that will easily show it. In reality, not all social and cultural practices and phenomena could (or did) respond in such a straightforward way to increasing connectivity. In practice, the social and geographical spread of artifacts was influenced by their price and their physical mobility. Thus, small and (relatively) cheap red-slip ceramics can travel to more places and over greater distances than pricy, large and heavy marble statuary like the Small Herculaneum Woman. By consequence, the two spread over the Roman world in a completely different way: the former quickly became an empire-wide phenomenon, to be found in many places and socioeconomic contexts[15]; the latter remained mostly limited to the Mediterranean and its immediate environs, and restricted to contexts with a wealthy land-owning elite[16]. In addition, small portable objects and visual styles travelled much larger distances than the artisanal practices associated with their production. For instance, the clustering of the specialized craft knowledge needed to make high-quality red slipware in a limited number of production centers contrasts with the spread of the actual objects over vast areas[17]. Similarly, the skills associated with blowing transparent glass never spread in antiquity beyond the borders of the Roman empire, while Roman glass can be found all over Afro-Eurasia[18]. Geographies of technological expertise and practice, thus, differed from geographies of material consumption, and appear to have remained more concentrated, accentuated and fragmented.

Studies of connectivity and globalization in the Roman world should therefore aim to be more sensitive to the limits of mobility, because these made that global processes of increased connectivity resulted in sharply divergent local assemblages of objects, ideas and practices, even if many localities participated in the same visual and material koine. It is here that the concept of glocalization becomes significant in studying processes of globalization, as it centralizes such distinctions between different localities. Without friction, there would be much less space for a concept like glocalization.

A second, more fundamental, issue with the use of globalization theory in Roman context follows from this: assigning analytical weight to the limits of mobility makes it relevant to understand the shape and dynamics of the networks that facilitate mobility in the first place. Here,

14 van Driel-Murray 2016.

15 See Pitts' 'object revolutions' of Julio-Claudian Gaul (Pitts 2019; id. 2021).

16 On the spread of the Small Herculaneum Woman, see Trimble 2011.

17 Renowned centers of production include Arezzo in Late-Republican Italy, and La Graufesenque and Lezoux in Early Imperial Gaul. See Van Oyen 2015; id. 2016.

18 On the mobility of Roman glass, see Mairs 2012. On the glass-blowing revolution, see Stern 1999; Larson 2019.

globalization has a baked-in weakness, as it basically takes increased connectivity as the prime mover of cultural change without assigning weight to the historical developments that actually generated and shaped that connectivity[19]. This is problematic in principle, but especially so in the ancient Mediterranean world, where longer-running processes of increasing connectivity driven by, amongst other things, Iron Age maritime technology and urbanization were, from the 3rd c. B.C. onwards, significantly reshaped and redirected by Hellenistic and Roman imperialism[20]. While it is easily possible to see these imperialisms themselves as forms of globalization (as Versluys has suggested)[21], this does not solve the problem: even if what is happening within empires can be analyzed in terms of globalization, it is a very specific form of globalization, characterized by the presence of centralized (and centralizing), 'imperial' networks that shaped not only the nature of cultural interaction within the empire, but also had a significant impact on distributions of wealth, power and status – both locally, and at an empire-wide level. Empires can therefore be expected to add a twist to existing and emerging connectivities that is potentially fundamental to understanding the direction of social, economic and cultural transformations. Globalization theory is not designed to give pride of place to these imperial twists and turns, and the power inequalities they generated. Globalization, unqualified, is too imprecise to make sense of what is happening within, and because of, empires.

A key problem is that there is a conceptual gap between the practice-focused but power-blind concept of 'globalization' and the power-sensitive but state-focused concept of 'imperialism'. This chapter uses the history of innovation in Roman construction practice to explore an alternative, more precise concept that bridges this gap. Technological innovation offers a useful vantage point for exploring these issues, but has so far played no meaningful role in debates about globalization and imperialism in the Roman world. Nevertheless, recent scholarship has implicitly embraced something resembling a globalization paradigm in discussing the impact of the Roman empire on technological development: several scholars have championed the idea that the unification of the Mediterranean and parts of Europe under Roman rule generated a one-off cross-fertilization in which knowledge from multiple regions began to circulate in one empire-wide network, and thus could be combined in novel ways, leading to new practices and ideas[22]. The history of Roman building technology, however, does not sit comfortably within this model: key innovations in construction practice were unrelated to the increasing circulation of knowledge in globalizing Mediterranean networks. On the contrary, these innovations seem to appear intimately entangled with Rome's political hegemony, and therefore need to be understood through a conceptual lens that acknowledges the central role of empire in their coming about.

It is proposed here that the concept of 'imperialization' offers such a lens. Imperialization – the process of 'becoming imperial' – captures the changes to everyday practice that take place within and around empires and are caused or shaped by imperial hegemony, emerging or flourishing. It acknowledges that the very process of imperial conquest and growth could (and often did) have a transformative impact both in areas that were conquered and in the social, political and

19 Morley 2015, 66 sees this lack of causality as a positive feature of globalization for the study of certain economic phenomena.

20 On first millennium BC Mediterranean connectivity, see Isayev 2015, 128–30; Sommer 2015, 177–83. See also Purcell 2006.

21 Versluys 2021, 38.

22 See especially Scheidel 2009, 00; Erdkamp 2020; Terpstra 2020.

cultural heartland of emerging empires. In many ways, imperialization resembles globalization, with the fundamental difference that it takes empire formation rather than connectivity as the starting point for studying changing practices. In a Roman context, imperialization also resembles Romanization, which holds a similar link to empire formation. Unlike Romanization, however, the concept of imperialization can be used outside a Roman context, and is less intrinsically preoccupied with cultural interaction between center and periphery – the social and economic consequences of empire formation can be assigned proper interpretative weight, and change in the center matters as much as change in conquest zones. 'Romanization' and 'Hellenization' can both be seen as signaling the becoming imperial of the Roman world. Moreover, contrary to 'imperialism', 'imperialization' describes a (dynamic) process, not a (static) phenomenon[23]. This makes it possible to capture how the Roman state and Roman cultural attitudes became 'imperial', and it also offers the freedom to move significantly beyond the sphere of the state; imperialization also includes the emerging inequalities between private individuals brought about by empires, and the emergence of broadly shared, 'imperialized' everyday practices and ideas that spread through the imperial networks holding an empire together.

As a concept, 'imperialization' blends easily with the broader framework of globalization theory: conceptually, it can be seen as a form of globalization that is specific to empires. This also means that, like globalization, imperialization is an uneven process that affects different places in different ways and to a different extent. By consequence, one can expect its effects to be *glocal* in nature, combining global, 'imperial' elements related to the social, economic and cultural developments taking place on a larger geographical scale, with local features rooted in the micro-historical level of acting individuals and social groups in particular localities and their ecological environment. This chapter will argue that in understanding the appearance of innovations in Roman construction technology, and their subsequent spread over the Roman world, both the imperial and the local dimension are of key importance. The argument will unfold in two main steps. The following pages discuss the historical environments in which four key innovations in Roman imperial building practice emerged. A close reading of these innovations highlights both their tight-knit association with imperial power inequalities, and the local character of their first appearance. The latter section analyzes the ways in which new construction technologies subsequently spread beyond their place of emergence. This analysis will make clear that the spread of the new, 'imperial' construction technologies through imperial networks was not straightforward, as innovations had to be connected to local building traditions and materials. Taken together, these sections offer a view on the impact of Roman imperial hegemony on everyday technological practice that neither sits easily with globalization theory and its emphasis on connectivity, nor can be understood in terms of imperialism and its emphasis on the state and its interests.

The Imperialization of Roman Construction Practice

The evolution of construction technology in the Roman world has been a staple of Roman archaeology since the later 19th c., but a number of 'classics' mid- and late 20th c. accounts still loom heavily over the field[24]. This is particularly true for the monumental volumes produced

23 Mattingly emphasizes that imperialism should be seen as dynamic, not static, but this is an interpretation imposed on rather than intrinsic to the word itself (Mattingly 2011, 6).

24 Early accounts include Nissen 1877; Carrington 1933.

by Lugli and Blake in the decades following the second world-war[25]. Based on the canonical evidence from, mostly, Central Italy, these works cemented a narrative about the evolution of Roman building technology that, by and large, remains normative in Roman archaeology today, even if subsequent scholarship has done much to finetune the histories of particular technologies and practices. Thus, work by Coarelli and Torelli deepened our understanding of late-Republican developments, while a long series of publications by Janet DeLaine focused on brick-faced concrete of the imperial period[26]. Important work by Lynne Lancaster has addressed the history of concrete vaulting in the Roman Empire[27], while a recent monograph by Marcello Mogetta has recalibrated the early history of concrete in Roman Italy[28]. Many more contributions could be mentioned[29]. The central narrative that has informed most of this scholarship can perhaps best be thought of as 'the road to the Pantheon'. This narrative approaches the gradual development of Roman building technology from the vantage point of the highly complex brick-faced, vaulted and domed concrete building practice of the imperial Roman metropolis, which culminated in the construction of the Pantheon in the A.D. 120s[30]. The Pantheon was a unique building, designed at the limits of the technological know-how of its time, but the road to its construction was paved by an accumulation of innovations in construction practice that had emerged in the centuries following Rome's conquest of the Mediterranean, including concrete, pre-fabricated, standardized building materials, brick and the concrete dome. The following sections assess these developments in their historical context with special attention paid to emerging imperial hegemony.

The appearance of opus caementicium

The invention of *opus caementicium* was of course a watershed development in Roman building technology. In concrete walls, stability was no longer produced by the shape and the placement of carefully prepared blocks of stone, but rather depended on the quality of the mortar used to bind the stones together. Recent work by Marcello Mogetta has reliably dated the first larger-scale application of this technique in the later 2nd c. B.C[31]. According to Mogetta, the appearance of concrete in the city of Rome should be seen as linked to a wealthy and politically ambitious social elite that increasingly used monumental construction – of houses and public buildings – as a key strategy in socio-political competition[32]. One can argue that the link between the new technique and the emergence of new architectural forms on a monumental scale directly connects the development of concrete to the impact of imperial hegemony on construction practice in Rome. Concrete, as a technology, matured and spread in Italy in the period following the conquest of large parts of the Mediterranean by Rome, and it did so through the building activities of the people that profited most directly from this emerging hegemony, and who used their newly acquired imperial wealth to construct private and public buildings that, in scale and complexity,

25 Blake 1947; Lugli 1957; Blake 1959; id.1973.

26 DeLaine 1996; id. 1997; id. 2001; id. 2002; id. 2006.

27 Lancaster 1998; id. 1999; id. 2000; id. 2005; id. 2015.

28 Mogetta 2015; id. 2016; id. 2021.

29 E.g., see also Adam 1994; Peterse 1999; Wilson 2006; Van Oyen 2017; Dessales 2022; Trümper and Maschek 2022. See also some of my own earlier work, Flohr 2016; id. 2022; id. 2023a.

30 On the construction of the Pantheon, see Marder and Wilson Jones 2015; Hetland 2015.

31 Mogetta 2015; id. 2016; id. 2019; id. 2021.

32 Mogetta 2015; id. 2021, 85–90.

Fig. 5.1: Pompeii, so-called *Domus Cornelia* (VIII 4, 14–16.22–23), later 2nd c. B.C. *opus incertum* in the *atrium* (photo: Miko Flohr).

were unlike anything constructed previously. At Pompeii, the picture is comparable: *opus incertum* first appeared in mid to late 2nd c. B.C. building projects of the urban elite, which served the construction of urban palaces on a scale hitherto unknown[33]. These large peristyle houses, like the House of the Faun, the *Insula Arriana Polliana*, and the Domus Cornelia (fig. 5.1), must be seen as products of imperial hegemony. Even though Pompeii, at the time, was not formally part of the emerging Roman empire, it profited enormously from the influx of imperial wealth in central Italy – both directly (through booty) and indirectly (through increased demand for regional products like wine from the Roman market)[34]. Thus, both in Rome and in Pompeii, concrete became a leading construction technique in the immediate wake of Roman imperial conquest. Without the post-conquest construction booms in central Italy, the history of concrete would have developed dramatically differently. For that reason, Roman concrete should, I argue, be seen as an *imperial* technology: it was brought to prominence by the direct socio-economic repercussions of imperial hegemony. At the same time, its initial appearance was a profoundly local phenomenon, limited to the two volcanic regions that happened to be at the heart of Rome's emerging empire.

The emergence of standardized building materials

A subsequent innovation, later in the 2nd c. B.C., concerned the increasingly formalized separation of the preparation of building materials from the actual construction of the walls[35].

33 Mogetta 2016; id. 2021, 138–45.

34 Flohr and Wilson 2017.

35 The classic account remains Coarelli 1977. See also Torelli 1980.

Fig. 5.2: Ostia, so-called *Taberne Repubblicane* (I xi 1), late 1st c. B.C. *opus reticulatum* in the side-walls (photo: Miko Flohr).

This meant that the *caementa* that constituted the outer facing of concrete walls could more easily be produced independently of building projects – at a different place, in advance, and by different people. Some have drawn a link with the increased availability of slave labor[36]. The separation of materials preparation and construction went hand in hand with a process of regularization in which, eventually, builders would use mass produced and completely regular *caementa* or *cubilia*. Eventually, this process resulted in walls with fully regularized facings that are commonly referred to as *opus reticulatum*. Scholars have argued that *opus reticulatum* emerged gradually over the course of the (very) late 2nd c. B.C., in the city of Rome; by the mid-1st c. B.C., fully regular *opus reticulatum* became the leading building technique in Rome and its immediate environs (fig. 5.2), and in the imperial period, builders tended to use mass-produced *cubilia* made by means of a saw[37]. The attractiveness of *opus reticulatum* lies not only in the fact that the on-site building process can be done more quickly and with a less-skilled work force, but also, and perhaps especially, in the fact that it makes it possible to use the building season more effectively. *Cubilia* can be prepared off-season in quarries, so that no time needs to be wasted on materials preparation when the weather was good enough for construction[38]. Like concrete, *opus reticulatum* was a truly new practice, without any clear precedent outside of its context of emergence, and, as several scholars have argued, its emergence is closely linked to the specific building economy that emerged in

36 Cf. Coarelli 1977, 18.

37 On the dominance of reticulate from the mid-1st c. B.C. onwards, see Torelli 1980, 141–2. On the use of saws, see DeLaine 2001, 241.

38 For a more detailed discussion of this idea see also Flohr 2025, 100–4.

Fig. 5.3: Pompeii, façade along Via dell Abbondanza with mid-1st c. A.D. *opus latericium* (photo: Miko Flohr).

the Roman metropolis of the late 2nd c. B.C., which combined a high demand for architectural production with a large, but mostly unskilled labor force[39]. This situation, of course, has very little to do with increasing connectivity, but all the more with imperial wealth and inequality, which were responsible for the demand for architecture and for the supply of cheap labor.

The integration of brick

Understanding the historical role of brick in this practice of building concrete walls with standardized building materials is a bit less straightforward. Fired clay was a common construction material in Hellenistic Italy, and the first use of brick in concrete walls at Pompeii can be dated to the first decades of the 1st c. B.C., but it seems undisputable that Roman builders did not, structurally, begin to embrace brick before the imperial period[40]. In Pompeii, some of the Augustan era public buildings use brick in corners and door posts, including the Temple of Fortuna Augusta, but most walls using brick throughout date to the last decades of the town's existence (fig. 5.3). The earliest use of brick-faced concrete in Rome is in the House of Augustus[41]. In the Roman metropolis, however, the definitive breakthrough of brick as the leading building material came only very late in the 1st c. A.D. – possibly well after the Neronian fire[42]. In Ostia, brick does not seem to have become dominant in walls until the Trajanic period[43]. The reason for

39 Coarelli 1977, 18; Torelli 1980, 156.

40 On Hellenistic uses of brick, see Östborn and Gerding 2015; Bonetto 2016.

41 On the use of bricks in this house, see Gallocchio 2019. For the first phase of brick construction in Rome, see Lugli 1957, 585–7.

42 Past scholars have taken the Neronian fire of A.D. 64 as a turning point (e.g., Blake 1959, 11). However, the impact of this event should not be overblown: cf. Flohr 2025, 108.

43 Earlier buildings at Ostia tend to use *opus reticulatum* of tuff, with corners and door posts in *opus vittatum* of the same material. Cf. Calza and Becatti 1953, 115–22.

this somewhat fuzzy history of brick is perhaps mostly practical: though brick is a convenient and flexible construction material, it depends on a complex supply economy that only can flourish in situations when there is, structurally, a high demand, and when larger-scale sources of clay are easily accessible to building elites. Around Rome, large-scale brick-production in the Tiber Valley only accelerated in the 1st c. A.D., and it seems clear that (imperial) property accumulation by Roman elites played a key role in this process[44]. It is therefore again not so much the circulation of ideas that brought about a critical innovation in construction practice, but rather the emergence of a financially powerful imperial elite. Thus, like *opus reticulatum*, brick-faced concrete must be seen as dependent on Roman imperial hegemony for its emergence.

The first experiments with domes

A fourth element in the assemblage of technologies that facilitated the construction of the Pantheon was the concrete dome. Here, the quantity of evidence makes it hard to come up with a detailed picture of historical development: true domes always remained exceptional features, and domes antedating the construction of the Pantheon by any meaningful margin are particularly rare. Indeed, the so-called Temple of Mercury at Baiae, is the only certain example – its dome is commonly dated to the late 1st c. B.C. or the (early) 1st c. A.D. (fig. 5.4)[45]. From the Roman metropolis and its surroundings, the earliest example is the much smaller dome above the octagonal hall of Nero's Domus Aurea, with no others antedating the Pantheon[46]. This may not be entirely coincidental. The region around the Bay of Naples appears to have been a hotspot of experimentation and innovation in architecture, particularly in the context of the coastal luxury villas of the Roman senatorial elite[47]. Roman authors mention the 1st c. B.C. invention of the hypocaust and fishpond in this context; the Bay of Naples clearly was an environment that would have been able to generate such an innovation. Furthermore, the extremely light-weight volcanic stone that became part and parcel of Roman domes above a certain size was abundantly available in the region, was along with an established tradition of building with it that did not exist to the same extent in Rome[48]. Indeed, petrographic analysis highlights how, from the 1st c. B.C. onwards, large-scale vaults, half-domes and domes in the Roman metropolis were in fact constructed with light-weight volcanic pumice from the north slopes of Vesuvius and from the Campi Flegrei volcanos around Puteoli, not from the volcanic deposits in the direct hinterland or Rome[49]. This suggests that the people building these large-scale vaults and (half) domes in Rome were following a construction practice that had been developed in the Bay of Naples. Taken together, this puts the development of the Roman concrete dome as an architectural technique firmly in the sphere of imperial hegemony, invented in the circles around the senatorial elite and facilitated by the enormous wealth amassed by this group of people. It should therefore be seen in the context of the architectural innovations associated with the luxury villas of leading Roman senators.

44 Torelli 1980, 159.

45 Lancaster 2005, 141. See also Lugli 1957, 687; Rasch 1985, 118.

46 On the octagonal hall of the Domus Aurea, see Lancaster 2005, 141–4.

47 Cf. Flohr 2023a, 139.

48 E.g., the late 2nd and early 1st c. B.C. uses of red *cruma* in Pompeian *opus incertum*, for instance in the *atrium* of the Domus Cornelia (VIII 4, xx), and in VI 14, 21–22 (Flohr 2005, 41).

49 Lancaster 2005, 222–4; Lancaster *et al.* 2011.

Fig. 5.4: Baiae, so-called Temple of Mercury, dome (photo: Miko Flohr).

Imperial Technologies, Local Realities

The example of the concrete dome is a good starting point for the second step in this argument, which concerns the fate of innovations after their first appearance. A product of the senatorial elite, the idea of the concrete dome came to the world well-anchored in the networks of the Roman ruling class, which shaped its subsequent history: *all* Roman domes larger and later than the Temple of Mercury at Baiae can be more-or-less directly associated with the imperial elite. A large majority of known concrete domes were even constructed in Rome, its direct environs, or on the northern shore of the Bay of Naples, and almost all larger-scale concrete domes that were constructed either after the 2nd c. A.D. or outside central Italy were built directly by the emperor himself or by people close to the imperial regime. The (full) concrete dome, in other words, was a spectacular architectural invention, but the know-how needed to construct it remained limited to an extremely small circle of people whose expertise was deeply rooted in the volcanic material reality of central Italy. Constructing domes outside this context was challenging, and often led to tinkering and compromises. A good example can be found in Pergamon, where the temple of Asklepios, a donation of L. Cuspius Pactumeius Rufinus, consul in 146 A.D., and directly modelled after the Pantheon, is believed to have had a dome constructed in solid brick – unheard of in 2nd c. A.D. Italy (fig. 5.5)[50]. As already observed by Ward-Perkins, this was 'a Roman design carried out in a building tradition of which the immediate antecedents were local, but which in matters of vaulting was prepared to assimilate and adapt a material, kiln-baked brick, which

50 On the construction of this temple and its dome, see Rasch 1985, 125; Yegül and Favro 2019, 646.

Fig. 5.5: Pergamon, Temple of Asklepios (photo: Francesca Tronchin).

was also derived from Rome'[51]. The confrontation of a 'global', imperial architectural idea – the concrete dome – with local building traditions in Asia Minor resulted in a *glocal* compromise, which, in turn, is thought to have offered an anchoring point for later builders, including those involved in constructing the rotunda of Galerius in Thessaloniki[52].

Similar phenomena can be observed with the other three innovations discussed previously: the spread of these technologies beyond the site of their initial emergence was never straightforward and always led to delays or adaptations. This was often because the construction materials on which new construction technologies depended were not available outside the region of origin, while locally available alternatives had different characteristics, necessitating alternative solutions. In such cases, the result was often a compromise between imperial innovations and locally established practices or local material (geological) circumstances. The following pages illustrate this through three examples: the spread of concrete; diffusion of *opus reticulatum*; and use of brick-faced concrete.

The peristyle houses of late Republican Paestum

While the precise chronology of urban development at Paestum remains badly understood, there is little doubt that, at some point in the later Republican period, the city was transformed through

51 Ward-Perkins 1981, 277.

52 Delvoye 1976, 236.

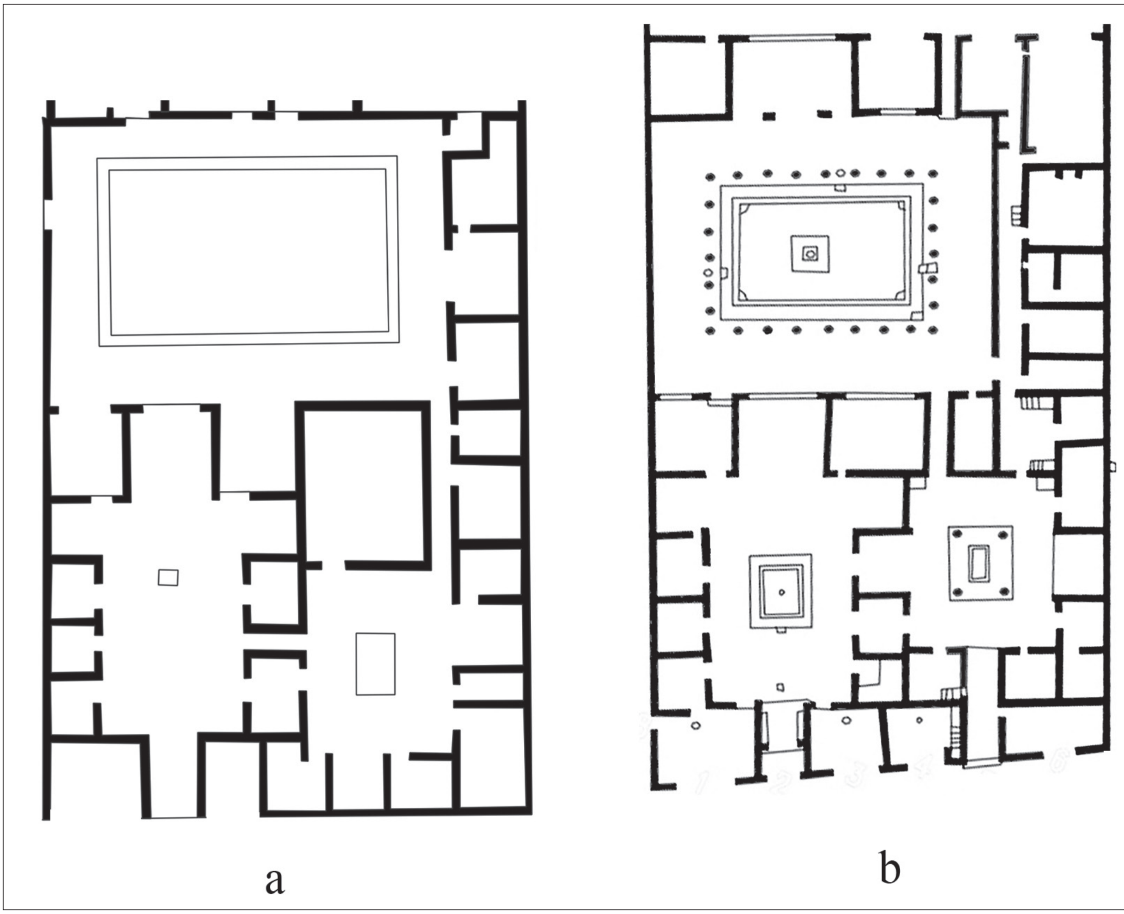

Fig. 5.6: (a) Paestum, House with two *atria*; (b) Pompeii, house of the Faun (image: Miko Flohr).

the emergence of several extremely large peristyle houses. These were constructed directly on the main road between the forum and the sea, and their layout closely resembles the much better-known houses of 2nd c. B.C. Pompeii, which, as already discussed, have been associated with the emergence of concrete. Indeed, one of the houses offers a close architectural parallel to the House of the Faun in its original layout (fig. 5.6)[53]. Like its Pompeian sibling, this house had a large main atrium connected to a smaller secondary atrium and, further back, an oblong peristyle covering most of the width of the entire house[54]. The main difference, architectonically, is that the House of the Faun at Pompeii had a sequence of *tabernae* covering the entire length of its façade, whereas the house in Paestum was constructed with two *tabernae* around the main entrance and a closed ashlar façade next to these. It is clear that these houses belong to the same architectonical tradition, and they show the same blend of Italic and Hellenistic architectural elements that characterized late Republican architecture in central Italy; indeed, a variation on the same house can also be found in Vulci[55]. As an architectural phenomenon, these peristyle houses represent the imperialization of domestic architecture in central Italy: economically, socially and culturally,

53 On the history of the House of the Faun in Pompeii, see Faber and Hofmann 2009.

54 The house is in the third *insula* of the southwestern quarter of the city, immediately south of the road between the forum and the seaside gate. On this house, see Bosco *et al.* 2018; Flohr 2022, 163–4; id. 2023b, 168–70.

55 Moscetti 2000; Flohr 2022, 163.

Fig. 5.7: Paestum, House with two *atria*. Wall of limestone ashlar (photo: Miko Flohr)

they are closely connected to the emergence of Roman imperial hegemony, and they highlight how imperial wealth affected communities throughout Italy. However, in terms of building technology, things were more complicated. While the earliest peristyle houses at Pompeii were constructed in *opus incertum*, comparable houses in contemporary Paestum were constructed with local, traditional building technologies which do not feature concrete, but used ashlar for the lowest part of the walls (fig. 5.7)[56]. Knowledge cannot really have been an issue, nor the availability of volcanic sand: Puteoli was at most one day away by boat, and Paestum probably was quite well-connected to the Bay of Naples. As was the case with the concrete dome, it seems that the architectural idea travelled faster than the technological practice associated with it – even within the imperial elite networks that produced double-atrium peristyle houses. The result was what should be seen as a typically glocal compromise: an imperial idea constructed according to established local practice.

Opus reticulatum in early colonial Pompeii

As is well known, a Roman colony was established in Pompeii in 80 B.C., and the colonial authorities subsequently embarked on a massive programme of monumental construction, which involved the construction of a second theater – the Odeon – a new bath complex – the Forum Baths – and an amphitheater. The architecture from this period is instantly recognizable because it uses an assemblage of building materials and techniques that were completely new to Pompeii at the time[57].

56 Flohr 2022, 163–64.

57 Carrington 1933, 132; Lugli 1957, 498–99; Coarelli 1977, 16; Adam 1994, 131; Welch 1994, 65; Flohr 2025, 105–6.

Fig. 5.8: Pompeii, Forum Baths, north facade (photo: Miko Flohr)

The walls of these buildings had a facing of so-called 'grey lava', a volcanic building material that could be quarried on-site, and which was laid in a pattern resembling *opus reticulatum*, but much less regular than Pompeian *opus reticulatum* of later periods. The result has sometimes been described as *opus quasi reticulatum*, a technique that marks the transition between *opus incertum* and truly regular *opus reticulatum*, but this can hardly be the case: in the 70s B.C., highly regularized *opus reticulatum* was already commonplace in the Roman metropolis. Moreover, there was no established tradition of working with *opus reticulatum* in the Bay of Naples in this period[58]. The brick corners and door posts of both the Odeon and the Forum Baths also present something of a mystery. In Late Republican Rome, corners and door posts were made of the same material (tuff) as the reticulate in a technique called *opus vittatum*[59]. Nor was building in brick an established practice in the early 1st c. B.C. Pompeii. Brick had been used in the pillars of the basilica, but these came from a different tradition – their bricks were very thick, as had been common in southern Italy in the Hellenistic period[60]. The bricks used in the Odeon and Forum baths, on the contrary, were thin like the ones that would later be used in brick-faced concrete in the imperial period Roman metropolis. To understand what was going on, the imperial context is crucial: the people building the Odeon are known epigraphically, and they belong to the Late-Republican Roman elite[61]. In fact, they were constructing public buildings in other places in Italy, too, as

58 Cf. Coarelli 1977, 16.

59 E.g., in the theater of Pompey. On the use of *opus reticulatum* in this theater, see Yegül and Favro 2019, 139.

60 The basilica at Pompeii is explicitly given as an example of pre-imperial brick in Östborn and Gerding 2015, 308.

61 Flohr 2025, 105.

several building inscriptions attest[62]. It seems that when these people came to Pompeii, they simply brought their own way of working with them. Yet neat *opus reticulatum* with *opus vittatum* posts as at Rome could not be made with the building materials that were easily available at Pompeii. A major problem was that Pompeian grey lava could not be cut to fully regularized pieces, and therefore cannot be used for corners and door posts – hence, in the Odeon and the Baths, bricks were used (fig. 5.8). In all likelihood, these bricks were purpose made. In the amphitheater, the same builders used a local limestone – Sarno Stone – that was more easily cut to regular pieces. In these projects, therefore, we see the tinkering and improvising that was part and parcel of the circulation of imperial building techniques at this time. The public architecture of early colonial Pompeii cannot be fully understood without acknowledging how it tried to reconcile imperial technologies with local material realities.

Opus mixtum in Hadrianic Italica (Baetica)

Founded in the 3rd c. B.C., *Italica* was radically extended and transformed in the 120s A.D. when Hadrian gave the birthplace of his predecessor a range of privileges and a large number of new inhabitants[63]. In this *nova urbs*, houses were built according to what seems a broad imperial tradition, resembling roughly contemporary houses in, for example, contemporary Ostia and Volubilis[64]. While earlier structures in *Italica* had been constructed according to established regional building traditions, the construction of the *nova urbs* was dominated by typically 'Roman' materials and techniques, including brick[65]. Especially revealing is the case of the so-called Casa de la Exedra, a large urban palace organized around a central peristyle courtyard. The building was partially constructed against the city wall in the northern part of the Hadrianic extension to the urban area, probably in the second quarter of the 2nd c. A.D[66]. As noted by earlier scholars, many of the walls in this house consisted of *opus caementicium* with a facing of river pebbles, probably taken from the nearby Guadalquivir river, with corners and posts in brick (fig. 5.9)[67]. Some walls also have bands of brick running through the walls at regular distances[68]. In terms of composition, these walls resemble the contemporary *opus mixtum* of Hadrianic Ostia so closely that it seems warranted to assume a direct relation, especially given the role of builders associated with the imperial regime in both places. Yet two differences are notable. The first, that instead of the mass-produced reticulate *cubilia* of Ostia, the builders at *Italica* used pebbles; the second, that, as elsewhere in *Italica*, a much thicker kind of brick was used than was common in the Roman metropolitan building industry – the bricks in *Italica* are generally 5.5–6.0 cm thick, while bricks used in 2nd c. A.D. Ostia are typically 3.0–3.5 cm thick[69]. Thus, while the builders of the Casa de la Exedra seem to have worked with the model of metropolitan *opus mixtum* in mind, they constructed their walls with local materials, resulting in a glocal technological hybrid.

62 For a more detailed discussion, see Santangelo 2007, 72–3.

63 Boatwright 2000, 162–7.

64 Meyer 1999.

65 Roldán Gómez 1987a, 112. On building techniques in *Italica*, see Del Pilar León 1977; Roldán Gómez 1987b; id. 1988.

66 For a discussion of the dating of the house, see Del Pilar León 1977, 150.

67 Del Pilar León 1977, 150–1; Roldán Gómez 1988, 121–5.

68 Roldán Gómez 1988, 122.

69 For the dimensions of the bricks in the Casa de la Exedra, see Del Pilar León 1977, 151; Roldán Gómez 1988, 122. Both note that the bricks used in this house are similar to those used in the public buildings of the Hadrianic extension. For the dimensions of bricks in 2nd c. A.D. Ostia, see Calza and Becatti 1953, 201–4.

Fig. 5.9: *Italica*, Casa della Exedra, *opus mixtum* with pebbles and local bricks (photo: Miko Flohr).

Imperialization, Glocalization and Innovation

The Roman Empire may, to some extent, have emerged on the back of multiple centuries of Mediterranean globalization – and it certainly intensified and redirected these ongoing processes within and beyond the regions it controlled. Ultimately, however, the Roman Empire was an empire, in which key developments were shaped by imperial networks that redistributed social, economic and cultural power and status in profoundly unequal ways. This imperial redistribution of wealth, power and status is not a sideshow – it is the very heart of the matter. Thus, *if* we want to use globalization theory in such a context – which I suggest can indeed be useful – it needs to be adapted to the specific conceptual needs of an empire. This chapter has suggested that the concept of imperialization offers such an adaptation, as it, on the one hand, is broader and more flexible than the narrowly statist-elitist concept of imperialism, and at the same time, is more precise, and thus more analytically powerful than globalization.

The discussion of innovation in building technology in this chapter illuminates the benefits of using this more precise analytical tool: globalization, with its emphasis on connectivity, does very little to enhance our understanding of the transformation of building practice in central Italy, as key developments emerged through innovations based on local materials, practices and circumstances. Imperialization, with its innate emphasis on wealth and power inequalities, sits much more easily with these developments, as the innovations that we can study up close matured through building projects financed by Roman hegemonic prosperity, adapted to the imperialized metropolitan labor market in which cheap labor was available in significant quantities. Imperialization in this context also works much better than imperialism, as the innovations in Roman building technology can be seen as indirect consequences of the emergence of the Roman empire, but were by no means decisive for its establishment or maintenance.

The imperialization of Roman building technology was global in its origins, but local in its outcome: examples discussed in this chapter all first appeared in a limited number of places in the imperial heartland, and their appearance was closely linked to the networks of the (emerging) Roman imperial elite. These new techniques present local responses to global processes of imperial change, and thus can be seen as glocal phenomena. Moreover, the fact that *opus caementicium*, *opus reticulatum*, brick-faced concrete and the concrete dome emerged as imperial technologies in the heart of the Roman empire in central Italy also shaped their subsequent fate: they flourished, first and foremost, in Roman elite networks in central Italy. Beyond the immediate geographic focus of those networks, these exact techniques spread only very slowly to a limited extent, or in adapted form. This chapter has highlighted examples of this process in late Republican Paestum, early colonial Pompeii, and in 2nd c. A.D. *Italica* and Pergamon – more can undoubtedly be added. The diffusion of imperial innovations, thus, produced glocal technological hybrids.

However, if globalization remains an imprecise concept for exploring innovation in Roman building technology, and can only be used in modified form, the same is not true for glocalization. Indeed, glocalization is of fundamental importance to our making sense of the many local histories of building practice across the Roman Mediterranean, and in contextualizing the assemblage of innovations that, ultimately, allowed builders to construct a building as complex as the Pantheon. There is no need to discard entirely the traditional narrative that presents the history of building technology as 'the Road to the Pantheon', but we must recast the assemblage of technological practices that facilitated the construction of the Pantheon as a glocal phenomenon, appreciating that the innovations part of this assemblage did not simply spread over a smaller or larger part of the Roman world, but could become agents of change themselves. As material conditions and labor markets diverged from those of central Italy, where these imperial technologies first emerged, these innovations also generated (novel) glocal compromises as they circulated.

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Chapter 6
Building Glocally: Construction Communities in Northwestern Sicily

Max Peers*

Abstract: This chapter explores the role of builders' communities in Roman construction projects in northwestern Sicily, with a focus on the cities of Soluntum, Segesta and Iaitas. By integrating the theories of glocalization and communities of practice, the study looks at how local builders both adapted and contributed to the global architectural trends of the Roman Empire. The significance of local materials and techniques demonstrate how these communities skillfully navigated the intersection of global influences and deeply rooted local traditions. Glocalization theory is particularly effective in capturing the dynamic blend of global and local elements, illustrating how architectural practices were neither entirely imposed by the empire nor purely indigenous. In addition, this chapter argues that a community-based approach is crucial to fully understand the specific contributions and agency of the individuals who were directly involved in these construction processes. Ultimately, it provides broader insights into the intricate dynamics of Roman architectural practice, showing how global trends were locally interpreted and implemented, resulting in unique architectural expressions that reflect both imperial and local identities.

Introduction

Construction projects in the Roman Empire required a variety of individuals with diverse backgrounds and levels of mobility, skill and specialization, from itinerant architects and engineers to local masons and workmen. Inscriptions and other written evidence describing specific individuals involved in construction processes of the Roman Empire are relatively infrequent, but the extant examples, many from North Africa, demonstrate two key points: individuals with engineering and surveying skills were rare and travelled between projects, and local groups of builders with long traditions of construction practices worked at most other levels[1]. Such inscriptions offer a starting point for interrogating who the members of building communities in the Roman Mediterranean were, and how they worked together to complete a monumental building such as a theater or stoa. The details that inscriptions offer for an individual are exceptional, however, and such granularity down to single people is seldom possible when studying architectural remains. Epigraphic information can therefore be used as the foundation of a more generalized approach to builders' communities.

This chapter draws its case studies from three cities in northwestern Sicily: Soluntum, Segesta and Iaitas, all located 30–60 km from each another. Soluntum was first founded in the 8th c. B.C. as a Phoenician colony on the coast, later re-founded on a nearby plateau after its destruction at the hands of Dionysios I in 397 B.C., taking the form that it would keep into the Roman period[2]. Iaitas and Segesta were both founded on hilltops by indigenous Sicilian

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1 *AE* 1940.16; *CIL* VIII.2728 = ILS 5795 = *CIL* VIII.18122; *RIL* 1; Poinssot 1940; Healy 1994; Cuomo 2011. For overviews and discussions of instances in which one is able identify specific architects involved in the building projects, see Wilson-Jones 2000, 19–30; Taylor 2003, 12–14; Sear 2006, 24; Thomas 2007, 91–103.

2 For recent overviews of the ancient city and relevant bibliography, see Greco 2005; Sposito 2014. See also Wiegand 1997 for the theater, and Wolf 2003; 2013 on the *agora* and houses.

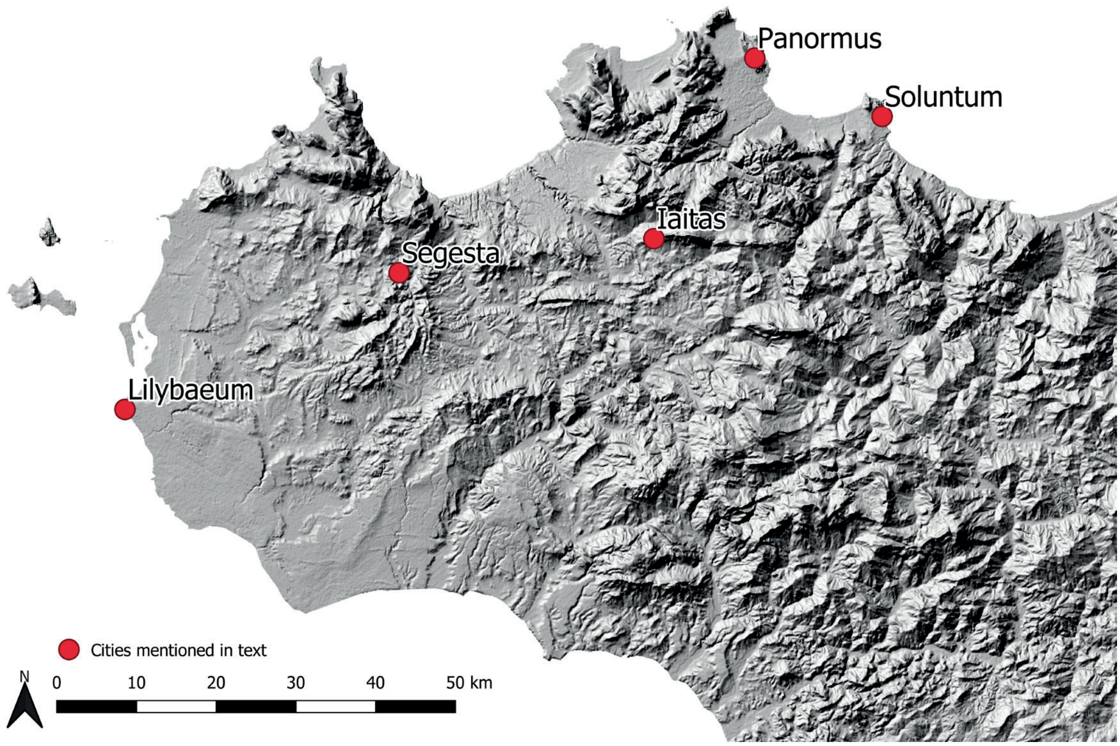

Fig. 6.1: Map of the study area (map by M. Peers).

communities, likewise in the early centuries of the 1st millennium B.C[3]. Though each city had its own origin and history, in the Roman period all three were similar in terms of their size and regional status. They were of middling importance, dwarfed by major urban centers like Panormus or Lilybaeum. Each city also saw similar patterns of urban development, with major renovation and construction in their monumental public cores from the 3rd to 2nd c. B.C[4].

Previous scholarship on these cities recognizes similarities in the architecture but does not fully investigate why such patterns exist and who the communities of builders were. I employ the theoretical frameworks of glocalization and communities of practice to offer new insights into these communities and their agency in the creation and maintenance of the architecture of their cities. The lens of glocalization highlights how architecture can exemplify both empire-wide phenomena and local processes. The additional application of a communities-based framework shifts the focus to the groups of builders responsible for the monuments, and how the people behind the architecture contributed to the global and local processes.

Studies of ancient architectural building technique and process have already acknowledged that any single structure is a combination of global and local knowledge and constraints[5]. That all architecture is glocal is a truism that I aim to move beyond in this chapter, specifically with a combination of glocalization and community-based frameworks. Though each theoretical body has shortcomings,

3 For Iaitas, see Isler 2000, as well as the many other publications by Isler in the journal *Sicilia Antica*, referenced in the bibliography of Pfuntner 2019. For Segesta, see De Cesare and Parra 2001; Parra 2006.

4 Pfuntner 2019 offers an excellent discussion of the urban developments of these cities during the Roman period.

5 Camporeale 2014, 205–6.

they can bolster the other. In targeting the people involved in the construction of monuments, I aim to present a more accurate, nuanced and heterogeneous understanding of builders' communities, and their influences, impacts and origins, contrasting to giving focus solely to the monuments.

Following an overview of the theoretical concepts employed and scholarship on Roman builders, three categories into which the case studies are organized are introduced – material, technique, and form – along with their importance in understanding local and global aspects of Roman architectural construction. Each of the three case studies include discussions on the individuals involved and the global or local nature of their contributions. I ultimately argue that glocalization is useful in that it can refocus our attention on local elements and agency in Roman architecture, but that an additional element, like the perspective of community, is necessary to bring further attention regarding who exactly was responsible for the material elements that scholars label as global, local or glocal.

Building a Theoretical Framework

Glocalization

To understand glocalization, one must also understand the history of scholarship behind it[6]. A unidirectional, top-down approach to (Roman) imperial influence on the lives of those it conquered gave way to more nuanced, but also fragmented bodies of scholarship attempting to move beyond a simplistic dichotomy[7]. One theoretical direction that has received recent scholarly attention is globalization, along with other terms like hybridization or creolization[8]. Though first discussed as a characteristic of the (Early) Modern world, the concept of globalization has been applied to antiquity to emphasize the increased interconnectivity and interdependency of individual regions and localities under the Roman Empire[9]. Nevertheless, there is an inherent paradox in the process of globalization, in that "increasing homogenization and the incorporation of objects and ideas from a "global culture" ultimately involve transformations of these objects and ideas that always reassert self-identity at a local level"[10]. The framework of glocalization originated in studies of business micromarketing, but in archaeological studies brought postcolonial and subaltern theories to the idea of 'romanization'[11]. Glocalization grew out of discussions of globalization as a way to focus on this reassertion of local identity. Though still reliant on globalization as its foundation, scholars nevertheless argue that glocalization better acknowledges local contributions and influences, offers a more equal balance between the global and local, and is more successful in combining scales of analysis[12].

6 Hodos 2017a; id. 2017b. For further literature on the intellectual history of globalization and its incorporation in archaeology research, see Robertson 1995; Clark 1997; Tomlinson 1999; Hopkins 2002; O'Rourke and Williamson 2002; Hingley 2005; Hopkins 2006; Liebmann 2008; McNeil 2008; De Angelis 2013; Versluys 2014; Hodos 2014; 2015; Pitts and Versluys 2015.

7 Pitts and Versluys 2015.

8 Introductions to the theoretical framework are provided by Canclini 1995; Kraidy 2005; Cohen 2007. For the application of these frameworks in archaeology, see Webster 2001; Jiménez 2011; Silliman 2013.

9 Nederveen Pieterse 2009; Pitts 2019.

10 van Alten 2017, 2.

11 Freeman 1997; Hingley 2005; Mattingly 2011.

12 See recent articles by Montoya 2020; id. 2021. Sokołowski 2022 provides an in-depth treatment and bibliography of

Glocalization has been described as "globalization refracted through the local"[13]. It responds to a growing emphasis on diversity and the local character of evidence within global phenomena, including how "new forms of Roman (i.e., global) cultural elements were developed on a global and local scale, both in top-down and bottom-up directions"[14]. Roman architecture in particular is in need of a glocal focus. Previous work, such as Sear's monograph on Roman theaters, often takes a top-down approach, and are organized around empire-wide building types or construction techniques, rather than a focus on how the structures are contextualized in their local setting[15].

The strengths of glocalization indeed lie in the increased emphasis on local influences within the cultural framework of the Roman Empire, and the creation of a middle space between the global and the local. However, it is challenging to transfer discussion of global and local elements in the material record to one of the people using and interacting with this material. Most scholarship on glocalization focuses primarily on material objects or categories thereof as glocalities, rather than the people behind them. It is challenging to define a single person as glocal, not least because of the difficulty in identifying and analyzing isolated individuals in the archaeological record. By focusing instead on communities, it is possible to somewhat skirt this problem, grouping individuals into larger entities. The larger a community, the easier it is to identify in the archaeological record and assess its role within global and local processes. Glocalization can still be a generative theoretical framework within which to study the ancient world, but stronger arguments and conclusions can be made when the theory is augmented with other frameworks.

Community

At its core, a community is a social structure, made up of individuals who share certain experiences or knowledge. More specific definitions are confounded by the fact that the term has been used in myriad ways in the fields of archaeology, anthropology and sociology, often without an explicit definition or theorization[16]. As the basis for my own theorization of community, I use the following definition: "an ever-emergent social institution that generates and is generated by supra-household interactions that are structured and synchronized by a set of places within a particular span of time. Daily interactions rely on and, in turn, develop shared premises or understandings, which can be mobilized in the development of common community identities"[17].

The more specific and well-studied concept of a 'community of practice' lies within this broader scope, and is especially pertinent for the discussion of builders' communities in this chapter[18]. Communities of practice integrate the learning of individuals with the activities and production of the group, and emphasize both the shared space in which the practice is carried out, as well as the transfer of knowledge intergenerationally and spatially[19]. Therefore, while a

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the debates surrounding globalization/glocalization.

13 Roudometof 2016a, 65; id. 2016b, 398–99.

14 van Alten 2017, 15. For applications in the Roman world, see Gardner 2013; Hodos 2017.

15 For example, Sear 2006. Cf. Fine and Thompson 2018.

16 Already in 1955, George Hillary was able to count 94 definitions for 'community' in sociological literature, and that number has only grown in the intervening half-century.

17 Yaeger and Canuto 2000, 5–6.

18 Sassaman and Rudolphi 2001; Knappett 2011; Roddick and Stahl 2016.

19 Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998.

community of practice related to masonry may exist as a bounded localized community tied to a workshop within a single city, one may also speak of a broader community of craftspeople in a region sharing knowledge but not necessarily interacting with every other member of the community.

Communities of practice consisted of experts and non-experts, specialists and unskilled laborers, architects brought in from afar and local masons employed in a single city. These members had direct, even intimate material engagement with the architecture of a city, in both creation and maintenance. The use of certain measurement systems or continuity and change in construction techniques speaks to groups of craftsmen with shared knowledge and traditions that are passed down over generations. Several strengths thus emerge from a community-based framework. The identification and description of a community foreground concrete groups of individuals more than nebulous concepts like identity and memory. A community also explicitly groups individuals into a larger whole, making them easier to identify in the archaeological record. And communities are dependent on shared material culture, space and social interaction, which makes them ripe for archaeological analysis.

Roman builders

With this theoretical foundation in place, we can begin to investigate the people who built Roman buildings in northwestern Sicily, including whether they worked together as a community. Our understanding of Roman architecture has been developed through detailed studies of building processes and the groups involved in the different stages of construction. These studies have focused predominantly on single monumental projects, however, like the Baths of Caracalla, Colosseum, or Pantheon, all of which are in Rome. Conversely, architectural studies taking such a diachronic or regional approach often elide any discussion of the builders responsible for engendering the urban development discussed[20]. This chapter will fill a lacuna, therefore, as a regional study of construction processes and associated communities.

For the most part, individual members of builders' communities would have been adult men, but it is likely that, in some cases, adolescent men worked alongside adults as apprentices, learning the skills necessary to work on their own, as well as in specific cases children in more limited roles[21]. Some of these adult and adolescent men were freeborn, while others were freedmen or enslaved individuals. Prosopographic studies of funerary epitaphs and membership lists of *collegia* show that many enslaved people working as builders were freed during their lifetime and continued to work within the builders' community[22]. This data comes primarily from the region of Rome, where the number of enslaved people, generally and in the building industry, was higher than elsewhere in the Mediterranean. Epigraphic evidence from North Africa, however, indicates that there were still some enslaved individuals working within teams of builders in various projects[23].

Within a project, there were builders with a variety of levels of skill and training, ranging from master builders to contractors, architects or engineers, down to what is usually described as

20 This is not to say that a study of the kind that I am describing has never been undertaken: cf. Coulton 1977. Often the abundance of evidence precludes studies of a certain type.

21 DeLaine 1997.

22 DeLaine 2003, 727–28.

23 Camporeale 2016, 61–62.

unskilled labor. Taylor argues that it is "therefore unprofitable to try to delineate the roles of the architect, master builder and contractor in any single building project; the scattered evidence is variable enough to suggest that no single pattern existed anyhow. Sometimes the same man assumed all of these roles, as Vitruvius did, sometimes not"[24]. Except in the most monumental cases, one can likely speak of the primary person in charge as filling some of the characteristics of those professions, but their role and presence should not be allowed to erase the contributions and influences of other workers involved in the construction process. Aqueducts, such as those serving important cities in the Roman period like Palermo or Lilybaeum, would have required a specialist to survey and execute bridges and tunnels. Likewise, the geometry and proportions of theaters or temples required individuals capable of geometric precision and skill in the layout. Nevertheless, the infrequency of such construction projects in a single city and the itinerancy of the engineers and architects involved would have had little impact on the overall landscape of builders' communities in those cities[25]. In the middle were individuals working as masons, mosaicists, fresco painters, carpenters and many more, with a degree of training in their field of expertise[26].

Still, within this middle range was a wide spectrum of skill. A mosaicist capable of exacting *opus vermiculatum* required more extensive training than one working in simple black and white geometric designs. A mason carving precise architectural ornaments from fine imported marble required different training than one building walls of local limestone. Individuals with a greater degree of specialization and training in a single area of construction would have been less common and more itinerant (at least outside major cities), moving where there was demand and financial capacity. At the other end of the spectrum, individuals with broader training, capable of completing a variety of tasks, would have been more stable within local building communities. Research also speaks to the presence and importance of unskilled labor in building projects: individuals who mixed and poured concrete, laid bricks, or moved building materials and refuse. Unskilled labor was particularly important for monumental building projects in Rome and the Empire that needed to be completed quickly and thus required a massive workforce. DeLaine posits that approximately 30% of the total labor force used to build the Baths of Caracalla should be considered 'unskilled'[27].

The concept of unskilled labor could, perhaps, be nuanced further. Someone moving materials or mixing concrete would have required less (time spent learning a) skill, but these were still not always tasks that someone could do without any prior instruction or understanding of the process. It is therefore important to clarify the distinction between unskilled labor and unexperienced labor. While some individuals, especially on colossal public building projects, may have truly only worked for single day, it was in the contractor's best interest to continue working with unskilled laborers who already had experience in the tasks for which they were required. Indeed, the legal text of the *Digest* advises against bringing in too many day-laborers for the purpose of expediting construction process[28]. Perhaps such individuals would have been involved in other

24 Taylor 2003, 11. Cf. Thomas 2007 and Ousterhout 1999 for the Byzantine period.

25 Cuomo 2011.

26 Dunbabin 1999; Taylor 2003; Esposito 2007; id. 2017; Ulrich 2007.

27 DeLaine 1997, 197–201.

28 *Digest* 45.1.137.3 (trans. Watson 2009): *Item qui insulam fieri spopondit, non utique conquisitis undique fabris et plurimis operis adhibitis festinare debet nec rursus utroque aut altero contentus esse, sed modus adhibendus est secundum rationem diligentis aedificatoris et temporum locorumque. item si non inchoetur opus, id tantum aestimetur, quod in illo*

labor as well – especially seasonal work, such as agriculture or pastoralism – but even those individuals who consistently worked in construction over the course of their lives would have learned the rhythms and skills of a worksite and become part of the broader community of builders. Such unskilled but experienced individuals were integral to the building process, however, and at a local level would have been members of the builders' communities in Roman cities.

Indeed, the majority of the workforce in builders' communities would have been local to the city in which they were active. In cases such as Ostia, prosopographical studies have identified individuals from farther afield, albeit remaining a minority, perhaps brought to Italy as slaves[29]. Elsewhere, teams of workers were brought in to construct a building, such as imperial projects in provincial capitals, though these examples are also the exception to the rule. Single individuals with crucial architectural skills surely also travelled throughout the Mediterranean, working on projects such as aqueducts or laying out the plans and angles for buildings like theaters or temples[30]. Though foreign actors, as individuals or in groups, are often the focus of scholarly attention and research, they were a small minority in building communities that remained overwhelmingly local.

Frameworks of communities and glocalization work well in tandem, both focusing on local agency and able to transcend scales. Together, these equip scholars with a toolkit to examine the individuals involved in architectural developments and consider the backgrounds and influences of the individuals and communities.

Case Studies: Builders and Buildings in Northwestern Sicily

This section presents and analyzes specific case studies before an explicit application of the theoretical framework in the following section. Case studies are taken from the region of northwestern Sicily in the period following the island's incorporation into the sphere of Roman hegemony, *circa* 3rd to 1st c. B.C. Analysis takes place across three scales: local, regional and global. Soluntum, Segesta and Iaitas are each their own local context, while the regional scale comprises northwestern Sicily, and the global is the Mediterranean. Case studies are organized into three categories – form, technique and material – each serving to illuminate the global, local and glocal actors and their impacts and interactions within different construction communities.

The material of a structure offers information regarding which individuals or communities were involved in its construction. Preparing and building with local stone requires, for example, a different process, skill, and cost than using imported marble. Likewise, utilizing concrete or mosaic needed requisite knowledge and materials offered by different individuals or groups, not necessarily always available. As projects grew larger or more complex, roles and skills became

intervallo effici potuit. transactoque tempore, quo insulam consummare oportuerit, si postea aedificetur, liberetur reus, sicut liberatur, qui se daturum spopondit, si quandoque tradit. (Similarly, one who promises that a block will be built need not hasten to collect craftsmen from all sides and employ numerous laborers, nor should he be satisfied with one or two. A mean must be set in accordance with the standard of a conscientious builder at that place and time. If the building is not begun, the assessment is confined to what could have been achieved in the period in question. If the building is constructed after the time at which the block should have been completed, the promisor is to be discharged, just as one who promises to convey is discharged if at any time he transfers the property). See also Martin 1989, 43–72.

29 DeLaine 2003, 727–28.

30 Cuomo 2011.

more specialized with the preparation and finishing of different elements taking place at various distances from the construction site[31]. The origins of the materials may therefore represent global or local influences, though the communities of individuals actually present in a city would be less affected if, for instance, imported material was finished elsewhere and only transported to the construction site to be inserted by local workers.

Construction technique refers to how different elements of a building, such as the walls, floors, or foundations, were constructed. Only some of these elements would have been discernible once the project was complete, as the fabric of a wall, for example, may be ultimately hidden behind plaster. Such choices are therefore also illustrative of the builders' communities involved in the construction, more so than other architectural elements that the owner or patron would have requested or chosen[32]. A range of construction techniques has been identified within the field of Roman architecture, some more uniform than others[33]. Some masonry types take their names from Latin, such as *opus incertum* or *reticulatum*, whereas others have multiple names in different modern languages, for example chequer-work/Leiermauerwerk/pseudo-horizontal masonry or Bruchsteinmauerwerk/irregular masonry[34]. Regardless of how uniformly scholarship treats a technique, local idiosyncrasies, such as adaptations for material or topographical characteristics, demonstrate the presence of real communities of builders implementing techniques in their own way. Whereas form is indicative of the decisions made by those in charge of construction projects, techniques offer more information on decisions made by individuals at the intermediate level of builders' communities: masons and specialists with the technical knowledge to implement such adaptations who are in charge of certain structural elements.

Many elements are included in the form of a building, not all of them easily reconstructed from the archaeological record. In its broadest sense, form is the appearance of a building and how it is seen and understood by users or passers-by. But a complete reconstruction of a building's appearance, including its decoration and height is not often possible from extant archaeological remains and remains hypothetical. At the very least, however, from the ground plan one can begin to hypothesize a structure's basic form and appearance, even if further details remain elusive. This is enough to begin a discussion as the ground plan offers information about the building communities involved. Though evidence for architectural plans in antiquity is scarce, they seemed to have been used occasionally and certainly more than we have direct graphic evidence[35]. Especially for large projects and those with complex geometries, such as theaters or temples, architectural drawings and other forms of planning would have been necessary to execute the construction of a structure properly, and such drawings may also have been used in the contracts and agreements for its construction[36]. The form of the building is often a clear example of the decisions of the architects and individuals in charge of the building project as a whole, more than the masons and other builders working under them[37].

31 Delaine 1997, 131–74. See Aylward and Carson 2017; Staebler 2018 for discussions of the quarrying and transport of columns and capitals.

32 Busen 2022, 55–57.

33 Adam 1984; Mogetta 2021.

34 For example, the parallel treatments of masonry techniques in Sposito 2014, 69–73 and Wolf 2013, 6–8.

35 Wilson-Jones 2000, 50–58; Taylor 2003, 27–36; Stinson 2016.

36 Martin 1989, 29–31; Sear 2006, 24–36.

37 Delaine 1997, 45–69; Taylor 2003, 21–59.

Material

Fig. 6.2: Bedrock at Soluntum quarried away and subsequently built against (photo: Max Peers).

Studies of building processes in the Roman Mediterranean make clear that materials used were overwhelmingly local. Even in a monumental building like the Baths of Caracalla, the vast majority of building material was sourced from locations within 20 km of Rome[38]. Materials brought in from farther afield, such as the precious marbles that were the most visible elements of the building, were the exception. Indeed, the economics of construction practices dictated that materials be as local as possible, both to save costs and to free up spending for imported luxury materials. This same principle is even more true in the cases of Soluntum, Iaitas and Segesta – cities outside the sphere of imperial influence or patronage (which brought greater amounts of rare building materials and skilled workers).

When moving through these three sites and studying their architecture, one is immediately struck by the uniformity of building material, the sources for which are identifiable in close proximity. For the most part, Soluntum, Segesta and Iaitas were constructed from local limestone quarried from the hilltops on which the cities were built. Because these sites were founded in excellent defensive locations, this made the transport of goods into the city more difficult, leading to an increased reliance on building material already within the immediate area. The shallow soils of the plateau on which Soluntum was built covered plentiful deposits of local limestone, and, in most cases, houses were cut into the bedrock to create a platform terrace along with freeing material for use in construction[39]. Though architecture built directly onto quarried surfaces results in scant stratigraphic deposits for archaeologists, it minimized the transportation logistics of construction. The stone within the city walls was low-quality, however, and was difficult to work and finish into regular blocks. Quarries from the coastal plain below provided stone that could be worked into more regular blocks, but added the cost of transportation up to the city's plateau[40]. Builders in Soluntum would have been intimately familiar with these types of local stone and how best to

38 DeLaine 1997, 195–98.

39 Sposito 2014, 75–80.

40 Sposito 2014, 70–71.

work and use them. They subsequently developed and utilized construction techniques that best suited the characteristics of the stone at their disposal (below).

In addition to abundant local building material, imported material was also used in these cities. Some finds, like the marble capitals now displayed in the sites' museums, offer an idea of what was incorporated by inhabitants and builders. These capitals for public buildings or private residences would have required a great deal of time and effort to transport into the city. Given the skill and precision needed to execute such an element, it is likely that a capital (or set) was finished elsewhere, probably near the marble's source, and transported to the construction site to be inserted by local workers. Parameters could either have been agreed upon at the time of order, or used standard pre-set dimensions for columns and capitals, as was common in the Roman Empire[41]. Other decorative elements, like frescoes or mosaics, also required specialists to execute, especially in finer displays, but the necessary materials were much easier to transport and could have been brought by the craftsmen themselves[42].

However, while marble and other fine elements are not totally absent from the architecture of Soluntum, Segesta and Iaitas, they are relatively rare and largely limited to private contexts. The monumental constructions of the *agorai*, such as the *stoai*, *bouleuteria* and theaters, contained finely carved architectural decorations, but all made from local limestones. It is difficult to detect whether this indicates local masons carving the architectural decoration and familiar with these stone types, or an itinerant mason who was adept at detailed carving work and came in to work with the local stone. Both ultimately still indicate a cost-saving measure, compared to the importation of finer materials for architectural decoration.

The vast majority of materials used in the construction of a city were therefore local, handled by a local workforce of builders who had extensive knowledge of how best to work and construct with local stone. Imported materials, often because of the technical skill and knowledge required to work them, were as much as possible usually finished elsewhere, or perhaps completed locally by an itinerant mason. The relative infrequency with which such skills were needed would have made them less common among the local community of builders. While it belabors the obvious to state that architecture was constructed from local and imported material, it is more telling where imported material is used and where it is not. The monumental, public construction projects of Soluntum, Segesta and Iaitas in the 3rd and 2nd c. B.C. used almost entirely local materials, even for columns and architectural decoration, despite being the physical and symbolic centers of their respective cities. The implications of this are discussed below.

Technique

The task of creating categories and typologies for construction techniques found in ancient architecture is an ongoing challenge. Vitruvius names and describes some techniques, such as *opus incertum*, *reticulatum*, isodomic, pseudo-isodomic and *emplekton* constructions[43]. Modern research, in turn, uses these names, adding new observations to form typologies[44]. One's own training, scholarly tradition and experience inevitably influences the way in which one identifies

41 Adam 1984, 63–68; Aylward and Carson 2017; Staebler 2018.

42 Martin 1989, 39–40; Dunbabin 1999, 269–91.

43 Vitruvius 2.8.1–7

44 Karlsson 1992; Adam 1984; Camporeale 2014; id. 2016.

Fig. 6.3: Pseudo-horizontal masonry at Soluntum (photo: Max Peers).

Fig. 6.4: *Opus soluntinum* at Soluntum (photo: Max Peers).

and categorizes architectural constructions. Furthermore, a byproduct of the desire to categorize architecture across the ancient world is the loss of resolution at which one can observe the local knowledge that the builders used to construct a city.

In the case of Soluntum, the entirety of the documented walls at the site have been categorized with the conclusion that builders used 5 principal types of masonry[45]. Approximately 50% of the site's walls were constructed of irregular masonry, with 30% constructed of pseudo-horizontal masonry. The remaining 20% contains what Sposito terms *opus soluntinum*, as well as small amounts of isodomic masonry and *opus africanum*[46]. Irregular masonry most often uses the stone quarried within the city, which is lower quality and difficult to work into regular blocks. Pseudo-horizontal masonry also corrects for the challenges of the local stone – blocks of varying sizes are laid in more or less horizontal courses with smaller stone filling the gaps. *Opus soluntinum* is a more carefully worked version of the pseudo-horizontal masonry, though the block sizes still vary and courses are not perfectly horizontal. Because the blocks in *opus soluntinum* require smoother faces and more regularity, this technique drew from the (still local) quarries farther afield. The final two masonry techniques found in the city's architecture are *opus africanum* and isodomic masonry and are both rare. *Opus africanum* has been identified only in scant architectural traces from the earliest phases of the city's occupation and the builders' community did not seem to maintain it in their practices[47]. Isodomic masonry is only identified in the monumental central public structures, as it requires higher quality and more finely worked stone along with specific technical skill[48].

Therefore, the vast majority of the city's buildings were constructed from two standard techniques: irregular masonry and pseudo-horizontal/*opus soluntinum*, which were best suited to the local stone. That these techniques exist on a spectrum is best demonstrated by their coexistence within a single wall in the Stoa of Soluntum, where rougher, pseudo-horizonal masonry transitions smoothly to the well-dressed stones of *opus soluntinum*. The differences in technique would have

45 Sposito 2014.

46 Sposito 2014, 71.

47 Wolf 2003, 40–42; id. 2013 48–50; Sposito 2014, 71–72.

48 Wolf 2003, 22–23.

come with different costs for the patron. *Opus soluntinum* offered a better surface to which plaster could be applied and was therefore more common in the wealthy, frescoed houses, whose owners could afford the materials and labor required by the technique[49]. Even more costly was isodomic masonry, utilized in the city's monumental *agora*.

Though Sposito names the masonry technique *opus soluntinum*, implying an inherently local character, he does so primarily in the context of his monograph whose focus is the site of Soluntum[50]. An assessment of the architecture at the nearby sites of Iaitas and Segesta reveals a similar technique in many of their structures. Specifically, the pseudo-horizontal masonry found in these three cities is characterized by the consistent use of stacks of 3–4 small, but still worked, rectangular stones to fill the gaps between the larger blocks. I do not wish to argue that the construction techniques found in these three cities are identical to each other or to *opus soluntinum*, but rather that they share characteristics not seen at other sites in the region. Ultimately, a community is not only defined by its common characteristics, but also by distinction to others. Masonry techniques are not identical among Soluntum, Segesta and Iaitas, but nevertheless demonstrate a similarity in the use and design of their particular style of pseudo-isodomic masonry, relative to other cities in the region, including Panormus, Lilybaeum, or Selinunte. Though not identical in every case to *opus soluntinum*, the masonry technique exists in the same family as pseudo-horizontal masonry and *opus soluntinum*.

In fact, the family of the technique has a much wider usage, appearing under multiple names. Wolf describes how, what he names Leitermauertechnik, first appears in the Classical period in the city fortifications of mainland Greece, as well as in the Hellenistic houses of Delos and Eretria, before being widely used in Iaitas, Segesta and Soluntum[51]. Adam describes a related technique that he names chequer-work construction, found in central Italy at the sites of Velia, Tarquinia, Orvieto and Bolsena in the 3rd and 2nd c. B.C[52]. Only that of Bolsena, however, appears similar to the examples in my case studies. The technique is used in a wide variety of structures, from walls in the peristyle houses at Iaitas to the *cavea* retaining wall (*analemma*) of the theater at Segesta[53]. This similarity speaks to a more widespread building tradition across the region. In each of these three cities, the similarities in technique are unmistakable.

These builders' communities were likely in contact with one another to some degree, though this need not have been regular or intense. They nevertheless developed and maintained their construction techniques in parallel alongside one another, while also simultaneously incorporating idiosyncrasies to adapt to any particular characteristics of the local stone with which they were working. At Iaitas, for example, the stone available on the plateau is evidently more easily worked than at Soluntum, as irregular masonry is not used to the same extent. Instead, masonry from the pseudo-horizontal family is used alongside non-uniform rectangular slabs that the builders were able to quarry.

The existence of similar traditions in neighboring cities also raises interesting questions of how modern scholars should consider emic vs etic understandings of what is local to builders' communities. These communities of workers may have seen the pseudo-horizontal/*opus*

49 Sposito 2014, 72–73.

50 Sposito 2014, 70–74.

51 Wolf 2003, 6–8.

52 Adam 1984, 229–32.

53 Sear 2006, 190.

Fig. 6.5: Masonry similar to Soluntum's pseudo-horizontal at Iaitas (photo: Max Peers).

Fig. 6.6: Masonry similar to Soluntum's pseudo-horizontal at Segesta (photo: Max Peers).

soluntinum masonry that they were trained to construct as the normal local way of creating walls. Some who had travelled within the region or had contact with builders' communities of other cities may have also had an abstract understanding that others nearby were trained in and employed similar techniques. We, as researchers, often study techniques on a regional level, and create typologies documenting various subcategories and differences[54]. Yet one should also ask whether the builders engaged in the ancient Sicilian construction industry had any understanding of a technique in this abstract sense, or whether they saw it as local or foreign, depending on the presence or absence of a technique in their experiences.

In these cases, the particular uses of stones and construction techniques seen in the cities of Soluntum, Iaitas and Segesta, indicate a deep local knowledge of the tools and materials available to the builders' communities in each place. Builders, masons and quarry workers, would have extensive experience with their particular medium, which wouldn't always translate easily to another type of stone or fabric. This entrenched experience in local materials and techniques contributed to the conservatism in the building industry of these cities.

Form

In addition to their similarities in construction technique, Soluntum, Iaitas and Segesta each contained very similar monumental public cores[55]. These spaces were all constructed and renewed over the course of a century, from the end of the 3rd c. B.C. to the end of the 2nd c. B.C., as Sicily prospered under Roman control[56]. Though their exact layouts differ, the suite of buildings that was constructed was largely the same seen throughout the (Hellenistic) Mediterranean, in

54 Camporeale 2014; id. 2016.

55 Isler 2000; Ampolo and Parra 2003; Facella and Olivito 2003; Wolf 2003; Pfuntner 2019.

56 Pfuntner 2019, 47–51 and 62–75.

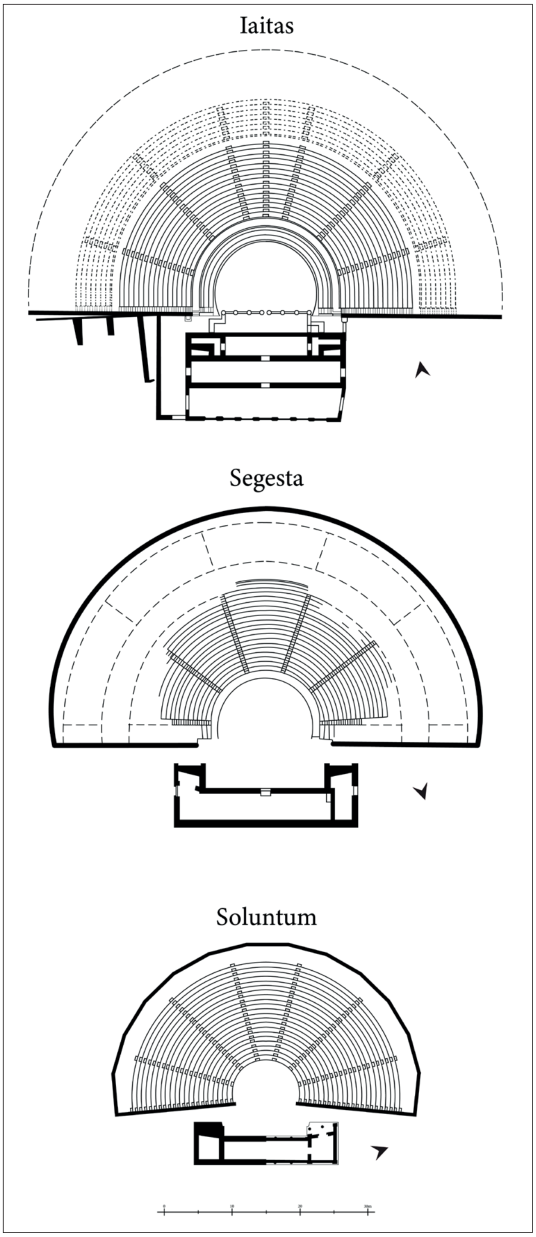

Fig. 6.7: Theaters and their stage buildings at Iaitas (top) Segesta (middle) and Soluntum (lower) (drawing by M. Peers, after Wiegand 1997).

particular the presence of a theater, *stoa* and *bouleuterion*. In the case of their theaters, that of Segesta was constructed in the final quarter of the 3rd c. B.C., Iaitas around 200 B.C., and Soluntum in the first quarter of the 2nd c. B.C[57]. These new constructions replaced earlier iterations that are largely obscured by the later renovation. The *stoa* and *bouleuterion* of Soluntum were constructed shortly after, in the second quarter of the 2nd c. B.C., whereas those at Segesta and Iaitas were each constructed in the final quarter of the 2nd c. B.C[58]. Comparing each of these three building types across case studies offers further information on the global and local influences in their communities of builders.

Wiegand already described the theaters of Iaitas, Segesta and Soluntum as a unique group. The three together constitute a group that he names with the descriptive succinctness as "theatern mit trichterartig zur Bühne führenden Paraskenionfassaden"[59]. Essentially, the outer walls of the interior façade of the stage building slant inwards at an angle. This detail has only ever been identified at these three theaters, all in a small region in northwestern Sicily and constructed between 225–175 B.C., suggesting that the theater stage buildings may have been designed by a single architect working in the area. This architect may have moved between the cities creating a design to be implemented by local workmen, or travelled with a team of builders. Given that the hypothetical dates for each theater follow each other in short order, some workers may have been involved in multiple projects and moved from one construction site to the next. However, differences between the cities are apparent. The theaters at Soluntum and Iaitas are both built into the slope of a hillside in the Greek manner, whereas at Segesta, only part of the theater *cavea* uses the natural topography

57 Wolf 2003, 40–42, 50–52 and 67–68.

58 Wiegand 1997, 26 and 43–51. In the case of Iaitas, the city had already constructed a smaller *bouleuterion*, as part of the north *stoa* complex, at the end of the 4th c. B.C. A new, larger *bouleuterion* and the west *stoa* were constructed at the end of the 2nd c. B.C.

59 Wiegand 1997, 43.

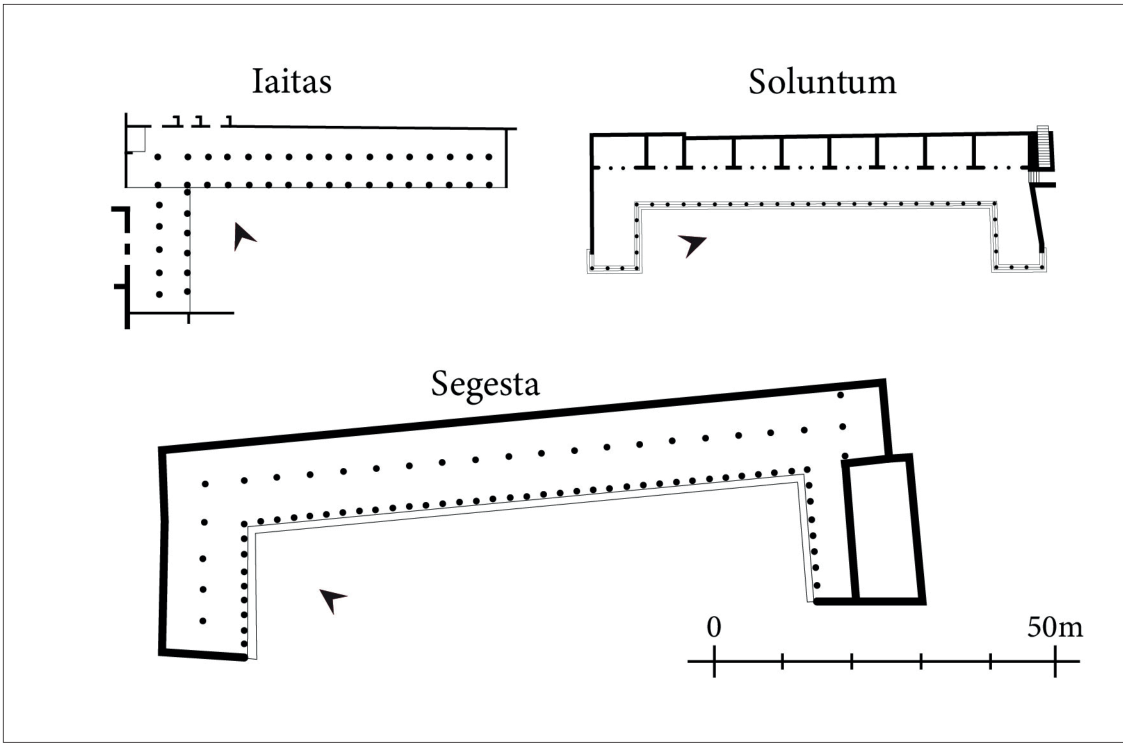

Fig. 6.8: *Stoai* from Iaitas, Soluntum and Segesta (drawing by M. Peers, after Wolf 2013; Olivito and Taccola 2014).

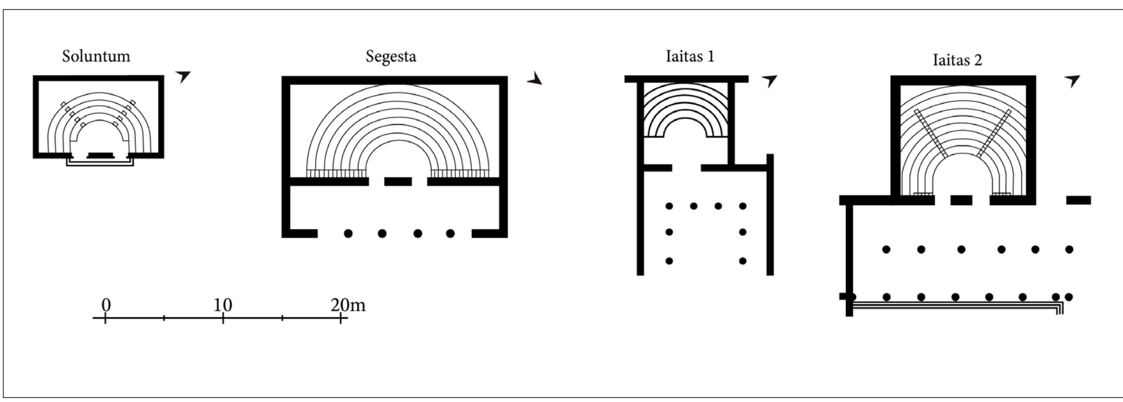

Fig. 6.9: *Bouleuteria* from Soluntum, Iaitas and Segesta (drawing by M. Peers, after Wolf 2013).

while the rest employs a retaining wall. Moreover, at Segesta and Iaitas, the *analemmata* are parallel to the scene building, while at Soluntum are converging. Another idiosyncrasy from Soluntum is that the theater has a polygonal rim made up of segments of equal length, different from the rounded *analemma* of Iaitas and Segesta[60]. Given the ways in which a theater is often constructed to leverage the natural topography (and in these cases, preexisting structures), the stage building may have been the only aspect of the project that the architect had space and control in which to enact the unifying feature of the group.

60 Wiegand 1997, 44–51; Sear 2006, 229–32.

The *bouleuteria* of the three cities (excluding the earlier *bouleuterion* at Iaitas) do not possess a unique defining feature that unites them as a closed group like the theaters, but still exhibit similarities[61]. All three were entered by a double door in the front, though at Segesta and Iaitas the building was constructed with a colonnaded facade[62]. At Soluntum, the *bouleuterion* was located behind the *stoa*, and perhaps given a more modest facade because it was not visible from the open space of the *agora*. However, the double door is not unique to these three cities in the same way as the theater stage building; that at Agrigento was also built with the same feature. In the same phase of construction as the theater and *bouleuterion*, all three cities also built *stoai* in their monumental core, again with slight distinctions. The *stoai* at Soluntum and Segesta were three-sided, whereas at Iaitas the building was two-sided. However, at Iaitas and Segesta the *stoai* were both constructed with two rows of columns.

While one can credibly posit that the unique feature of the theater's stage building at Iaitas, Soluntum and Segesta was the design of a single architect working in the region, the sources of other idiosyncratic features that differentiate the theaters, *stoai* and *bouleuteria* in the cities are more opaque. There was likely a combination of influences: the ideas and designs of the architect(s) involved, the desires of the patrons and citizens, the restrictions of the space within the city and the landscape on which the buildings were built, the materials available, and the skills of the builders tasked with realizing the projects. Here, too, the truism that all architecture is glocal rings out loudly. In the cases of material and technique, I have argued that the builders' communities had a large influence in decision making. The form of a building was likely influenced more by conversations between the architect and patron, but still restricted by other factors mentioned above. But were the patrons and architects global? Did they exert globalizing influences? And what about the structures they commissioned or built? The theater, *stoa* and *bouleuterion* in each of these cities are immediately recognizable as such and exist within a larger trend in construction in this time period and area of the Mediterranean. Yet even if some material was imported, they were still each overwhelmingly constructed of local stone put in place by local builders. The retaining wall of the *cavea* at Segesta was built in the same pseudo-horizontal masonry as many other buildings at the site, both monumental and vernacular.

Global and Local in the Buildings and Builders' Communities of Northwestern Sicily

These case studies illustrate the interplay of material, technique and form in the cities of northwestern Sicily, allowing deeper analysis of the power and agency of builders' communities within the framework of glocalization. Different individuals or communities contributed ideas, skill and labor towards these three aspects, collaborating to produce the finished product. In each case here, the building material and techniques represent local processes through which the global architectural forms were refracted. In this way, each piece of architecture can be described as glocal – a truism stated in the introduction. Processes of glocalization can also be seen at the regional level, given the particularities of architecture shared between the three cities. To describe individuals or communities as glocal is more complicated. Whereas an individual's or community's contribution may be seen as global or local, most of the individuals and communities

61 Wolf 2003, 67–68.

62 Wolf 2003, taf. 113.

involved remained local. The elite patrons of the monumental buildings at Soluntum, Segesta, or Iaitas, who were drawing on globalizing elements in their architectural contributions, were probably local to their respective cities. Even the architects, while acting as a globalizing force in these instances, were local somewhere[63]. The architect who worked on the theater buildings in northwestern Sicily perhaps hailed from Syracuse in the southeast of the island, whose theater Sear argues possibly formed the blueprint for projects in the northwest[64]. However, in this case glocalization (or glocality) only acts as a targeted descriptor rather than a theoretical framework that provides new explanation and argumentation for scholarship.

I would like to advance an argument that remains largely speculative but utilizes the theories of communities of practice and glocalization more fully. A re-examination of the material from the well-studied and well-published architecture of these sites demonstrates the presence of communities of builders in communication with one another, if not actively working on projects together. The synchronous but staggered constructions in Soluntum, Segesta and Iaitas could be coincidental, but could also imply deeper cooperation between the cities. Perhaps no single city was important or wealthy enough on their own to import the material, labor and skill needed to execute their core monumental buildings; however, by sharing labor, jointly inviting an architect to design their public spaces, and employing and cycling local workforces to work on each city's constructions in turn, they were able to realize desired construction projects. This would only have been possible by using existing architectural and social ties among the cities, both among the elites who commissioned the work, and the builders whose labor raised the structures. Staggering these construction projects could also have functioned as a way of maintaining a community of builders trained in certain materials and techniques. Three (or more) generations separate the construction of the theater in Segesta and the construction of the *stoa* and *bouleuterion* at Segesta and Iaitas a century later (though chronologies are coarse). Engaging a community of builders with constant work over a long period of time would have been an efficient way of ensuring urban construction and renewal took place without a loss of technical knowledge or workforce. Perhaps no single city had a critical mass of construction projects to keep the community of builders busy over that period of time. In this way, glocalization does provide an explanation for processes playing out in Soluntum, Segesta and Iaitas. The construction of similar pieces of architecture within the monumental public space of a city can be read as the homogenizing influence of global forces. However, the structures were built by a local workforce reformatting the global to work with local materials and topographic conditions. Moreover, it was the local agency and cooperation of the cities that allowed for the project's realization, all within the larger context of Mediterranean-wide building trends.

By refocusing the discussion on the communities of individuals involved in the building industry, one can also begin to interrogate the etic and emic perceptions of global or local architectural elements. Not every inhabitant of Soluntum, Segesta, or Iaitas would have visited the other cities and had the chance to recognize their theater or monumental core as similar to that of their neighbors. Even fewer would have travelled to Syracuse and seen its theater that may have served as the antecedent to their own. An even wider vision would have been needed to recognize the local peculiarities of their own buildings for what they were. Similar questions can be asked of building techniques. The presence of a family of pseudo-horizontal construction techniques is clear to observers traveling between these sites, and the technique seems to have

63 Cf. Cuomo 2011.

64 Sear 2006, 188–91.

developed in parallel or in communication. But builders in their own communities may not have understood it as regional, instead seeing it simply as the way they were taught when they were apprentices and the best way to utilize the available local stone.

These questions are difficult, if not impossible, to answer, but they begin to reveal the assumptions that scholars make when studying material across regions. While we might speak of Roman building types being constructed in a city, only very rarely was it possible to import a significant amount of building material or labor, meaning that forms were nevertheless constructed in no small part using local material and workers. This is often elided in scholarly treatment of such structures. Sears mentions the *analemmata* walls of the theater at Segesta as noteworthy for their height and strength, but their construction deserves further attention. The *analemmata* are built using finely crafted pseudo-horizontal masonry, an excellent example of a technique common not only in Segesta but also its neighbors and evidence for the involvement of local builders. Both types of study are important and necessary for the advancement of the field, but too often this broader approach is taken when analyzing architectural projects outside major imperial cities. Imported material and innovation in technique and form draw more attention, even when the majority of a site is constructed from analogous stone and technique.

Glocalization theory can refocus our attention on local elements of ancient architecture within the globalizing processes of the Roman Mediterranean, even if it often acts as the source of a targeted descriptor rather than a fully-fledged explanatory framework. Given the rich and varied intellectual history behind glocalization, it is necessary to interrogate whether its insights do not in fact stem from a related/parent theoretical body, such as globalization, postcolonial/subaltern studies, or hybridity. An additional framework like the community is necessary, therefore, to refocus attention on who exactly was responsible for the material elements that we label as global, local, or glocal. In this case, a combination of community and glocalization highlights the influences of subaltern studies in these theories. As with any theoretical framework, these interventions are not necessarily always successful or novel, but can lead to new (speculative) insights into construction communities and practices, shown here for northwestern Sicily. At a foundational level, these frameworks equip scholars with a toolkit to examine the individuals involved in architectural developments and consider their backgrounds, influences and communities. It is crucial to remember that these individuals would have had different emic understandings to us of local or global. This does not cheapen the results of glocalization-based analyses, but demonstrates the importance of both perspectives. Theories of glocalization and community are therefore each generative in their own right, but combined are necessary to answer certain questions with requisite nuance and granularity.

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Chapter 7

Local Arrangements, Global Aims: The *Annona* and Ports of Etruria Through the Lens of Glocalization

Alice Poletto*

Abstract: This chapter explores the Roman Annona *system through the lens of glocalization, emphasizing how global and local dynamics shaped the grain supply to Rome. While the* Annona *was a massive, empire-wide logistical undertaking, its success depended on intricate, locally implemented networks. The chapter provides a valuable framework to further understand this complex system, where local actors, infrastructure and practices played a crucial role in supporting the empire's global food supply. By focusing on the economic aspects of glocalization, this study examines the coordination of grain shipments from Africa Proconsularis to Rome, with particular attention to Trajan's improvements to the port system of southern Etruria. These local enhancements were essential in managing the large-scale flow of grain to the capital, mitigating the risks associated with maritime transport, and ensuring the efficiency of the* Annona. *The chapter concludes that the Roman state's reliance on local solutions for global goals illustrates the inherently glocal nature of the* Annona *system. This analysis contributes to a broader understanding of the economic and logistical mechanisms underpinning the Roman Empire's ability to manage its resources effectively.*

Introduction

In recent decades, the concept of globalization has gained substantial ground as a tool providing an innovative theoretical framework for a better understanding of several aspects of the Roman world[1]. The increasing use of the term *globalization* to define the spread – in regions that came under Rome's control – of a number of elements peculiar to Roman civilization is progressively replacing the idea of 'Romanization' as a top-down flow of cultural traits from the Roman 'conquerors' to the local 'subjects'. Arising from the evolutionary, colonialist and imperialistic perspective of 19th and 20th century scholarship, the use of 'Romanization' as the only possible framework to explain the cultural transformations undergone by these populations overlooks the agency of local communities in the development of what was later to be defined the 'Roman' identity[2]. Deftly summarized by Witcher, such identity is not only the result of people of different backgrounds being drawn into an increasingly uniform body of Roman citizenry defined by a shared material culture, but was also affected by the imitation, adaptation and repurposing of 'global' customs and commodities to local functions and values[3]. A crucial role in Witcher's theory of Roman globalization – characterized both by cultural homogenization and cultural fragmentation – was therefore played by the manifold networks that allowed the

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1 I am grateful to Emlyn Dodd and Rubén Montoya González for their kind invitation to present my research at the international workshop *Visualising Global, Local and Glocal in Roman Archaeology* (Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome, 3 February 2023).

2 A useful discussion on the matter can be found in Hingley 2005, 1–48. The works collected in Hodos 2017b successfully apply the theoretical framework of globalization to archaeological studies, highlighting the importance of connectivity and networks for a better understanding of ancient civilizations across time and space. Pitts and Versluys 2015b address the Roman world in more detail.

3 Witcher 2017.

building of connections and the long-distance movement of people and commodities. If the word *globalization* makes us think rather of 21st century society, the Roman empire, while lacking today's instant communication and rapid mobility, was a globalized world as well, in which multi-layered connections allowed the development of shared social practices between different groups, generating a sense of "one-placeness"[4].

The important role played by local elements in the creation of these shared identities, along with the imbalance in attention paid to different scales in globalization studies and the present diversity evident in a globalized world, led to the progressive introduction in archaeological and historical studies of another theoretical framework: glocalization[5]. This concept developed originally in business micro-marketing as a strategy according to which goods and services provided by a global enterprise need to be geared to different markets. One commonly cited example is how the offering of McDonald's changes based on the food culture of different countries.

Recent archaeological studies have sought to examine a variety of cultural phenomena through the lens of glocalization, arguably enhancing and developing notions already defined through globalization[6]. This chapter attempts to extend beyond the predominantly cultural approach of past studies by focusing on economic aspects of glocalization, using it as a lens through which to investigate the coordination of the transportation of grain to Rome as part of the *Annona*. It questions how a global economic and logistical endeavor, extending as far as the borders of the Roman empire, was simultaneously organized at a local scale. Following a brief introduction to the *Annona*'s history, focus is given to the shipment routes of grain and other staples between Tunisia and Rome, examining how coastal navigation was coordinated and supported at different scales: Mediterranean, regional and local. This is supplemented by evidence from seven imperial maritime villas on the coast of Etruria that underwent significant building activity under Trajan. All of these villas are located on the final section of one maritime route between Africa Proconsularis and Rome and could have provided support through port and warehouse infrastructure to the freighters transporting grain to the capital.

I contend that many aspects of the *Annona* can be examined from a glocal perspective; for example, the agency of actors involved in the procurement and shipment of grain, the differentiation and specialization of the grain-producing provinces, or the ways in which grain was distributed in Rome. This chapter cannot include a detailed study of all these possible glocal elements. Rather, it uses the case study of Trajan's commitment to improving the port system of southern Etruria as an early example of economic glocalization, in which the central authority intervened at a small, local level, to support an endeavor extending at global scale.

Feeding the City: A Brief History of the *Annona*

The establishment of a system facilitating a more-or-less regular grain supply to the city of Rome was born from the need to ensure sufficient food provisions in years of poor harvest or

4 Hodos 2017a; Pitts and Versluys 2015a.

5 See Roudometof 2016 for an analysis of the concept in modern social science.

6 The studies gathered in Fine and Thompson 2018 explore glocalization in different geographical and chronological contexts. See also Montoya González 2020; id. 2021 for applications of glocalization as a theoretical framework to the study of Roman art in the Iberian peninsula.

the destruction of crops by other means[7]. In the case of severe food shortage, the whole city could starve. As early as the Republican period it was deemed the government's responsibility to organise emergency supplies. In the 1st c. A.D., much later than the earliest instances of food scarcity alleviated by the direct intervention of the Roman state, the emperor Tiberius expressed urgency to this cause in a letter to the senate: "this responsibility, Conscript Fathers, rests upon the shoulders of the Prince: if neglected, it will involve the state in utter ruin"[8].

Originally, grain was sought and imported from neighboring regions (e.g., Latium, Etruria and Campania). This, however, could not cater to the rising demands of a steadily growing population. Victory against Hannibal earned Rome the first two of its provinces, Sicily and Sardinia, from which taxes were levied not in coin but in grain. Grain was also provided by the newly conquered Spain, where the valley of the river Baetis produced a regular surplus, but the available evidence seems to suggest that this grain was bought and not levied as a tax. Spain, together with Gaul (widely exploited by Caesar for his legions) was always regarded as a secondary source of grain, subsidiary to Sicily, Sardinia and Africa. The latter was the most important of Rome's grain lands. Following the defeat of Carthage in 146 B.C., Rome took over North Africa's rich agricultural region centered on the fertile valley of the Bagradas river that had been farmed for generations. Octavian's victory against Mark Antony in 31 B.C. resulted in Rome's control over Egypt, which could purportedly yield approximately half of the grain produced in Africa.

In order to examine the glocal implications of the grain supply – i.e. how much of the management of the *Annona* was achieved through local actions and initiatives – it is necessary to understand the extent of the Roman state's involvement, and how much of the whole process was delegated to other entities that acted at different levels. This includes private individuals as well as guilds of merchants and shipowners.

Throughout the early and middle Republic, grain distributions were not regular but rather organized *ad hoc*, taking place under the initiative of aediles who activated in times of particularly severe scarcity. The *lex Sempronia frumentaria*, promulgated in 123 B.C. by Gaius Gracchus, introduced regular monthly distributions and established the right of every Roman citizen to a ration of grain at a fixed rate below the normal market price. Centralized grain was probably kept in state granaries built for this purpose; it was not sold through ordinary shopkeepers, but at different, state-controlled issuing centers. The novelty of this law lay in the institution of regular, monthly distributions, as opposed to those responding to food shortages[9]. The aim of this measure stands as evidence for the deep involvement of the state in grain supplies: it was not meant to be a welfare scheme for lower social strata, but to establish and maintain a fixed price that would not be affected by the vagaries of harvests or other external factors. The state thus artificially controlled the price of grain[10].

The *lex Sempronia frumentaria* marks the beginning of a nearly three century long process, characterized by the increasing involvement of the state in the supply and distribution of grain to Rome. Observation of this process up to the time of Trajan helps to contextualize the different

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7 There exists substantial scholarship on the *Annona* and the following introduction is based on some of the main reference works. A comprehensive history of grain supply to Rome is offered by Rickman 1980; most of the legal aspects are discussed by Sirks 1991.

8 Tac., *Ann.* III.54.6–8: *Hanc, patres conscripti, curam sustinet princeps; haec omissa funditus rem publicam trahet*.

9 Pavis D'Escurac 1976, 5.

10 Garnsey and Rathbone 1985; Cristofori 2002; Nuti 2009.

degrees to which the state intervened in the *frumentationes* and the extent to which individuals active at different scales were involved[11].

Distribution to the people was the final stage of an elaborate supply chain, comprising the search, acquisition and transportation of grain from distant regions. The logistics of this system are not easy to reconstruct for the early Republican period, as the accounts of later historians (e.g., Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus) are often punctuated by anachronistic details serving to celebrate the family tradition of important *gentes*[12]. Despite this unreliability, other references illuminate the identity of the actors involved in the supply of grain. On the occasion of the famine of 492–491 B.C., caused by the secession of the *plebs*, the consuls sent agents (*frumentatores*) to buy grain from Etruria, Campania and Sicily[13]. Despite lacking information on the identity of these agents, they were most likely private individuals appointed for the purpose, rather than state officials whose main role was the purchase of grain from neighboring areas. What emerges from Livy's account, then, is that the Roman state did intervene in the grain supply, but its involvement seems not to have gone beyond the dispatch of agents entrusted with this responsibility. Likewise, the ships used for the transportation of grain were presumably those of the *frumentatores*: there was no official mercantile navy devoted to the procurement of grain from other regions, and there probably never would be (see below)[14].

The pattern by which the Roman state oversaw the acquisition of grain, with the actual work delegated to agents appointed for various tasks, continued throughout the Republican and imperial periods. In Sicily, where grain was collected as payment in kind of the tithes levied from the province, there were several categories of individuals in different stages of the process, at both local and regional levels[15]. The tax collectors (*decumani*) were mostly Sicilians, who were also responsible for the transportation of grain to the sea; *mancipes* organized shipping to Rome, where grain was distributed to the people under the supervision of the aediles. At least since the late Republic, therefore, a large-scale goal (the grain supply) was achieved through a combination of coordinated tasks at a more granular scale (regional/local). Individuals acting at the local level were indispensable.

Sixty-five years after the establishment of the *lex Sempronia frumentaria*, the tribune of the plebs in 58 B.C., P. Clodius Pulcher, promulgated another *lex frumentaria*. This introduced grain distributions free of charge and entrusted a partisan of Clodius, Sextus Cloelius, with complete control over all the grain, the grain-supplying provinces, contractors, and even the state granaries[16]. Keeping in mind Cicero's harsh words against Clodius, it appears that this law established an unprecedented interference of the state over business that had hitherto been mainly in the hands of private contractors[17].

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11 For a detailed discussion on the role of the state in grain distributions, see Casson 1980. The laws concerning grain distributions promulgated in the Republican period are discussed in Fezzi 2001.

12 For example, Liv., IV.13–16, in which L. Minucius created a *praefectus annonae* to deal with a famine in 440–439 B.C., evidently aimed at celebrating the Minucii, who had developed strong connections with the grain supply to Rome by the late Republic.

13 Liv., II.34.1–7.

14 Charles 2005, 297.

15 Detailed evidence can be found in Cicero's speeches against Verres.

16 Cic., *Dom.* X.25.

17 Cristofori 2002, 149–50.

The decision to appoint a single individual with authority over all aspects of the grain distribution suggests that the supply chain was in crisis. The person appointed could easily exploit their position in demagogical ways, yet the senate's acquiescence seems to indicate the extreme context and urgency. Clodius' law and Cloelius' actions, however, do not seem to have provided effective solutions to the problem. According to Cicero, both the plebs and upper social strata advocated in favor of entrusting Gnaeus Pompey with coordination of the grain supply[18]. In 57 B.C., therefore, the consuls P. Grainelius Lentulus Spinther and Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos issued a law by which Pompey was granted full power over the global grain supply for a period of 5 years[19]. Despite the almost complete absence of details regarding the logistical functioning of the *Annona*, Cicero's letters suggest that 15 *legati*, including Cicero himself and his brother Quintus, were deployed in key areas, and that contracts were stipulated with private grain merchants for a period of three years to supply grain to the Republic[20]. Unfortunately, the specific duties and responsibilities of the *legati* remain opaque, and it is difficult to reconstruct their impact and agency at the local level; however, this multi-layered organizational structure highlights its glocal nature. Smaller-scale efforts were implemented locally to achieve a global goal.

Alongside reorganizing the supply chain, Pompey also improved the distribution of grain in Rome itself. He carried out a census of all the free citizens physically residing in the capital to address swelling numbers of those eligible for distributions caused by manumissions of slaves and mass immigration[21]. Pompey's special *potestas* foreshadows later developments in many respects; however, it remained an extraordinary and temporary measure introduced at a time of particular crisis. No special office entrusted with the *Annona* was created.

The civil war between Caesar and Pompey created a need for solutions to be found for Rome's food supply. Building upon Pompey's census, Caesar felt it necessary to re-calculate the number of grain recipients, finding that in 46 B.C. it had leapt to 320,000, which was reduced to c. 150,000[22]. Furthermore, two *aediles ceriales* were appointed to deal specifically with the grain supply and distributions. State officials therefore became entrusted with managing the overall logistics and ensuring smooth operation of the *Annona*: it was no longer possible to treat it as an adjacent responsibility of the ordinary aediles. Due to the evident power and influence of these positions, and to prevent the emergence of other demagogic leaders, the senate passed a law in 43 B.C. that decreed no single individual should be responsible for the grain supply[23].

This special measure was crucial in the turbulent times following Caesar's assassination, but would no longer be necessary post-31 B.C. when Octavian became sole ruler. For example, it was not regarded as particularly problematic when a series of issues critically hindered the capital's food supply in 23–22 B.C. and Augustus was offered the sole *cura annonae* by the senate and the people of Rome[24]. Furthermore, unlike Pompey's appointment for a period of 5 years, it seems

18 Cic., *Att.* IV.6.

19 Cic., *Att.* IV.1.7: *Legem consules conscripserunt qua Pompeio per quinquennium omnis potestas rei frumentariae toto orbe terrarum daretur* (The consuls drafted a law giving Pompey control over all grain supplies throughout the world for a period of five years).

20 Cic., *Fam.* XIII.75.

21 Cass. Dio, XXXIX.24. More generally on Pompey's *cura*, see Frolov 2022.

22 Suet., *Iul.* XLI.3.

23 Cass. Dio, XLVI.39.3.

24 *RGDA*, V.

that Augustus' *cura* was not time-limited. At the same time, Tiberius held the office of *quaestor Ostiensis* and was therefore responsible for the supervision of the supply of grain to Ostia and its transportation to Rome, a task that he fulfilled efficiently, helping to relieve the ongoing crisis[25].

Towards the end of Augustus' reign, after other episodes of food scarcity and famine had occurred, it became clear that a state-controlled, permanent structure was necessary to coordinate the logistics of grain procurement, transportation, and distribution in Rome. Between A.D. 8 and 14, he, therefore, created the special office of the *praefectus annonae*, which was reserved for citizens of equestrian rank and served as an agent personally accountable to the emperor taking on the responsibilities of the *cura annonae* (above). The *praefectus annonae* had wide-ranging jurisdiction over all matters concerned with grain supply and distributions. He was entrusted with manifold responsibilities, including managing the relationships of the Empire with the *mercatores frumentarii* and *nauicularii*, was assisted by a pool of agents active in the grain-producing provinces, Rome and Ostia and coordinated an articulated structure of employees engaged in the different stages of grain acquisition, transportation and distribution[26].

Claudius, who faced a severe grain shortage in Rome immediately after becoming emperor, devoted significant energy to the *Annona*, intending to solve the issue of food supply once and for all. On the one hand, he offered a series of incentives and privileges to *mercatores frumentarii* and *nauicularii* that would support the purchase and transport of grain that was to be distributed at the *frumentationes*[27]. On the other, aware of limitations in the accommodation of large freighters at the river port of Ostia, he built a new harbor at the mouth of the Tiber[28]. The construction of Portus helped the cargo ships transporting grain for the *Annona*, which were previously forced to either land at Puteoli and transfer freight to smaller vessels who then made their way to Ostia, or, more dangerously, to unload goods offshore. In the large basin of Portus (*circa* 200 ha) the *naues onerariae* could find safe anchorage where their cargo could be transferred to smaller ships with less risk[29].

Claudius' measures, primarily local in their scope and nature, are key elements within the much larger, pan-Mediterranean framework of grain procurement and transportation. The success of this global goal depended on local solutions: leveraging experienced seafaring professionals through private shipping ensured high-quality service, thus relieving the state from the burden of maintaining a permanent mercantile navy; and the local, private merchants contracted with the purchase of grain held intimate understanding and knowledge of their theater of operations. Claudius did not live enough to inaugurate Rome's new port, which was instead finished by Nero[30]. Alongside this, Nero improved other facilities connected to the *Annona*, enlarging the harbor of Antium, and putting in place plans to excavate a canal that would have linked Puteoli with Ostia[31].

As opposed to the hypothetical state-controlled issuing centers of the *lex Sempronia frumentaria*, by the mid-1st c. A.D. things must have been organized somewhat differently. The funerary inscription of Tiberius Claudius Ianuarius, a freedman of either Claudius or

25 Chandler 1978; Vell. Pat., II.94.3.

26 Rickman 1980, 86–87; Ravizza 2020.

27 *Dig*. 50.6.6.3; Charles and Ryan 2006, 10; Sirks 1991, 21–32.

28 Cass. Dio, LX.11.1–5. Known as Portus, *circa* 3 km to the north of Ostia. For recent works on the topography and archaeology of the complex, see Keay 2012a; Keay and Paroli 2011; Keay *et al.* 2005.

29 Rickman 1980, 18. As discussed below, Claudius' large basin was not immune from the risk of storms.

30 *RIC* I, nn. 178–183.

31 Plut., *Caes*. LVIII.8; Arata 2014.

Nero, mentions that he was recipient of grain distributed at a place referred to as the (*porticus*) *Minucia*[32] – a building convincingly identified with the quadriporticus to the east of the temples of Largo Argentina[33]. The same *porticus* is also mentioned in two other inscriptions[34], whose texts suggest that the citizens entitled to the *frumentationes* could receive their ration on a specific day of the month and at a specific entrance (*ostium*) of the *porticus*[35].

Claudius' concerns towards the *cura annonae* hint at proactive attempts to guarantee a reliable stockpile of grain, instead of relying upon responsive, *ad hoc* initiatives to provide grain in times of short supply. Despite the considerable investment in providing Rome with a new harbor, however, Portus was not entirely reliable: the basin frequently silted up, and its large size made it unsafe during storms[36]. The complex was improved by Trajan, who excavated a smaller, inner hexagonal basin to the east of Claudius' harbor. Trajan's solicitude for the *Annona* was not limited to his works at Portus. In Rome, he sponsored large renovations at the river port of the Forum Boarium[37] and he extended to corporations of bakers operating in Rome the incentives and privileges that Claudius had offered to grain merchants[38].

The above highlights different ways in which the Roman state intervened in the process of acquisition, transportation and distribution of grain for the dole. Magistrates entrusted with this responsibility utilized an articulated glocal network, from grain merchants to shipowners and even bakers. The *praefectus annonae* stood at the head of this complex infrastructure, with active agents dispersed across Rome, Ostia and the grain-producing provinces to coordinate the different operational stages of the grain supply. The goal was a global one – at least from the Roman perspective – and to achieve it a wide variety of local actors were employed. While the examination of specific agencies motivating local actors falls beyond the scope of this paper, glocalization can provide a useful theoretical framework to understand such logistics inherent to the *Annona*: assessing the various actors involved in the grain supply from a glocal perspective might indeed offer new perspectives.

***Plebs Frumentaria*, *Modii*, *Naues Onerariae*:** **How Much Grain did Rome Need to Feed its People?**

The number of Roman citizens entitled to the free or subsidized distributions of grain varied significantly throughout the Republic and Empire. The *lex Sempronia frumentaria* established the right of any citizen residing in Rome, regardless of income, to grain distributions at a fixed price. This caused Pompey to undertake a census of grain recipients, since several slave owners manumitted their slaves to hand responsibility of their maintenance to the state[39]. It is not until Caesar, however, that we are provided with an overall number for those entitled to

32 *CIL* VI.10223.

33 Manacorda 1999.

34 *CIL* VI.10224; *CIL* VI.10225.

35 Rickman 1980, 192.

36 In A.D. 62, about 200 *naues onerariae* carrying grain for Rome and temporarily harbored at Portus were sunk in a storm (Tac., *Ann*. XV.18.3).

37 Colini 1980.

38 *Dig*. 27.1.46.

39 Cass. Dio, XXXIX.24.

grain distributions (*circa* 150,000 according to Suetonius). But these efforts did not provide a permanent solution. We know that another census of the *plebs frumentaria*, which must therefore have increased again, was carried out by Augustus in 2 B.C., and that its number was reduced to a little over 200,000 people[40]. It is likely that this figure was set as some sort of maximal limit to the number of grain recipients: for the purpose of this work, we will therefore assume that, by Trajan's reign, it had not varied by a considerable extent[41].

Indications regarding the quantity of grain required for the administration to guarantee the *frumentationes* for 200,000 people provide important context for interpretations of the port villas of south Etruria and large numbers of ships arriving to Italy (below). In the late Republic, the individual ration was established at 5 *modii* per month (32.5–35 kg)[42], which amounts to 60 *modii* per year per person, and a total of 12 million *modii* annually to feed the *plebs frumentaria* (78,000–80,000 tons). A passage from Josephus reports that Egypt could provide grain sufficient to feed Rome for around one-third of the year (thus, 4 million *modii*), whilst the remaining two-thirds (8 million *modii*) came from Africa[43]. The transportation of such huge amounts of grain over long distances created substantial challenges. Overland transport used carts and pack animals moving at the slow and expensive pace of 2–4 miles per hour. Based on the figures provided in Diocletian's *Price Edict* (late 3rd c. A.D.), the overland transportation of a wagon-load of wheat (60 *modii*, *circa* 420 kg) cost approximately 20 *denarii* per mile[44].

The obvious alternative to carts and pack animals was maritime transport, which was riskier but much cheaper and faster: according to the *Price Edict*, shipping wheat the 1,700 miles from Alexandria to Rome cost only 16 *denarii* per *kastrensis modius*[45]. As famously put by Jones, it was "cheaper to ship grain from one end of the Mediterranean to the other than to cart it for 75 miles"[46]. Travel time depended on the time of year, direction of journey (prevailing winds in the Mediterranean blow from north-west to south-east, and ancient ships could not sail against the wind) and on the vagaries of weather[47]. In the summer months, the average travel time from Africa Proconsularis to Portus (390–400 miles, depending on the port of departure) took approximately 6 to 14 days[48].

Despite significantly lower costs, the maritime transport of wheat remained an unpredictable and risky affair. Navigation stopped almost completely during the winter months – the sea being *clausus* between 11th November and 10th March and very dangerous between 22nd September and 27th May[49]. Along with natural obstacles, such as storms or unfavorable winds, pirates were common, despite Pompey's admirable efforts in the late Republic. Additionally, once the freighters

40 *RGDA* XV.

41 Rickman 1980, 184–85.

42 Licinianus, fr. 35.

43 Joseph., *BJ* II.383–85.

44 Jones 1964, 841; *Edictum de pretiis*, XVII.3.

45 *AE* 1947, 148–49, line 24. Unfortunately, the figures relevant to the cost of transport from Africa to Rome are missing, but it must have been slightly lower than that from Alexandria. An analysis of the text can be found in Graser 1940.

46 Jones 1964, 842.

47 Arnaud 2005, 14–23.

48 Figures provided based on calculations using the ORBIS Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World: https://orbis.stanford.edu.

49 Veg., *Mil.* IV.39.

had reached Portus, wheat had to be transported up the Tiber as far as the *Portus Tiberinus* in Rome. Such risks notwithstanding, grain for from Africa simply had to be transported to Rome by sea. If the figures given by Josephus regarding the amount of grain provided by Africa Proconsularis and Egypt are to be believed (respectively eight million and four million *modii*), how many freighters were required for transport of the former to Rome? Was there such a thing as the 'average' *nauis oneraria*?

The answer to the second question is probably no. Rome likely never had anything close to a regular, state-owned mercantile navy, or vessels with more or less standardized capacity[50]. Amongst the measures of Claudius to encourage private shipowners to transport grain for the *frumentationes* is the concession of Roman citizenship to Latins who built a vessel with a capacity of no less than 10,000 *modii* (65–70 tons), and used it to ship grain to Italy for 6 years[51]. A reference from the late 2nd c. A.D. jurist Scaevola expands on this, reporting that privileges were granted to those who built and put at the service of the *Annona* a ship with a capacity of at least 50,000 *modii* (325–350 tons), or multiple ships no smaller than 10,000 *modii*[52]. But much larger freighters existed, with reported capacities reaching 1,800,000 *modii* (1,200–1,300 tons)[53]. Given such widely variable capacities, exact figures cannot be provided regarding the number of vessels that transported grain to Italy every year. If the overall quantity of wheat distributed at the *frumentationes* amounted to 12 million *modii*, estimates range between 200 and 1,000 vessels[54]. Based on Josephus' reference to the amount of grain provided by Egypt and Africa, we might assume that shipping 8 million *modii* of wheat from Africa required between 100 and 800 freighters.

From Africa Proconsularis to Rome: Agricultural Practices, Shipment Ports and Sailing Routes

The region surrounding Carthage became the Roman province of Africa after the city's destruction in 146 B.C. Rome took over an area that was not only particularly fertile but also had a well-developed and sophisticated agricultural tradition[55]; it is not unlikely that the higher availability of grain resulting from the creation of this province, and the foundation of a colony at Carthage, were amongst the reasons lying behind the *lex Sempronia frumentaria*[56]. Despite the relatively small

50 In the mid-1st c. A.D., the *nauicularii* of Alexandria, who controlled the shipment of Egyptian grain to Rome, were organized as a group which Seneca calls a *classis* (*Ep*. LXXVII.1); in a Greek inscription from the time of Septimius Severus (*IG* XIV.917) this 'Alexandrine' fleet, called στόλος, appears to be under the supervision of an ἐπιμελητής (roughly equivalent to the Latin *procurator*). Regarding Africa, Commodus' biography (SHA, *Comm*. XVII.7) reports that he created a *classis Africana*, which would have proved useful if the transportation of grain from Egypt experienced problems or delays. It is therefore probable that vessels sailing from Africa were not organized in a fleet before the late 2nd c. A.D.

51 Gai., *Inst*. I.32c. A discussion of the edict in Tchernia 2016, 211–19.

52 *Dig*. 50.5.3.

53 Lucianus, *Navigium* V reports the dimensions of the *Isis*, a large grain ship transporting grain from Alexandria to Rome in the 2nd c. A.D.: 180 feet long, 45 feet wide, with a hold 44 feet deep (cf. Houston 1987).

54 While the focus of this paper is the transport of the grain distributed at the *frumentationes*, Rome had an estimated total population of *circa* 1 million people (Aldrete and Mattingly 1999); the actual consumption of grain must have amounted to no less than 40 million *modii* per year.

55 Hilali 2013.

56 Garnsey and Rathbone 1985.

extension of the province in the late Republican period (*circa* 25,000 km^2), Roman control was substantially enlarged to the east, south and west during the early empire. After Caesar's victory against the *optimates* at Thapsus in 46 B.C., the eastern half of the kingdom of Numidia became the province of *Africa Nova*, the older province thereafter referred to as Africa Vetus; the two provinces were then unified by Augustus in 27 B.C., receiving the name Africa Proconsularis[57]. A significant expansion of the territories controlled by the Roman empire occurred under Trajan, who established the *limes* as far south as the Aures Mountains, founded colonies, and defined the frontiers with the nomadic tribe of the Musulamii[58]. Land ownership patterns across the region often took the form of large senatorial estates. With the change of regime, the emperor acquired vast possessions, even confiscating senatorial properties[59]. Despite the extensive growth of more profitable olive trees from the 2nd c. A.D., especially in the eastern areas of the province, cereal cultivation was never completely replaced in Numidia.

The vast expansion of imperial estates in Africa proved particularly beneficial for the *Annona*, as the grain produced remained property of the *fiscus* (there was therefore no need to employ tax farmers or grain merchants to levy or purchase it on behalf of the Roman state). Six inscriptions containing regulations for the management and exploitation of these estates show that the imperial government actively intervened to increase agricultural production in a region vital for the subsistence of Rome[60]. Furthermore, through Trajan's commitment to expand Roman territories, large tracts of land came into the hands of private individuals who then participated in the export market. Evidence for the administration of Africa Proconsularis in the early 2nd c. A.D. suggests that the grain yield from this province increased remarkably between the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian[61]. An efficient, articulated road network permeated the province, linking agricultural estates to the major shipping ports (e.g., Rusicade, Hippo Regius, Thabraca, Hippo Diarrhytus, Carthage) from which agricultural surplus was exported[62].

The sea routes connecting Africa to Italy were not static lines connecting point A to B, but rather the result of a combination of manifold factors and constraints, both natural and human[63]. This might include the prevailing wind, currents, coastline topography, regional climate, weather, as well as contemporary technology, for example the size and configuration of vessels, sails employed, on-board instrumentation, but also the reason for the journey (e.g., military or commercial). All these factors combined to define the route that a vessel followed. While it was long assumed that navigation was predominantly coastal, this has been persuasively contested by Arnaud, who argues that coastal and open-sea navigation coexisted (and it cannot have been otherwise) and that reducing ancient navigation to a dichotomy oversimplifies a more complex picture[64].

57 Roman administration in Africa is discussed in detail by Lassère 2017, 139–280. On the constitution of *Africa Nova* and *Africa Vetus* by Caesar, see Fishwick 1993.

58 Gascou 1972, 37–115; Maiuro 2012, 200 n. 209.

59 Crawford 1976, 38–39.

60 *CIL* VIII.10570 (Souk el-Khmis); *CIL* VIII.14428 (Gasr Mezuar); *CIL* VIII.14451 (Aïn Zaga); *CIL* VIII.25902 (Henchir Mettich); *CIL* VIII.25943 (Aïn el-Djemala); *CIL* VIII.26316 (Aïn Wassel). See Kehoe 1988 for a detailed discussion of the inscriptions and the evidence they provide to reconstruct the administration of imperial estates in Africa.

61 De Romanis 2003, 703–9.

62 Gascou 1972, 43–44.

63 Arnaud 2005, 7–60.

64 Arnaud 2005, 107–26. A passage from Strabo (I.1.3) dismisses coastal navigation as something belonging to very primitive times.

From Africa Proconsularis, Rome could be reached following two different maritime routes. The most intuitive route connected Cape Bon with Lilybaeum[65], then sailed along the northern coast of Sicily to reach Calabria, and finally headed northwest to Puteoli. Another, probably less immediate route, departed from Thabraca, Utica, or Carthage, traversed northwards to Karalis, sailed up the eastern shores of Sardinia and Corsica, crossed the Tyrrhenian near Elba island, and then progressed southeast to Portus[66]. Indeed, this is the route followed by Caesar when he returned to Italy after victory at Thapsus in 46 B.C[67]. The former route, despite the advantage of allowing vessels to sail with land in sight at all times, was less convenient than might be expected, due to the fact that ships sailing from Calabria to Puteoli had to navigate against the prevailing northwest winds causing the second part of their journey to be extended by more than three days. The latter route on the other hand, via Sardinia, Corsica and coastal Etruria, took only three days (according to the *Bellum Africum*), by exploiting prevailing winds more efficiently.

Of pertinence to this more efficient maritime route are seven imperial maritime villas on the coast of south Etruria, all of which experienced significant building activity under Trajan, especially the construction or enlargement of associated ports[68]. At Portus, where an imperial residence had existed since at least the age of Claudius[69], the hexagonal basin was excavated along with the construction of warehouses and other infrastructure. About 70 km northwest of Rome, Trajan built the *uilla pulcherrima* of Centumcellae attached to a large harbor[70]. Immediately to the south of the Argentario Promontory sits the so-called villa della Tagliata, in the territory of Cosa, seemingly built in the early 2nd c. A.D[71]. On the northern coast of the Argentario is a site referred to in the ancient literature as *Domitiana Positio*, convincingly identified as the villa di Santa Liberata, where building activity is recorded under Trajan[72]. Further north, not far from the Portus Telamonis destroyed during the civil war between Marius and Sulla, is the so-called villa della Madonna delle Grazie, built in the Trajanic period[73]. On the Giglio Island (Igilium), just off the Argentario, the villa del Saraceno, founded in the Julio-Claudian period, was enlarged under Trajan[74]. Similarly, the villa Domitia on the island of Giannutri (Dianium) was revitalized and substantially enlarged in the early 2nd c. A.D[75].

Perhaps most importantly, these villas are located along the final section of the second maritime route from Africa Proconsularis to Rome. They are all equipped with a port, and often have water reservoirs, warehouses, or even ship sheds, often of remarkable size and capacity disproportionate for the everyday life of a maritime villa. This peculiar configuration suggests that they were designed to receive a substantial number of large ships simultaneously or within a short timeframe[76].

65 Plin., *HN* 3.87.

66 *It. Ant.*, 494–95, 513–14. Discussion in Mastino, Spanu and Zucca 2005, 37–40.

67 Caes., *Bell. Afr.* XCVIII..

68 A larger forthcoming article will provide detailed descriptions of these sites and Trajan's building initiatives in more detail.

69 Tac., *Ann*. XI.29.

70 Plin., *Ep*. VI.31. The villa and port are examined by Correnti 1990; Quilici 1993.

71 Ciampoltrini 1991; Ciampoltrini and Rendini 2004.

72 Ciampoltrini 1998.

73 Ciampoltrini 1994.

74 Rendini 1995.

75 Cavazzuti 1999.

76 Schörle 2011; Keay 2012b.

The first section of this chapter illustrated how implementing the *Annona* was a major priority for Trajan. Not only did he promote important works at Portus, enhancing the safety and efficiency of infrastructure, but also extended to bakers the privileges that Claudius had granted to grain merchants and shipowners. Furthermore, he was committed to increasing the grain yield of Africa Proconsularis by acquiring large regions for Rome's control. Could the evidence for Trajanic building activity at the 'port-villas' of south Etruria be read against the background of his commitment to the *Annona*? The position of these villas on the route from Africa to Rome alongside their peculiar infrastructural scale can hardly have been a coincidence. While the Claudian and Trajanic harbors at Portus were unparalleled in size, they were still not sufficiently large to provide docking space for the several hundred ships transporting African grain to Rome every year, potentially arriving within the space of a few weeks. I suggest that the sequence of ports immediately to the northwest of Portus served to relieve it from the burden of the quasi-simultaneous arrival of a large number of colossal vessels. Incoming traffic to Portus needed to be monitored carefully, as the overcrowding of the harbor would have caused difficulties and risks in unloading the freighters and shipping their cargo up the Tiber. The remarkable number of ports along coastal south Etruria at which vessels could call can therefore be explained as necessary sheltered stopovers for ships that could not immediately head to Portus, but had to wait until Rome's main harbor had sufficient space and facilities to guarantee safe mooring and unloading.

Trajan's initiatives to improve the *Annona* can be interpreted as an example of economic and logistical glocalization. He committed to increasing the amount of grain flowing from Africa Proconsularis – to the point that, according to Pliny the Younger, Rome no longer relied on Egypt as the main grain-supplying province[77] – by 1) expanding imperial possessions in the region and improving the network of roads connecting the hinterland with coastal Mediterranean ports; 2) granting privileges to bakers alongside merchants and shipowners; and 3) implementing an overflow port system along the coast of south Etruria to support and manage freighter traffic to Portus and mitigate overcrowding. Trajanic building initiatives in south Etruria are therefore even more tightly connected to his commitment to enhancing the grain yield of Africa Proconsularis: by improving the port system of southern Etruria, he consolidated a route on which grain for the *frumentationes* could be shipped safely and rapidly. Despite the global extension of the *Annona*, the infrastructure behind it needed to be designed and set up at a more granular, local level. Such fragmentation of the supply of grain allowed, on the one hand, closer and tighter control of its manifold components, and, on the other, a significant redistribution and mitigation of the possible risks embedded in each phase (procurement, transportation, distribution)[78].

Given the peculiar position of the port system of south Etruria relative to Portus, such an interpretation might yet extend further. The distance between Portus and Centumcellae is roughly the same as that between Portus and Antium. Nero, alongside completing and inaugurating Portus, enlarged the port of Antium (another harbor attached to an imperial villa) and planned to excavate a *fossa nauigabilis* between the Lucrine lake and Ostia (see above). Whilst Centumcellae is on the final section of the route linking Africa Proconsularis to Rome, Antium sits between Puteoli and Rome on the last section of the maritime route from Alexandria to the capital – another route of importance for the *Annona* along which grain from Egypt was carried[79]. It is also

77 Plin., *Pan*. XXXI.

78 Charles and Ryan 2006, 11–13.

79 Arnaud 2005, 217.

a stretch of coastline that ancient authors describe as particularly dangerous as it lacks natural harbors[80]. Puteoli was the hub at which freighters from Egypt stopped before heading to Portus, whilst the *naues onerariae* arriving from Africa Proconsularis could call at Centumcellae. As it seems Nero did for Antium, is evident that Trajan was aware of glocalizing harbor importance and bestowed a similar role on Centumcellae.

Conclusion

The evidence outlined above illustrates how the organization of the *Annona* can be interpreted in many respects as one type of glocalization: the infrastructure necessary for the achievement of a global goal was fragmented into smaller components implemented at the local level, designed to deal with issues peculiar to specific areas. The 'global' aspect is visualized as the wider framework within which operations were coordinated; the local is where, and how, these operations were performed. Given the remarkable diversity of the different theaters of these operations, including grain-supplying provinces, ports, shipping lanes and distribution centers in Rome, the local level of the overall infrastructure shows variety in its arrangements, geared to the different scenarios in which they are implemented. While this interpretation and application of glocalization may be different from other examples within this volume, it highlights the useful flexibility afforded by such an approach, encouraging new perspectives to old problems and building our understanding through multi-scalar assessment.

The control room of the whole system was the *praefectus annonae* in Rome, who was personally responsible to the emperor for the smooth completion of each phase. Guaranteeing sufficient provisions of grain, especially in times of scarcity, was a complex process entailing a range of stages that, by their very nature, took place simultaneously across spatially dispersed regions. The *praefectus annonae* could not oversee all of them in person, hence the necessity of management at the local level. A structure of subordinates and agents active in the grain-producing regions, at Ostia, and in Rome, was the most obvious way to coordinate the different operations required by the grain supply.

These lower-ranking agents were state officers employed for duties related solely to the *Annona*. However, the grain merchants, shipowners and bakers that were involved through the grant of privileges and incentives were essentially entrepreneurs that collaborated with the world of the *Annona*, among other things, for their own convenience. By entrusting certain tasks (e.g., the procurement of grain, its transportation and the production of bread) to local actors, the Roman state ensured quality service from experienced professionals (merchants, *nauicularii*, bakers) who, at the local scale, acted more efficiently that a state officer. But this was not the only advantage of this policy. Precisely because these individuals were private businesspeople, by contracting out different operations, Rome redistributed the not insubstantial risks (e.g., scarce harvests, unfavorable weather, loss of cargo). Contractors were often local to their respective theaters of operations, and responded in a variety of ways to the issues encountered. The solutions employed in different times and places offer further food for thought and inspiration for a more thorough re-examination of the *Annona* and the agency of different actors through the lens of glocalization.

80 Strabo, V.3.6.

The attention with which the *Annona* was coordinated at the local and regional scales emerges also from an examination of the port system of south Etruria, which was enhanced primarily to support coastal navigation and grain transshipment from Africa Proconsularis to Portus. It was a poly-focal hub consisting of harbors of different capacities and hierarchical importance. Nero's commitment to enlarge Antium, and his plan to excavate a canal that would connect Puteoli to Ostia, lend further support to such an interpretation. Given the common use of coastal navigation in antiquity, these networks of smaller harbors relieving Portus from the burden of hundreds of ships arriving in a short timeframe were crucial to minimize the risks of losing their cargo.

Taken as a whole, this evidence hints at the intrinsically glocal nature of the *Annona*. While "the stimulus to action at moments of crisis came from the state"[81], the overall system of grain supply and distribution could hardly have reached the complexity and efficiency that it did were it not for agents active at a smaller scale, and for the elaborate network of entities implemented to manage the local level. Several centuries before business micro-marketing was treated as a subject of study and commercial strategy, it was clear to the Roman state that the starting point to any global goal is the local level, and that it is often thanks to a global prompt that the local scale undergoes otherwise impossible transformations.

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81 Rickman 1980, 34

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Chapter 8

Glocal Representations Within the Architecture of South Etruria: The Southern Necropolis of Falerii Novi Along the Via Amerina

Beatrice Fochetti*

Abstract: This chapter examines the impact of Roman presence in the ager Faliscus, focusing on the architectural transformations in the city of Falerii Novi and its southern necropolis along the Via Amerina. By applying the theoretical framework of glocalization, the study explores the complex interplay between global Roman influences and local Faliscan traditions in the evolution of funerary architecture from the mid-Republican to Imperial periods. This study highlights how local agents assimilated and reinterpreted Roman architectural models, integrating them with established local practices, abundant raw materials, and specialized craftsmanship. This process was pivotal in shaping a new collective identity in the territory. Case studies from the Cavo degli Zucchi necropolis and comparisons with the nearby city of Sutri illustrate the emergence of unique architectural forms that reflect both Roman and Faliscan influences. The analysis reveals how these glocal architectural solutions served as a means of negotiating cultural identity within the broader context of Roman expansion. By focusing on the interaction between local traditions and global models, the chapter provides new insights into the socio-cultural dynamics of the Roman conquest in southern Etruria.

Introduction[1]

The Faliscan territory (*ager Faliscus*) was a culturally defined area of southern Etruria, in the middle of the Tiber Valley[2]. Located on the right bank of the Tiber, separated from the Umbrians and Sabines but in direct contact with Etruscan populations, it can be considered a border area between Etruscan and Italic cultures[3]. Political and social changes in the wake of the Roman conquest of the Faliscan territory in the mid-Republican period, alongside its cultural permeability, meant that this area was particularly susceptible to absorbing and reinterpreting (architectural) models from Rome.

After the fall of *Veii* in 396 B.C., this area was gradually incorporated into the Roman sphere of influence. In the first quarter of the 4th c. B.C., the Latin colonies of Nepi (*Nepet*) and Sutri (*Sutrium*) were founded due to their strategic position as a natural barrier and communication route between Faliscan and Etruscan territories[4]. Livy describes the two centers as *loca opposita*

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1 The architectural context discussed in this paper has been analyzed in light of the existing literature and a survey carried out by the author. Relevant case studies of funerary architecture have been selected from the southern necropolis of Falerii Novi. The analysis focusses on architectural languages set within a critical analysis of data from more recent archaeological research (cf. note 7). Along with figures included in the text, photographic references of buildings mentioned are given where possible as a web–link to the British School at Rome Digital Collections (https://digitalcollections.bsr.ac.uk) and to the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut/University of Cologne object database *Arachne* (https://arachne.dainst.org).

2 On the *ager Faliscus*, see *Forma Italiae* 1.2 1972; *Forma Italiae* 2.2 1981; Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957; Potter 1979; De Lucia Brolli 1991; Cifani 2013; Maras 2013; De Lucia Brolli and Tabolli 2013; Ambrosini 2017b; Patterson *et al.* 2020.

3 Compare Cifani 2013; Ambrosini 2017b.

4 Diodorus Siculus ambiguously mentions Sutri already in existence as a colony of Rome and shortly after the Sack of Rome in 390 B.C. (Diod. Sic. 14.98 and 14.117). Instead, Velleius Peterculus dates the foundation of Sutri 7 years after the Sack of Rome, in 383 B.C., and the foundation of Nepi 10 years later, in 373 B.C. (Vell. Pat. 1.14.2). By contrast, Livy places the foundation of the colony at Nepi in 383 B.C. (Livy 6.21.4–5). Both cities (*Nepete, Sutrium*)

Etruriae et velut claustra inde portaeque, a definition that underlines their character as border areas[5]. However, the Roman conquest of the *ager Faliscus* did not take place until the middle of the 3rd c. B.C., with the definitive subjugation traditionally dated to 241 B.C. of the main Faliscan center, Falerii (Veteres, modern Civita Castellana)[6]. Perhaps the most representative consequence of the changing political order in the territory was the foundation of Falerii Novi, about 5 km northwest of the older Falerii[7]. This new city was connected to Rome by an extra-urban road traditionally identified as the Via Amerina[8], a strategic axis for Roman penetration into Umbria, which is also recorded in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*[9]. Although ancient sources describe the Roman conquest of the *ager Faliscus* as a violent and traumatic event, recent scholarship has considered the complexity of the social and cultural changes that followed the Roman conquest as a more gradual process[10]. On the other hand, Roman military conquest of the territory undeniably had significant political, social, cultural, urban and economic implications[11]. Evolving architectural languages during the transition between Faliscan and Roman phases highlight cultural permeability, abundant local raw materials and a well-established local architectural tradition, which make the walled city of Falerii Novi, its landscape and architecture a particularly promising case study to interrogate intersections between local and global phenomena.

Set within the historical context of Rome's conquest in South Etruria, this chapter explores through the lens of glocalization the complexity of social and cultural interaction in the formation of local identity[12]. In the last decade, theoretical debates in archaeology have attempted to

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are listed by Livy as existing Latin colonies in 209 BC (Livy 27. 9. 7). The question of the legal status of Nepi and Sutri is addressed in *Forma Italiae* VII.7 1980, 12–17; Cozza and Morselli 2011; Mottolese 2020, 1–9.

5 Livy 6.9.4: *Namque cum ea loca opposita Etruriae et velut claustra inde portaeque essent, et illis occupandi ea cum quid novi molirentur, et Romanis reciperandi tuendique cura erat* (For since these places were on the frontier of Etruria, and were the barriers, so to speak, and gateways of that region, the Etruscans were concerned to seize them, as often as they had any new design in hand, and the Romans to recover or defend them; transl. Foster 1924).

6 Polyb. 1.65.2; Livy, *Per.* 20; Eutr. 2.28; Oros. 4.11; Zonar. 8.18. This topic is discussed by Loreto 1989; Di Stefano Manzella 1990; Cifani 2013, 21–24. Falerii Veteres and Falerii Novi are conventional toponyms used in the modern literature to distinguish the old Faliscan center from the new Roman city (Di Stefano Manzella 1976–1977).

7 The initial juridical status of city is still unclear. By the late Republic the city acquired the status of *municipium*, as confirmed by inscriptions (*CIL* 11, 3112, 3083; 3116, 3125, 3155 *a* 1), see SupplIt 01 1981, 105–7; Di Stefano Manzella 1990. Cf. Andrews *et al.* 2023a, 13. Archival and epigraphic data (Di Stefano Manzella 1979; SupplIt 01 1981) alongside with systematic non-invasive surveys (Keay *et al.* 2000; Hay *et al.* 2010; Verdonck *et al.* 2020; Millett *et al.* 2025) and limited excavations (De Lucia Brolli 1995–1996) have been the main sources for the historical, topographical and archaeological knowledge of the buried city of Falerii Novi. From 2021, new systematic stratigraphic excavations that aim to investigate the city from its origin to post-Roman transformation have commenced as part of the Falerii Novi Project (Bernard *et al.* 2022; Andrews *et al.* 2023a; 2023b).

8 This road leaves the Via Cassia at the *mansio ad Vacanas* and continues northward, passing through *Nepet*, Falerii Novi, *Castellum Amerinum*, *Ameria*, then proceeding on to *Perusia* (*Forma Italiae* 1.2 1972; Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957; De Lucia Brolli 1987; Cavallo 2004; Esch 2011; Coarelli 2012). For the identification of the route between *Baccanae*/*mansio ad Vacanas* and *Ameria* as one section (*CIL* 11, 3083, 3126) of the Via Annia, which connected Rome to Aquileia, see Uggeri 2012; 2020.

9 Talbert 2010, segment grid 4B2–3.

10 Biella 2020; Biella and Nonnis 2021. For a critical discussion on continuity and change in the Middle Tiber Valley in the early and mid-imperial age, see Witcher 2020, 117–207.

11 For a discussion on Falerii Novi's town planning, see Keay *et al.* 2000; Wallace-Hadrill 2013. Specific questions relating to the relationship between the town planning of Falerii Novi and the Faliscan Falerii (Veteres) are explored by Millett 2007.

12 The changing landscape of South Etruria has been systematically investigated since the middle of the 20th c. onwards, within John Ward-Perkins's South Etruria Survey and later the British School at Rome's Tiber Valley Project (Potter

overcome paradigms of Romanization by encouraging a critical approach focused on the local dimension of global phenomena. Glocalization sits within this as an autonomous analytical framework, even if evolving from globalization theory[13]. The theoretical formulation adopted is that of Roudometof[14], increasingly used in archaeological literature to illuminate the complex process of negotiation between local agents and global phenomena[15]. Recent studies have convincingly demonstrated the potential of a glocalization framework to be applied to Roman archaeology, in particular its advantages as an analytical approach to understanding the glocal character of material evidence[16]. The framework of glocalization therefore offers the opportunity of overcoming the limits of previous theoretical frameworks by highlighting, in a multi-scalar manner, global, regional and local agency in the *ager Faliscus* involved in the formation of a new collective identity.

By analyzing case studies from Falerii Novi's southern necropolis, this study investigates how local agents influenced the process of assimilation of Roman architectural models in the Faliscan area between the mid-Republican and Imperial periods. Case studies are selected to provide insight into how cultural interactions occur at different scales, and to illustrate the application of glocalization theory in archaeology. The choice of funerary architecture as the main context for this analysis is not unintentional. Architectural languages are a powerful expression of community identity. This is particularly true of the necropoleis, with funerary architecture standing at the boundary between the private sphere and public representation. The way in which people, or groups of people, chose to represent themselves – and consequently express their identity – is representative not only of the social status of those buried, but also of the cultural tendencies, local traditions, social and economic interactions, global interconnectivities and even political constraints of that community. But architecture can also conceal technical or other material reasons independent of ideological values. This chapter aims to explore all these aspects holistically, considering cultural interaction alongside materiality related to the development of architectural languages. A comparative methodological approach is used to discuss the evidence of urban glocalization in South Etruria, extending to neighboring areas, especially the city of Sutri.

Faliscan Geomorphology: A Tuff-dominated Landscape

The geomorphology of Falerii Novi, as with the broader Faliscan area, is dominated by the widespread presence of volcanic rocks produced by the pyroclastic activity of the Cimino-Vicano complex. Especially prominent is a particular type of red tuff, the so-called *tufo rosso a scorie nere*[17], which is an easily cut ignimbrite abundant across Falerii Novi and its hinterland[18]. Due

1979; Patterson *et al.* 2020). As part of the South Etruria Survey, the central and northern *ager Faliscus* and its road system were surveyed by Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins in 1954–55. This included the necropoleis along the Via Amerina (Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957).

13 For globalization theory applied to Roman archaeology, see Witcher 2000; Hingley 2005; Hitchner 2005; Gardner 2013. Criticism of the framework of globalization applied to the Roman world has been addressed by Mattingly 2004; Naerebout 2007; Gardner 2013.

14 Roudometof 2016a; id. 2026b.

15 See the fundamental contribution of Van Alten 2017.

16 Among recent studies in Roman archeology, see Montoya 2020; id. 2021.

17 Locardi 1965; Peccerillo 2005.

18 See in particular the quarries identified along the southern side of Falerii Novi tuffaceous plateau (Opitz 2009, 9–13 figs 7–8).

to its volcanic nature, the landscape is also characterized by sharply cut natural ravines created by fluvial erosion, some of which are tens of meters deep[19]. The abundance of this raw material played a major role in the development of both Faliscan and Roman architectural languages. As might be expected in such a landscape, the process of assimilation of the architectural models introduced into the Faliscan territory after the Roman conquest was strongly influenced by three factors: abundance of local raw materials; well-established architectural traditions; and the presence of local craftsmen. The formal language of funerary architecture, especially that of the southern necropolis of Falerii Novi, represents these aspects particularly well.

The Southern Necropolis of Falerii Novi along the Via Amerina: Cavo degli Zucchi

The southern necropolis of Falerii Novi developed along the Via Amerina in the section connecting Falerii Novi to Nepi (*Nepet*). Over the *circa* 3 km stretch between Falerii Novi and the *Torre dell'Isola*, the Via Amerina runs almost perfectly north-south[20]. Along its route, an impressive system of road-cuttings (*vie cave*) and *opus quadratum* bridges facilitated the crossing of a number of deep ravines and watercourses[21]. Monumentalized sectors characterized the necropoleis that developed along the Via Amerina (fig. 8.1): the so-called *Cavo degli Zucchi* necropolis north of the *Rio Maggiore* river and the *Tre Ponti* necropolis between the *Rio Maggiore* and the *Fosso Tre Ponti* river to the south[22]. To the north were the sectors closest to Falerii Novi, including a series of rock-cut tombs near the *Rio Calello* river and another along the *Rio Purgatorio* river, with tombs cut into the southern edge of the plateau on which Falerii Novi sits, also known from 19th c. surveys[23]. These necropoleis present predominantly rock-cut funerary architecture, and consist mostly of tombs carved into the natural bedrock close to watercourses.

During the Roman period, the southern necropolis along the Via Amerina was the main funerary area serving the city of Falerii Novi and its territory, while smaller nuclei were located around the city[24]. To the north of the *Rio Maggiore*, a particularly monumental sector has been

19 Representative for this area is the ravine at the *Rio Maggiore* crossing, which can be seen here looking from south with the *Tombe della Regina* in the background: digitalcollections.bsr.ac.uk/islandora/object/WP-SOUTH-ETRURIA:3010. Call number: WP[PHN]-E-SEt1368.36; WP[PHP]-SEtD18-067b. South Etruria Series, Ward-Perkins Collection, British School at Rome.

20 A detailed description of this section can be found in Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 97–108 figs 10–15, pl. 25–26. For the site of *Torre dell'Isola*, see Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 92–97 figs 7–9.

21 Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 99–102 figs 11–13, pl. 23–24; Antonelli 1995; Liardo 2014. See also: digitalcollections.bsr.ac.uk/islandora/object/WP-SOUTH-ETRURIA:1471; Call number: WP[PHN]-E-SEt1375.09A; WP[PHP]-SEtD18-053a. South Etruria Series, Ward-Perkins Collection, British School at Rome.

22 Three sectors along the Via Amerina (*Cavo degli Zucchi*, *Tre Ponti* and *Cava Foce* south of the *Fosso Tre Ponti*) have been systematically excavated since 1983 over 30 years by the volunteers of the *Gruppo Archeologico Romano*, see Caretta 1986; Munzi and Noviello 1989; Munzi 1994; Innocenti *et al.* 1995; D'Aleo and Prisco 1995; Caretta *et al.* 1995; Cerasuolo and Pulcinelli 2005a; id. 2005b; Caretta 2006; id. 2014; La Farina 2017. Caretta 2006, 94 mentions a total of 186 tombs and funerary monuments, spread over the three sectors. This number will surely increase, considering other unexplored areas next the city.

23 Dennis 1848, fig. 103.

24 Worthy of mention is the eastern necropolis of Falerii Novi, the so-called *Necropoli dei Tre Camini*, with groups of chamber tombs. Among them are the *Tomba del Peccato* portico tomb (see note 39) and the *Tomba dei Tre Camini*, a chamber tomb excavated by the Soprintendenza in the nineties (De Lucia Brolli, 1995–1996). The latter was used intensively from the last decades of the 3rd c. B.C. to the imperial era (De Lucia Brolli *et al.* 2012, 139–43, pls. XXXVII.b–c, nn. B.112–113).

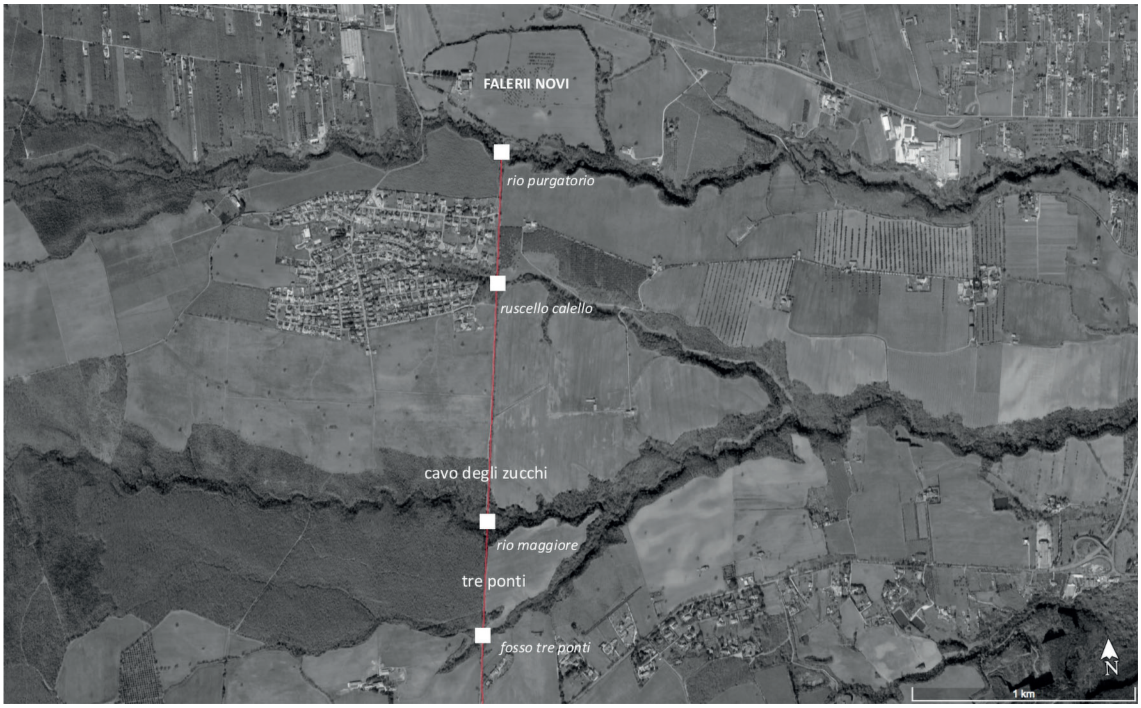

Fig. 8.1: Aerial view of Falerii Novi with the southern necropolis along the Via Amerina indicated in red. The squares indicate the bridges at the river crossings, corresponding to the necropolis sectors (© Google Earth, adapted by Beatrice Fochetti).

Fig. 8.2: Falerii Novi, Cavo degli Zucchi necropolis along the Via Amerina, view from north (photo: Beatrice Fochetti).

preserved, known as the *Cavo degli Zucchi* (fig. 8.2). Here, the basalt paved road (2.40–2.45 m wide) runs north-south for about 200 m inside a wide cut through the tuff bedrock (9.00–12.00 m wide). On both sides of the road are several different types of rock-cut tombs and burials: portico tombs, chamber tombs, funerary precincts, *formae*, *loculi*, *arcosoli*, niches, *aedicules*, *columbaria* and a few funerary monuments[25]. The necropolis features both inhumations and cremations with a complex vertical stratigraphic sequence and several traces of reuse. Our understanding of its chronology suffers from the lack of a complete publication of the excavation data, though it appears to have been in use from the mid-Republican to the middle/late Imperial age[26]. The arrangement of the sepulchres on several levels, the progressive occupation of the empty spaces between the graves, and the reuse of the tombs are certainly evidence of different chronological phases, consistent with the lengthy and continuous temporal lifespan of Falerii Novi and the Via Amerina[27].

The "tipo di Falleri" portico tombs

The oldest tombs in this necropolis can be found to the southeast of the Via Amerina, including two monumental chamber tombs classified by Colonna as the so-called *tipo di Falleri* (Falerii Novi type) (fig. 8.3)[28]. This typology is traditionally dated between the second half of the 3rd c. B.C. and middle of the 2nd c. B.C. The two rock-cut tombs, also known as the *Tombe della Regina*[29], were built on the northern side of the *Rio Maggiore* along an east-west stretch that diverges from the Via Amerina and has been hypothesized to form part of a pre-Roman route[30]. The characteristic feature of the two chamber tombs is a façade cut in the form of a portico with three arches supported by two smooth, undecorated pillars. The same typology is also attested south of the *Rio Maggiore* in the *Tre Ponti* sector, where a pair of tombs (T. 50; T. 53) are aligned along the eastern side of the Via Amerina[31]. Material recovered during excavation of tomb T. 53 indicates a chronology between the mid-3rd c. B.C. and the 2nd c. A.D., testifying a lengthy period of use in the necropolis[32]. Earlier phases of this part of the necropolis are supported by a third porticoed chamber tomb (T. 51) on the north side of the *Rio Maggiore*, just east of the Via Amerina[33]. This tomb has been dated around the middle of the 3rd c. B.C. and is characterized

25 A preliminary typological classification of the burials is given in Caretta *et al.* 1995, 114–20.

26 The excavation data (mainly 3rd c. B.C. to 3rd c. A.D.) seems to attest relevant phases of use between the 1st c. B.C. and the 2nd c. A.D. (Caretta *et al.* 1995, 425–26; Prisco 1999 23–30; Caretta 2006, 94). It should also be noted that the archaeologists suggest dating the pavement of the road to the end of the 1st c. B.C. (D'Aleo and Prisco 1995, 90–91; La Farina 2017, 56). According to Caretta 2006, the excavation of the northern sector of the necropolis (T.47, T.70, T.71), corresponding to the *columbarium* T.47, revealed a dump of material dating to the 5th c. A.D. (Caretta 2006, 93 fig. 5; La Farina 2017, fig. 1, n. T.47).

27 Patterson *et. al.* 2020, 253–54; Esch 2011; Andrews *et al.* 2023a.

28 Colonna 1990, 133–35, nn. 11–16, figs. 13–14 (240–150 B.C.).

29 *Forma Italiae* 1.2 1972, 212, figs 142–44; Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 104–8 figs 14–15; Colonna 1990, 134 nn. 15–16; Caretta *et al.* 1995, 423–25 fig. 1, sector B n. T.10, T.11. See: digitalcollections.bsr.ac.uk/islandora/object/WP-SOUTH-ETRURIA:1866; Call number: WP[PHN]-E-SEt1369.08; WP[PHP]-SEtD18-071b. South Etruria Series, Ward-Perkins Collection, British School at Rome.

30 De Lucia Brolli and Michetti 2005, 392. West of the *Tombe della Regina* (T.10, T.11) is a third small tomb (T.13) with an arched façade (Caretta *et al.* 1995, 423–25 fig. 1, sector B).

31 Caretta *et al.* 1995, fig. 1 sector C, n. T.50, T.53.

32 For a catalogue of material, see Biella and Cappellini 1996.

33 Caretta 2006, 95–96 figs 10–11.

Fig. 8.3: The so-called Tombe della Regina at the Rio Maggiore (photo: Beatrice Fochetti).

by architectural features common to both the *tipo di Falleri* and its predecessor, the *tipo di Civita Castellana*, for which Colonna suggested a chronology between 350–240 B.C.[34].

The *tipo di Falleri* formed part of a local monumental type of tomb that belongs to a long tradition of rock-cut funerary architecture with portico (mid-4th c. B.C. to mid-2nd c. B.C.). A form of Faliscan aristocratic self-representation, but also an expression of urbanization linked to landownership, these rock-cut tombs were an integral part of the pre-Roman landscape and a distinguishing element of Faliscan identity and culture[35]. It is interesting to note that the porticoed tombs in the sectors of the Via Amerina described above were arranged in pairs. This was a custom that can also be seen in the oldest Faliscan porticoed rock-cut tombs; for example, the *tipo di Corchiano* (350–240 B.C.)[36], a type documented both in connection with the Via Amerina (i.e. the tombs at the *Madonna del Soccorso* in Corchiano)[37] and the Faliscan territory more broadly[38]. The *tipo di Falleri* is also found in the hinterland of Falerii Novi, where its most monumental and representative example was the *Tomba del Peccato* in the *Tre Camini* necropolis,

34 Colonna 1990, 131–35 figs 11, 12, nn. 9–10 bis.

35 De Lucia Brolli and Michetti 2005, 391–94; Michetti 2019, 375–76.

36 Colonna 1990, 127–30 figs 6–9, 12 nn. 1–8.

37 *Forma Italiae* 1.2 1972, 59, figs. 46–51, 257; Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 111–15 figs 17–19; Colonna 1990, 128 nn. 1–2; Fochetti and Micozzi 2019, pl. XXXVIIa.

38 Among others, tombs T1 and T2 in the *Vallecchia* necropolis at Fabrica di Roma (Lazio), *circa* 8 km northwest from Falerii Novi. This pair of tombs is the westernmost attestation of the *tipo di Corchiano*. They are located in close relation to a road axis along a small fluvial course that predates the Roman road system (Scardozzi 2004, 274 n. 454*, fig. 254). A date between the late 4th and early 3rd c. B.C. is supported by materials found in T1 during excavations in 2015 (Fochetti and Micozzi 2019).

Fig. 8.4: Cavo degli Zucchi necropolis, chamber tomb T.12, so-called tomba ad arcone (photo: Beatrice Fochetti).

Fig. 8.5: Cavo degli Zucchi necropolis, chamber tomb T.22 (photo: Beatrice Fochetti).

located to the east of the walled urban area[39]. This, too, was interconnected with a pre-Roman road leading west from Falerii (Veteres), which was later maintained during the Roman era[40].

The architectural languages of the funerary landscape along the monumental north-south stretch of the Via Amerina to the south of Falerii Novi, on the other hand, reveal greater complexity. The *Cavo degli Zucchi* sector (fig. 8.1) is distinguished by different types of rock-cut tombs, variously distributed on both sides of the road, which is itself cut through the bedrock in a channel extending for about 200 m (fig. 8.2). The systematic adoption of rock-cut funerary architecture places this necropolis in the well-established tradition of necropoleis widespread in southern Etruria[41]. However, a high degree of typological diversity has been noted, mainly due to the different phases of the necropolis. This can clearly be seen by analyzing the arrangement of the *arcosolia*, which were systematically placed at higher levels of the road cutting, when space in the lower levels was exhausted (fig. 8.9). Most importantly, however, the rock-cut design of the necropolis continued in use until the imperial period, unifying local architectural languages and models imported from the Urbs.

39 The *Tomba del Peccato* is traditionally dated after 241 B.C., as are the tombs of the *tipo di Falleri* type (above). The peperino sculptures from the tomb, a sculptural lion in-the-round and a protome of Medusa have been stylistically dated between the end of the 4th c. B.C. and the mid-3rd c. B.C. by Ambrosini 2016; 2017a. See also De Lucia Brolli *et al.* 2012, 142–43 n. 112, pls. XXXVII.b–c.

40 Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 143–44. Its topographical position might suggest that the *Tomba del Peccato* was built when the new city was not yet completely structured (De Lucia Brolli and Michetti 2005, 388–93).

41 See note 82.

The "tombe ad arcone" and the necropolis of Sutri

The *Cavo degli Zucchi* necropolis echoes architectural languages borne from the local tradition, like those visible in the so-called *tombe ad arcone* (arched tombs). This type is exemplified by a chamber tomb (T. 12) on the western side of Via Amerina (fig. 8.4), characterized by an arch on the façade that frames the entrance door and contains two rectangular slit windows on each side[42]. Above the entrance was a rectangular recess for the funerary inscription, while the space in front of the façade contains L-shaped benches. The burial chamber has a barrel-vaulted roof, an element never attested for local tombs belonging to the Colonna classification[43], but commonly found in Roman funerary architecture elsewhere. The same façade arrangement is found in two other tombs of the *Cavo degli Zucchi* necropolis (T. 42 on the east flank and T. 22 on the west). These tombs, while sharing common features, such as the small windows on either side of the door or the presence of benches, abolish the façade arch in place of a more geometric design (fig. 8.5).

Stylistically, the curvilinear façade recalls the archetype of the porticoed tomb of the local *tipo di Falleri* already mentioned (fig. 8.3). By contrast, functional elements, such as the two small windows and the recess for *tituli sepulcrales*, find direct comparison in *opus caementicium* tombs of the Roman period. Examples of these abound, including those constructed in brick from the Isola Sacra necropolis at Portus, the so-called *tombe a cella* (e.g., tombs 54–55)[44]. The combination of these two different designs results in a notably glocal architectural solution. On a regional scale, the extremely local nature of the glocal solutions adopted is confirmed by a direct comparison with the rock necropolis of Sutri, which extends for about 180 m along the tuff bedrock bordering the Via Cassia and is most often dated between the late Republican and Imperial ages[45]. This necropolis illustrates similar burial typologies to Falerii Novi; in particular, the *tombe ad arcone* finds numerous comparisons, both in the necropolis along the Via Cassia[46] and the broader surroundings[47], testifying to the potential regional circulation of this architectural model. As illuminated by 19th and 20th c. surveys, the two cities were interconnected by an extra-urban road system facilitating movement and the exchange of ideas[48].

42 Caretta *et al.* 1995, fig. 1 sector A.

43 Colonna 1990.

44 Baldassarre 1987, fig. 30; 1990, 49–113. On the Isola Sacra necropolis, see Baldassarre *et al.* 1996; 2018. See: arachne.dainst.org/entity/6292834 (Negativnummer: D-DAI-ROM-69.1118; Bildautor/in: Sichtermann; Copyright Deutsches Archäologisches Institut).

45 *Forma Italiae* 7.7 1980, n. 2, 54–77 and fig. 67. The necropolis dates between the late 1st c. B.C. and the 3rd–4th c. A.D. The Roman character of this necropolis was already recognized by Dennis 1848, 74–77. See also Canina 1846–1851, pl. 20.

46 For example, tombs n. 30 (*Forma Italiae* 7.7, 1980, 59 fig. 78), n. 36 (*Forma Italiae* 7.7, 1980, 64–66 figs 92–94), n. 40 (*Forma Italiae* 7.7, 1980, 66–68 fig. 97), n. 43 (*Forma Italiae* 7.7, 1980, 69–70 fig. 102), n. 46 (*Forma Italiae* 7.7, 1980, 70–71 fig. 105), n. 56 (*Forma Italiae* 7.7, 1980, 73–74 fig. 114). See also: arachne.dainst.org/entity/6219468 (Negativnummer: D-DAI-ROM-83.255; Bildautor/in: Steingräber); arachne.dainst.org/entity/6219346 (Negativnummer: D-DAI-ROM-83.244; Bildautor/in: Steingräber; Copyright DAI, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut).

47 Two *tombe ad arcone* exist (*Forma Italiae* 7.7, 1980, n. 5, 78–80, figs 123, 126), part of a group of tombs in Valle Mezzano cut into the rock next to two road-cuttings (*Forma Italiae* 7.7, 1980, nn. 6–7, 80–81, figs 127–28).

48 Just outside the west gate of Falerii Novi (the so-called *Porta Giove*), a Roman road leading southwest towards Sutri has been identified. It has been suggested that this was part of a pre-Roman road system linking Falerii (Veteres) to Sutri (Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 159–62 fig. 10). Another ancient road, that connected Sutri to Nepi departing from the Via Cassia, was identified by Pasqui and Cozza (*Forma Italiae* 1.2 1972, 245; *Forma Italiae* 7.7 1980, 20, 150, n. 238, n. 247). Cf. Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 159–60, 179–81, figs 10, 14.

Fig. 8.6: Tre Ponti necropolis along the Via Amerina. False opus quadratum façade and remains of a funerary monument (photo: Beatrice Fochetti).

Fig. 8.7: Cavo degli Zucchi necropolis, funerary monument T.45. Arrows point to the lesense capital and the inscription (photo: Beatrice Fochetti).

Imitating Opus Quadratum Masonry

The echoes of a local tradition can also be found in the recurring motif of the architectural façade imitating *opus quadratum* masonry at Falerii Novi. This features in the southern necropolis of the Via Amerina, both at the *Cavo degli Zucchi* and *Tre Ponti* sectors. In the latter, the solution is employed to create a false *opus quadratum* architectural façade in the corner of a dramatic road cut before the river and its bridge (fig. 8.6). This architectural design can be interpreted as an imitation of a tower that provided a scenographic background to the series of funerary monuments lined up on the western side of the necropolis[49], or as an imitation of a turriform mausoleum[50].

In the *Tre Ponti* sector, false masonries in *opus quadratum* are also documented on the walls of the upper terrace of tomb T.53 – a *tipo di Falerii* portico tomb[51]. The use of this design evokes the monumental Faliscan architectural landscape, with *opus quadratum* masonry widely used in both Faliscan contexts and after the Roman conquest[52]. Given the accessibility of tuff as a raw material, this building technique was widely adopted in Roman urban planning and architecture within the region for large-scale projects, such as urban defensive wall-circuits (e.g.,

49 On the *Tre Ponti* funerary monuments, see Cerasuolo and Pulcinelli 2005a; Munzi and Noviello 1989.

50 As proposed by Cerasuolo and Pulcinelli 2005a, 243–45 n. 22, figs 2–4, nn. B, C, D, E. In general for the mausoleum's typology, see Eisner 1986.

51 Biella and Cappellini 1996, 40 fig. 3.

52 For a general overview of various attestations in the Faliscan area, see De Lucia Brolli 1991.

the Republican walls of Nepi[53] or the walls and towers of Falerii Novi[54]), infrastructure and hydraulic systems[55], as well as private and public buildings[56].

A false masonry façade can also be seen at a rock-cut *monumentum* at the *Cavo degli Zucchi*, on the eastern side of the Via Amerina (T.45), also utilizing side *lesene* crowned by Corinthian capitals with smooth leaves decorated in relief (fig. 8.7)[57]. The use of architectural decorations carved into the tuff bedrock is again comparable to the necropolis along the Via Cassia in Sutri: chamber tomb n. 64 shows an even more monumental façade, decorated with *lesene*, entablature and a *tympanum*[58], a glocal form also represented elsewhere in Sutri (see below). As a distinctive element, the funerary monument T.45 at the *Cavo degli Zucchi* bears an inscription (*iura sepulcrorum*) mentioning the property's borders, in the standard formula: *[In fr(onte) p(edes) ---], in agr(o) p(edes) XVIII*[59]. The inscription was carved above the entrance to the burial chamber and preserves only the dimension *in agro* of 18 Roman feet, equivalent to approximately 5.32 m[60]. The use of this formula reveals the need to regulate the public and private space of this necropolis according to Roman law. From a glocal perspective, even the T.45 *monumentum* can be considered as a glocality, since it shows the combination of a local rock-cut tradition and Roman models, expressed both within the architectural decoration and legal terms. This is not, however, an isolated case. A similar *titulus* is found on the entrance side of a rectangular *columbarium* tomb (4.20 x 6.30 m) in the *Tre Ponti* sector[61].

Columbarium Tombs

In a continual process of assimilation and evolution between local and global, typically Roman forms of collective burial, such as *columbaria* (1st c. B.C. to 2nd c. A.D.), were integrated into the rupestrian topography of the necropoleis in the *ager Faliscus*[62]. Along with the example above, two other *columbarium* tombs are known at the *Cavo degli Zucchi*, both located on the west side of the road, rectangular in shape and carved entirely into the tuff bedrock[63]. At the northernmost

53 *Forma Italiae* 1.2 1972, 177–78 fig. 114 nn. 1–2, 4; Francocci 2006, 45–47.

54 Keay *et al.* 2000, 86–87; Millett 2007.

55 On hydraulic infrastructures, see Quilici Gigli 1989, 55–64; id. 2020, 161–92. Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 99–108 figs 11–13, pl. 23–24 discuss the bridges on the Via Amerina.

56 Regarding public buildings, see the recently identified monumental *opus quadratum* temple in the central Insula XXXI at Falerii Novi (Andrews *et al.* 2023b, 331–35; Fochetti 2024).

57 *Forma Italiae* 1.2 1972, 264 fig. 144. 3.

58 *Forma Italiae* 7.7 1980, 74–75 figs. 116–19. See: arachne.dainst.org/entity/6219413 (Negativnummer: D-DAI-ROM-83.250; Bildautor/in: Steingräber; Copyright Deutsches Archäologisches Institut).

59 SupplIt 01 1981, n. 57, 168 (Di Stefano Manzella); AE 1982, 0300; *Forma Italiae* 1.2 1972, 264; Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 104–5, fig. 14 n. 4.

60 The monument is now in a state of partial collapse. The inscription was still visible in a photograph taken in 1954 as part of the South Etruria Survey: digitalcollections.bsr.ac.uk/islandora/object/WP-SOUTH-ETRURIA:7194; Call number: WP[PHN]-E-SEt1368.39; WP[PHP]-SEtD18-065b. South Etruria Series, Ward-Perkins Collection, British School at Rome.

61 SupplIt 01 1981, n. 56, 167–68 (Di Stefano Manzella); AE 1982, 0299 left: *In fr[onte] p(edes) [---]*; right: *In agro p(edes) XII*. See also Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 106. The *columbarium* tomb corresponds to Caretta *et al.* 1995, 428 fig. 1 sector C, n. E which cites material dating to the first half of the 1st c. A.D. (Cerasuolo and Pulcinelli 2005a, 239–40 fig. 1 n. A).

62 Borbonus 2014; Zimmermann and Fröhlich 2022.

63 *Forma Italiae* 1.2 1972, 214 fig. 145; Caretta *et al.* 1995, 428 fig. 1 sector A, nn. 46, 47; La Farina 2017, fig. 1, T.46, T.47.

Fig. 8.8: Cavo degli Zucchi necropolis, columbarium tomb T.47 (photo: Beatrice Fochetti).

end, T.47 is compromised by later modifications, but the side walls preserve to some degree its original phase (fig. 8.8). The niches had standardized forms and dimensions with surviving traces of plaster. At least two rows of 6 semi-circular shaped niches for urns were aligned inside, framed by an undercut. Between the two rows of niches were a series of recesses for *tituli* and/or epitaph slabs. Larger niches were built into the main wall on the west side of the *columbarium*. The spatial organization and accurate design encourage comparisons to others around Rome, such as those from the Vatican necropoleis[64], or at the Porta Romana and Via Laurentina necropoleis at Ostia[65], along with more monumental examples, including the *columbarium* of *C. Scribonius Menophilus* along the Via Aurelia at the Villa Doria Pamphilj[66].

Other smaller details also encourage further global-local comparison, including simple and schematic carved *tympani, formae*, niches carved as small rectangular recesses, square recesses for funerary inscriptions and terracotta slabs[67], as well as several traces of wall painting[68]. In one case, a small *tympanum* is carved over a rectangular recess, with a superimposed *tituli*/slab

64 Liverani, Spinola and Zander 2010.

65 See, as an example, tombs PR B8/B9 at the Porta Romana necropolis (Heinzelmann 2000, 74–178 figs 85–87).

66 Fröhlich 2009; Fröhlich and Haps 2022.

67 For instance, the funerary terracotta reliefs with working scenes, documented in the Isola Sacra necropolis (Zimmer 1982). As an example, the terracotta relief from tomb n. 29: arachne.dainst.org/entity/1074213 (Negativnummer: 65.274; copyright Deutsches Archäologisches Institut).

68 Similar elements can be found in the necropolis of Sutri: *Forma Italiae* 7.7, 1980, 76–77; arachne.dainst.org/entity/6219357 (Negativnummer: D-DAI-ROM-83.245; Bildautor/in: Steingräber); arachne.dainst.org/entity/6219390 (Negativnummer: D-DAI-ROM-83.248; Bildautor/in: Steingräber); arachne.dainst.org/entity/6219479 (Negativnummer: D-DAI-ROM-83.256; Bildautor/in: Steingräber; copyright Deutsches Archäologisches Institut).

Fig. 8.9: Cavo degli Zucchi necropolis, tombs and graves on the eastern flank (photo: Beatrice Fochetti).

recess, suggesting a solution that connects with *aedicula*-type graves (e.g., tomb 56, Isola Sacra)[69]. Finally, in at least one instance (tombs T.17–18)[70], two simple chamber tombs are arranged as a pair (fig. 8.9). This could be explained as an influence of the local architectural tradition, since paired tombs were already noted as an architectural design in the Faliscan tradition (e.g., the porticoed rock tombs, above)[71]. It should be noted, however, that paired tombs are also found in Roman cemeteries[72], which makes it difficult to clearly define the local origin of the model without more data from the material culture.

On a regional level, paired Roman tombs have also been found in the rock-cut necropolis along the Via Cassia at Sutri. Tombs 32–33 are notable for using the motif of a false architectural façade[73], which highlights the integration of elements derived from different architectural traditions. Although with some variations, both tombs feature an entrance surmounted by a *tympanum*, which in turn frames an arched motif and funerary slab recesses. Visual symbolism from Roman funerary architecture is evident in the façade, decorated with a *patara* and probably an *urceus*, carved in relief on either side of the *tympanum*. The entrance to tomb 32 is framed

69 Baldassarre 1990, 49–113. See note 44.

70 Caretta *et al.* 1995, fig. 1 sector A, nn. 17–18.

71 For the *tipo di Corchiano*, compare the examples given in notes 36–38. For the *tipo di Falleri*, examples include the *Tombe della Regina* (note 29) or T.50 and T.53 in the *Tre Ponti* sector of the Via Amerina (note 31).

72 For example, the *columbarium* tombs PR B11 and PR B12, the so-called *Colombari Gemelli* at the Porta Romana necropolis in Ostia (Heinzelmann 2000, 179–83 fig. 16).

73 *Forma Italiae* 7.7, 1980 nn. 32–33, 61–63, figs 83–84, fig. 67. For tomb 32, see: arachne.dainst.org/entity/6219357 (Negativnummer: D-DAI-ROM-83.245; Bildautor/in: Steingräber; copyright Deutsches Archäologisches Institut).

by semi-columns, resulting in a structure similar to a temple-tomb[74]. The entrance to tomb 33, on the other hand, has a rectangular slit window on each side, as already noted for the local *tombe ad arcone*. Even if also attested in Roman funerary architecture, re-creating pediments and false architectural façades in rock-cut form echoes the nearby Etruscan rock-cut necropoleis, such as Sovana or those at Norchia (e.g., the two Doric temple tombs)[75]. As a combination of different architectural traditions, these tombs from Sutri can therefore be highlighted as an explicit example of glocalization, which gave the necropolis a particular character. Regionally, this also testifies to the long process of fusing elements from different cultures, an aspect that characterizes the identity of this border area.

The 'Gräberstraßen'

The southern necropoleis of Falerii Novi, and in particular the *Cavo degli Zucchi*, produced a dramatic effect for visitors entering the city from Rome (fig. 8.2). Its monumental rock-cut architecture would have been immediately reminiscent of the majestic pre-Roman rupestrian necropoleis spread across southern Etruria[76]. On the other hand, glocal solutions derived by mixing local and global models gave this necropolis and others in surrounding settlements a unique character.

The glocal nature of this rock-cut necropolis is also reflected in its topography. Remarkably, the *Cavo degli Zucchi* shows a rational spatial organization. Faliscan society was not estranged to organized forms of funerary space with, for example, the necropoleis of Corchiano, and in particular that of *Vallone* and *Sant'Antonio* (6th–3rd c. B.C.), reflecting principles of rationality and orthogonality, featuring chamber tombs opening onto the major so-called *Via Antica* and smaller orthogonal streets[77]. In the necropolis of *Valsiarosa* at Falerii (Veteres), where a series of chamber tombs line the road, the same principle can be identified[78]. From a global perspective, however, the topographical structure of the *Cavo degli Zucchi* along the Via Amerina has features that make it conceptually closer to the so-called Roman 'Gräberstraßen'[79]. For example, the direct relationship with an extra-urban road system, width of the funerary space, proximity to the walled city, tomb typologies, or even the regulation of spaces according to Roman law. We can therefore begin to visualize a Roman necropolis where cultural and symbolic values have been reinterpreted by longstanding local tradition. This is unsurprising given that, in the *ager Faslicus*, rock-cut architecture had for centuries been the traditional form of self-representation of the local elites, extending now to the middle classes of society.

Integrating elements of both Roman and Faliscan architecture also had sociological implications within the broader historical and socio-political context of Roman expansion. On the one hand, the loss (or reorientation) of the local elites' power must have inspired new ways of

74 Ambrosini 2012.

75 Ambrosini 2018.

76 The phenomenon of rock-cut tombs in South Etruria is extremely consistent, especially in inner southern Etruria between the 6th/5th c. B.C. and the 3rd/2nd c. B.C., where monumental necropoleis and tombs are known (e.g., at Norchia, Castel d'Asso, Sovana). The literature dedicated to rock-cut architecture and facades in southern Etruria is abundant and main contributions include Rosi 1925; 1927; Colonna 1974; Steingräber and Ceci 2014; Steingräber 2015; *Etruria delle necropoli rupestri* 2019; Ambrosini 2021.

77 Ambrosini, Maurizi and Michetti 1996; Michetti 2013, 174–75 and pl. 1.

78 *Forma Italiae* 2.2 1981, pl. s. 188. Cf. De Lucia Brolli and Michetti 2005, 383.

79 von Hesberg and Zanker 1987; see also von Hesberg 1987.

Fig. 8.10: The amphitheater of Sutrium (photo: Beatrice Fochetti).

asserting Faliscan identity[80]. At the same time, increasing global interconnections facilitated by Roman infrastructure, alongside the arrival of new social groups, might have encouraged a process of cultural cohesion between different social groups. Continued use of rock-cut architecture until the imperial period, unifying local architectural languages and models imported from the capital, was therefore a powerful way to visualize the new cultural koine of Roman-Faliscan society, integrating local elements into broader Roman systems of power and influence[81].

Tuff Landscapes and Local Craftsmen

Building processes and economic factors must also be considered alongside social and ideological aspects. This applies in particular to the role played by local craftsmen in the development and maintenance of various architectural languages. Given the geomorphology of the area, the continued use of traditional building techniques must also be seen as a result of the presence of specialized craftsmen and a strong tradition of stone carving. From a global perspective, this was a process that can be seen in different ancient cultures, since the tendency to adapt architectural languages to geomorphology was common to several regions of the ancient Mediterranean, especially those that shared the presence of rocky landscapes and well-established local stone

80 In a broader discussion of social identities and urban planning in the Tiber Valley, Millett 2007 suggested some elements of the urban topography of Falerii Novi might echo the earlier Faliscan settlement of Falerii (Veteres), among which the D-shaped walls of Falerii Novi, intended as an attempt to re-create the shape of the earlier settlement of Vignale. For a discussion on the linguistic, epigraphic and material culture elements of continuity between the old and the new Falerii (Veteres/Novi) after the Roman conquest, see Biella 2020; Biella and Nonnis 2021.

81 Epigraphic evidence from the early imperial period testifies to the integration of part of the local elite into the administrative system of the new city (SupplIt 01, 1981). Among them was the *gens Egnatia*, to which belonged *Egnatia Mariniana*, mother of the emperor Gallienus (Papi 2000, 38–52; Di Stefano Manzella 1990).

masonry workshops[82]. At Falerii Novi, specialized local craftsmen were almost certainly employed to construct large-scale building projects, such as the city's wall circuit[83]. Even the *Cavo degli Zucchi* necropolis, which incorporates a deep cut in the bedrock to overcome the difference in level between the ravine of the *Rio Maggiore* river and the northern urban plateau, is actually an engineering solution borrowed from local tradition (fig. 8.2). Widespread in South Etruria, these road-cuttings were in fact a typical phenomenon characterizing the Faliscan landscape, and in some cases continued in use even after the Roman conquest[84].

The Amphitheater of Sutrium

The use of local craftsmen at Sutri for large-scale public building projects is well known in relation to the construction of the town's amphitheater (fig. 8.10)[85]. Here, one of the most iconic buildings of Roman architecture was built entirely by carving into the natural bedrock, following traditional local building techniques. The amphitheater is relatively small in size compared to other comparanda (*arena* 50 x 40 m; *cavea* 85 x 75 m) and was located below the city of Sutri with two axial entrances, one at the north opening towards the main road[86].

The exceptional architectural nature of this building must be analyzed in light of its chronology. The amphitheater of Sutri is generically dated between the second half and end of the 1st c. B.C. and the beginning of the 1st c. A.D., although there is a lack of epigraphic or historical data to support this chronology. Golvin proposed a date of 40–30 B.C., which would make the amphitheater of Sutri among the oldest in Etruria[87]. In terms of building design, comparanda are limited to a few examples from the Roman provinces, including the amphitheater of Carmo in *Baetica* (modern Carmona) from the late Republican period[88], or the later examples of Syracusae in Sicily[89] and *Leptis Magna* in *Africa Proconsularis*, dated epigraphically to the principate of Nero[90]. In the Italic peninsula, the closest comparison is the amphitheater of Cagliari[91], while in Etruria comparisons are limited to buildings in *opus caementicium* that have part of their structure built into the natural bedrock, such as the amphitheater of Ferento (*Ferentium*) around 30 km north of Sutri[92]. However, the same

82 As far as funerary architecture is concerned, rock-cut necropoleis are widely attested and examples spread from Greece to Asia Minor, the Near East and North Africa (cf. Steingräber 2015, 91–121). In Asia Minor, the continuation of a local tradition in the funerary architecture of the Roman period is also well documented. See Fochetti, forthcoming, with reference to Rough Cilicia between the late Hellenistic period and Imperial age (2nd c. B.C. to 3rd c. A.D.).

83 Di Stefano Manzella 1990, 1.2.

84 Tuppi 2014; Quilici 1990. Exemplified by the *Fantibassi* road-cutting (*Tagliata Fantebassi) between Falerii Novi and Falerii Veteres (Forma Italiae* 1.2 1972, 246–48; Quilici 1990, 198–222 figs 1–2, pls 1–2 ; Di Stefano Manzella 1996).

85 On the amphitheater of Sutri, see Sestieri 1939; Golvin 1988, n. 8, 40–41, pl. 25, 1–3; Welch 2007, n. 15, 246–49, pl. 15. For the topographical context of the building, see *Forma Italiae* 7.7 1980, n. 1.37, 45–54, figs 50–66.

86 Golvin 1988, 40.

87 Golvin 1988, 40. Based on the previous study of Sestieri (Augustan age), another generic chronology has been given between the late 1st c. B.C. and the early 1st c. A.D. (*Forma Italiae* 7.7 1980, 54). See also Welch 2007, 246–47 with a generic chronology of the 1st c. B.C.

88 Golvin 1988, n. 10, 41–42; Welch 2007, n. 17, 252–54, fig. 186.

89 Golvin 1990, n. 83, 115–16, pl. 33.2.

90 *AE* 1968, 549. Compare Golvin 1990, n. 24, 83–84, pl. 13.1.

91 Golvin 1990, n. 182, 208, pl. 28.1–3.

92 Possibly dating to the 1st c. B.C. (Fenelli 2020, n. 96, 15, 184–85). See also Golvin 1988, n. 9, 41–43 (pre-Augustan age); Welch 2007, n. 16, 249–51.

technique is also attested in other areas of Italy, such as at Alba Fucens[93] and Otricoli (*Ocriculum*), a city in the middle Tiber Valley along the Via Flaminia[94]. In the latter, the western side of the *cavea*, the arena and both axial entrances were cut through the tuff bedrock. Within the *ager Faliscus*, the amphitheaters of Falerii Novi[95] and Nepi[96], both built outside the city walls, remain partially buried and largely unknown. The amphitheater of Sutri is perhaps the most representative example highlighting glocal tendencies so far examined, exemplifying the tendency to adapt a wholly Roman, global architectural model by using local building techniques. Such a phenomenon might be explained by the use of local craftsmen more familiar with rock quarrying techniques than by building with *opus caementicium*, a factor that could hypothetically also suggest a direct involvement of local patronage in the construction of the building. If true, the proposed relatively early chronology also partly justifies the building technique. This structure and its materiality illustrate a process in which global innovations and architectural forms imported from Rome merge with local architectural and construction traditions.

Conclusion

This chapter highlights the deep connection between global practices and local traditions. Elements of discontinuity from Faliscan architectural languages in the funerary architecture of Falerii Novi only appear with the introduction of monumental mausolea in *opus caementicium*, built around the city walls and along the Via Amerina[97]. These buildings introduced an element extraneous to the funerary landscape of the Faliscan tradition and added newly urban connotations, which for the first time defined a disconnect between the pre-Roman and Roman phases in funerary architecture.

Within the broader historical and socio-political context of Roman expansion through South Etruria, the application of glocalization theory in archaeology offers the opportunity to highlight global, regional and local agency in the formation of a new collective identity in the *ager Faliscus*. Social and cultural interaction through Roman architecture has been explored using the lens of glocalization to illuminate the complex process of negotiation between local specificities within global phenomena. The case studies herein illuminate a combination of local and regional tendencies alongside external global influences in the funerary architecture of Falerii Novi and its surrounding territory, intimately connected with materiality, ideology, society and economy. The

93 Mertens 1969, 84–89; Golvin 1990, n. 23, 82–83, pl. 26.1–2. The amphitheater was built partially in the natural bedrock and is noteworthy for its use of *opus incertum* and polygonal masonry. Its construction was financed *ex testamento* by *Q. Naevius Cordus Sutorius Macro*, *praefectus vigilum* and *praefectus pretorio* under Tiberius (*AE* 1957, 250; de Visscher 1957).

94 The amphitheater of *Ocriculum* is dated to the first half of the 1st c. A.D. and a chronology in the Julio-Claudian period was suggested by Golvin 1988, n. 142, 166; Hay, Keay and Millett 2013, 31–35, figs 3.6–7.

95 The amphitheater of Falerii Novi has been dated to the Augustan age (late 1st c. B.C.) (*CIL* 11, 3112; SupplIt 01 1981, 119; Di Stefano Manzella 1990, 355; Gregori 1989, n. 59, 77, pl. 18.3). See also Papi 2000, 47–48 who provides the late 1st c. B.C. to early 1st century A.D. The building is relatively small in size (*circa* 85 x 65 m), comparable to those at Sutri; interestingly it has been suggested that the structure was partially built into the natural bedrock (Hay *et al.* 2010, 22–23, 35, figs 15–16).

96 On the amphitheater of Nepi, see *Forma Italiae* 1.2, 1972, 250–51; Castagnoli 1974, 12–17 fig. 6.

97 Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, fig. 10.14; Hay *et al.* 2010, figs 16–18. See for instance the mausoleum built outside the east gate of Falerii Novi (Götze 1939).

wide availability of certain raw materials and skilled local craftsmen, including a well-established local construction tradition, impacted the process of shaping architectural languages. This was accompanied by a constant tension between global phenomena, conservative tendencies, local solutions and glocal forms, which ultimately resulted in reinterpreting the architectural models imported from Rome. A common way of representing the global while maintaining local identity emerged from the process of glocalization, as seen through case studies at Falerii Novi and Sutri. Throughout the long process of social change and cultural interaction in the transition from mid-Republic to Empire, these elements jointly contributed to the formation of a new local identity, set within an evolving socio-political landscape.

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Chapter 9

Defining Oneself, Defining Others: The Glocalization of Cupid Medallions in the House of the Gilded Cupids in Pompeii (VI.16,7.38)

Ruben Montoya González

Abstract: This chapter explores the application of glocalization theory to elite decorative practices in Pompeii, focusing on the gold-glass medallions from the House of the Golden Cupids. The glocalization framework allows further examination of how Roman homeowners engaged with and adapted broader visual motifs to express individual and collective identities. By analysing the iconography and placement of medallions, the study reveals how Pompeian elites commissioned and displayed decorative elements to project wealth, power and social status. Medallions are situated within the broader artistic landscape of Fourth Style wall paintings at Pompeii, highlighting the influence of local agencies in shaping global visual trends. Drawing on theoretical insights from Roudometof's circuits of power and Simmel's sociological theories of adornment, the analysis demonstrates how decorative choices served both personal and social functions. The gold-glass medallions, unique in their materiality and craftsmanship, distinguished the commissioner from peers, reflecting both individual taste and the broader elite culture. This case study contributes to a deeper understanding of how global trends were localized in Roman domestic settings, offering insights into the complex interplay between materiality, symbolism and identity in ancient Pompeii.

Introduction

On 19 January 1908, Sogliano published the discovery of a well-preserved *cubiculum* in Pompeii, uncovered five years earlier.[1] The room's black-and-white mosaic pavement featured geometric and floral motifs, likely indicating the placement of furniture. However, the most striking aspect of the space was its intricate wall decoration: a tapestry-like geometric design of red lines on a yellow background across the four walls. Within this composition, oblong hexagons, framed by squares and triangles filled with floral motifs, created intertwined octagons. Interrupting this geometric design were four gold-glass medallions, depicting cupids, embedded into the walls. These medallions, carefully affixed with iron nails, were aligned with the visual markers found on the mosaic pavement, adorning the northern wall as well as the northern sides of the western and eastern walls (fig. 9.1)[2].

Named after these exceptional gold-glass medallions, the House of the Golden Cupids has intrigued scholars since its discovery. Although the medallions were destroyed during World War II[3],

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1 This chapter contains some of the preliminary results of a research project carried out in Pompeii as part of my role as Associate Researcher at the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome between 2022 and 2024. My stay in Rome, under the supervision of Prof. Tesse Stek, was possible thanks to the Margaritas Salas postdoctoral international program promoted by Spain, funded by European Next Generation Funds, and, in my case, supervised by Dr Pilar Diarte-Blasco (CSIC) in association with Universidad de Alcalá. I would like to express my gratitude for their generous support, guidance and advice over the last couple of years to Dr Pilar Diarte-Blasco, Prof. Tesse Stek, Prof. Eric Moormann, Dr Miko Flohr, Assoc. Prof. Eric Poehler, Prof. Sarah Scott, Prof. Katharina Lorenz and Prof. P.M. Allison. In addition, I would like to thank the Archaeological Park of Pompeii and the authorities on site for their continuous support with my investigations.

2 Sogliano 1908, 34.

3 L. García y García (2006, 9) notes how, during the night of 16 September 1943, the impact of a bomb in the street to which the house faces, caused the loss of half a medallion, precisely the one described by A. Sogliano as figure no. 6.

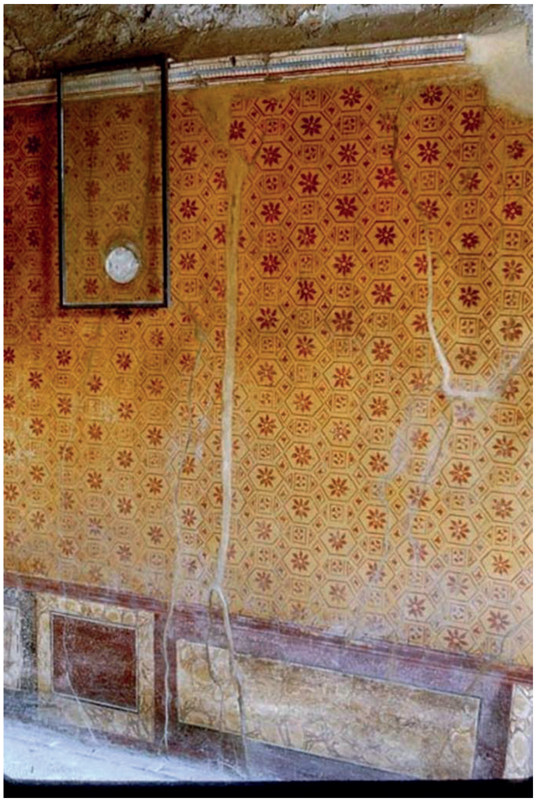

Fig. 9.1: Room I with the decoration and the position of display of one gold-glass medallion (© The Wilhelmina and Stanley A. Jashemski archive in the University of Maryland Library, Special Collections, Creative Commons Attribution-Non-Commercial License v.4).

they have remained central to discussions about elite decorative practices in Pompeii. Traditionally, their uniqueness has been emphasized, with scholarly attention focusing on the rarity of similar examples within Pompeii's architectural contexts. Yet, their significance extends beyond quality and craftsmanship. In this chapter, I propose a new interpretation, using the framework of glocalization to explore the interplay of global and local influences in the commissioning and display of these medallions. By focusing on these aspects, I aim to uncover the local socio-cultural factors that influenced their inclusion in the house's decorative scheme. Specifically, I contextualize these medallions within the broader visual repertoire of cupids in Pompeian art, while also considering their role within the decorative fashion of Fourth Style wall paintings. To this end, a dual-scale approach is employed: on a micro-scale, within the specific context of the House of the Golden Cupids, investigating the local factors that shaped their display; And on a macro-scale, situated within the broader context of Pompeii's urban artistic landscape and its domestic visual culture. By combining these two levels of analysis, I aim to provide a deeper understanding of how global artistic trends were adopted and adapted locally to reflect both the collective identity of Pompeii's elite and the personal self-representation of individual homeowners.

Local Agency, Visual Material Culture and Glocalization

Glocalization, defined as the "refracting of global processes through local contexts,"[4] has become a significant theoretical framework in Roman archaeology (see above)[5]. The local perception of global phenomena is determined by agency, and agency can make a difference in the refraction process[6]. Local agency is therefore responsible for sending (or resisting) cultural waves[7]. In this chapter, I

4 Roudometof 2016a, 65; id. 2016b.

5 Cobb 2022, 35. See also Barret *et al.* 2018; Vlassopoulos 2013; Van Alten 2017; Fine and Thompson 2018; Stelen 2018; Montoya 2020; id. 2021; id. 2024; Versluys 2021, 34; Sokolowski 2022

6 Roudometof 2016b, 67; incorporating the importance of agency from Appadurai's work (2006, 43) to overcome the limitations of the hybridization framework (see Cobbs 2022, 30–31; Pitts and Versluys 2015, 15). For an explanation of the differences between hybridization and glocalization, see chapter one in this volume along with Roudometof 2016a, 14; Khondker 2004, 6–7; Ritzer 2011, 160; Montoya 2021, 98.

7 Roudometof 2016b, 74.

identify local agency in individuals influenced by different agents and factors during the social refraction process; that is, Pompeian homeowners as commissioners, decorators and craftspeople forming some of the influencing agents during the glocalization of certain decorative fashions[8]. One could argue that particular paintings or iconographic choice were not made by the homeowner or commissioner, but by another person or persons to whom he delegated, or craftspeople. However, I situate the patron or commissioner at the end of the decision-making chain and, therefore, ultimately at the end of what we understand by locale during the glocalization process[9].

Local agency, and its ability to "overcome opposition to the transmission or resistance of global cultural waves", is referred to by Roudometof as 'power'. He outlines three circuits of power within the glocalization process, each reflecting a different outcome of global-local interactions[10]. Table 1 presents a comparison between Roudometof's circuits and the mechanisms I propose for analyzing visual cultural flows across the Roman Empire, particularly in Pompeii. The mechanisms introduced do not only simplify Roudometof's model, as I argue that no local can entirely isolate itself from shared global practices. For example, even when a local – whether the commissioner of a decorative program or an active participant in selecting iconography – engages with a global visual koine, they are likely to possess a certain degree of knowledge about that project. As such, the commissioned work serves as a vehicle for expressing power, wealth and success, both individually and within the community[11]. Even when the local product appears indistinguishable from the global, the influence of local agency ensures distinctiveness. Therefore, I argue that the local should be understood as the commissioner or individual whose decisions drive these global-local interactions. Ultimately, it is their agency that shapes the diverse outcomes of glocalization.

Roudometof's circuits of power in local agency
1. "The ability of a particular locale to originate waves consistently and persistently across the world stage (…) It could be described as a locale 'globalizing' itself from within"
2. "The ability of a locale to be wave resistant (…) [or] to insulate itself from waves outside influences"
3. "The ability of a locale to modify or alter the waves that pass through it"
Mechanisms of power proposed in this chapter
1. A locale from which persistent and consistent waves originate across the world stage
2. A locale that refracts the 'waves', altering or resisting them to some degree

Table 1: Circuits of power proposed by Roudometof (2016b, 73-4) and mechanisms of power proposed in this chapter.

Beyond the material aspects of local agency and its role in glocalization, Roudometof emphasizes the importance of symbolic dimensions, which transcend materiality[12]. This material-symbolic aspect prompts a reevaluation of how scales are configured within glocalization processes. I have previously stressed that glocalization is a more fruitful analytical tool than globalization,

8 Esposito 2021.

9 Esposito 2021, esp. 66–67; Esposito 2009, 16; De Vos 1981, 119; Flohr 2019, 113 n. 51; Churchin 2008, 12 for an example using mosaics.

10 Roudometof 2016a, 73–74.

11 Vlassopoulos 2013, 246.

12 Roudometof 2016b, 74–5; Bourdieu 1989.

particularly when examining how global and local processes interact[13]. In line with this material-symbolic character of local agency, I argue here that it is necessary to consider both material and symbolic dimensions of space[14], specifically the notion of symbolic social spaces and social classes beyond physical geography[15].

Pries asserts that "globalization and [...] concepts like glocalization [...] have to be reinterpreted as new combinations of societal and spatial relations"[16]. He further adds that spatiality, whether geographical or societal, is socially constructed by humans, either physically or mentally[17].Pries' typology of spaces, crossing the absolutist and relativist understandings of space with geographical and societal dimensions, illustrates this complexity (see Table 2)[18]. He argues that "societal spaces are constituted as dense and durable frameworks in geographic spaces. One societal space can span several geographic spaces, and one geographic [space] can contain several coexisting societal spaces"[19]. In this framework, glocalization produces "pluri-local societal spaces", where global and local phenomena collide, generating overlapping concentrations of societal practices and artifacts[20].

Dimensions of Space	Concepts of Space	
	Absolutist	Relativist
Geographic Space	Genuine existence/maintains its characteristics without relation to (other) elements	Framework of positional relation of elements/no independent existential quality of its own
Societal Space	Geographically contiguous/societally specific/ homogeneous/inclusion and exclusion	Pluri-local, dense, durable overlapping concentrations of societal practices, symbol systems and artefacts/ multidimensional

Table 2: Typology of spaces according to Pries (2005, 172).

Applying Roudometof's circuits of power to Pries' concept of space highlights the critical role of local agency in shaping cultural flows. In the case of the House of the Golden Cupids, local agency, embodied by the commissioner, interacts with broader social class dynamics, specifically the Pompeian elite. The sociological theory of George Simmel offers further insight into this relationship[21]. Simmel observes that "one adorns oneself for oneself, but can do so only by adornment for others"[22], emphasizing the dual nature of adornment as both self-expression and social display. He adds: "in an aesthetic form, adornment creates a highly specific synthesis of the great convergent and divergent forces of the individual and society, namely, the elevation of the ego through existing for others, and the elevation of existing for others through the emphasis

13 Montoya 2021, 100–1. See also Roudometof 2016a; id. 2016b.
14 Pries 2005.
15 Bourdieu 1980, 17; id. 1985.
16 Pries 2005, 170.
17 Pries 2005, 171.
18 Pries 2005, 172.
19 Pries 2005, 176; see table 2.
20 Pries 2005, 179.
21 Simmel 1950.
22 Simmel 1950, 339.

and extension of the ego"[23]. This notion of one being for himself and being for the other aptly describes the dual function of Roman domestic decoration, where the house serves as an extension of the self[24].

The interior decoration of the House of the Golden Cupids not only reflects the commissioner's identity but also communicates their social status to the broader elite community. This is corroborated by Cicero's letters to his friend Atticus, which highlight the significance of appropriate interior decoration for projecting social image in Roman society[25]. Building on Simmel and Pries, I argue that tangible materializations, such as domestic decoration, function as points where geographic spaces, societal spaces and individual and collective identities converge. These ideas deepen our understanding of the symbolic power of local agency within glocalization. Thus, the agency of local actors – both material and symbolic – is essential to the diversity of outcomes that emerge from the refraction of global phenomena through local contexts. The presence and impact of local agency during the glocalization process have been examined by numerous Roman archaeologists across various case studies[26]. These studies underscore the central role of local agency in producing heterogeneous outcomes within global processes. The following sections press deeper into the symbolic aspects of local agency by focusing on the House of the Golden Cupids at a micro-scale. From there, I expand analysis to the macro-scale context of Pompeii, demonstrating how local agency operates across both levels.

The House of the Golden Cupids and its Medallions

The House of the Golden Cupids is situated along one of the central axes of Pompeii, known as the Via Vesuvio. This residence is notable for its well-preserved Fourth Style painted decorations and its impressive sculptural remains. Initially excavated between 1902 and 1905, the house was later re-examined in the late 1970s and 1980s by Florian Seiler and a team of German archaeologists[27]. Recent scholarship has focused on its decoration, with particular attention to the quality and chronology of its sculptural collection, the integration of wall ornaments set into the plaster, and the unique placement of mirrors throughout the residence[28]. At the time of the eruption, the house covered approximately 830 m² and was organized around a central peristyle. The current structure reflects several phases of redevelopment, with the original building dating back to the 3rd c. B.C. Remains from this period suggest a small house, accessed from the Vicolo dei Vettii, consisting of a few rooms set around an atrium. In the 2nd c. B.C., a larger *atrium* house was constructed, featuring a *tablinum*, *cubicula*, *oecus* and *hortus*, all decorated in the First Pompeian Style and opening onto the Via Vesuvio. The final transformation occurred in the mid-1st c. B.C., when the residence was expanded by annexing adjacent properties, resulting in a new structure organized around a Rhodian peristyle, maintaining the same footprint of approximately 830 m² (fig. 9.2).

23 Simmel 1950.

24 Haug 2021, 1–14; see also Haug 2020; Haug and Taylor Lauritsen 2021; Bergmann 1994, 225; Hales 2003.

25 Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*, 1.1.5, 1.3.2, 1.4.3, 1.5.7, 1.8.2, 1.9.2, 1.10.3–4, 1.11.3. On this matter in the Roman world, see Zarmakoupi 2014; Neudecker 1988.

26 E.g., Van Alten 2018; Montoya 2020; id. 2021; id. 2024; Sokolowski 2022.

27 Seiler 1992. See also Sogliano 1906, 374–83; id. 1907, 549–93; id. 1908, 26–43.

28 Petersen 2012, 319–32; Powers 2011, 10–32; Veneranda *et al.* 2018, 1–11.

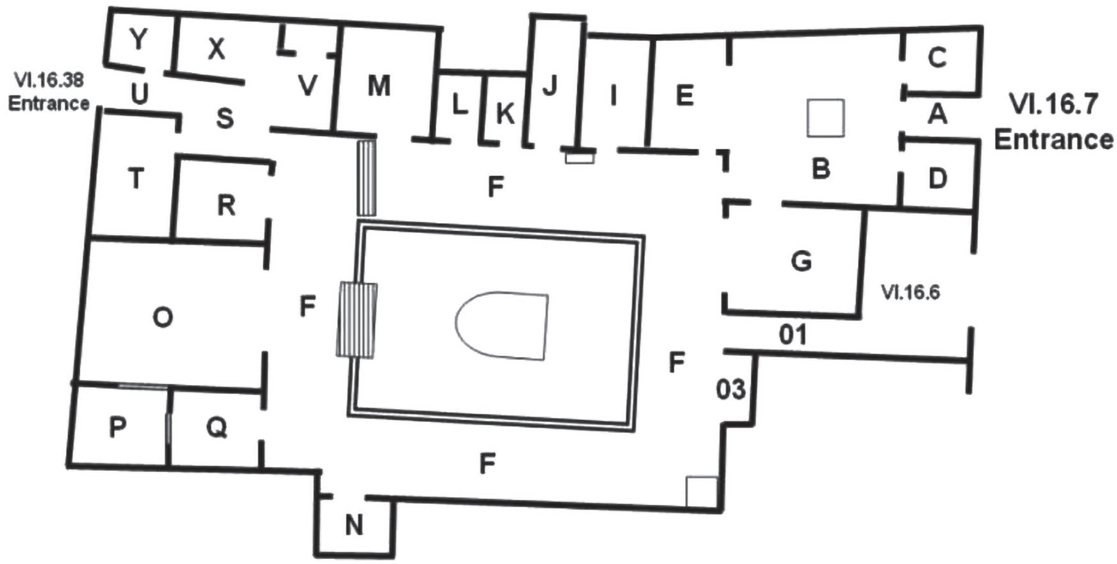

Fig. 9.2: Plan of the House of the Golden Cupids (after McFerrin 2019).

This redevelopment introduced an elevated western side of the peristyle and added various representation rooms. The former *domus*, with its entrance on Via Vesuvio, became the main access point to the house, leading to the peristyle, around which the key spaces were organized. The older part of the house, with its entrance on Vicolo dei Vettii, was repurposed as a service area. Subsequent decorative upgrades, including repainting and restoration, were carried out following the earthquake of A.D. 62. At the time of the eruption, the most elaborate decorative programs, showcasing the owner's refined taste, were concentrated in the peristyle and its corridors. These spaces featured a collection of free-standing sculptures, *oscilla* and wall ornaments, which contrasted with the black walls of the corridors and the sacred spaces situated on the northern and southeastern sides of the peristyle. Powers has noted that the varied chronologies and reuse of the sculptures, along with the significant quantities of marble fragments found in the peristyle pavements, indicate a strong collecting culture among members of Pompeii's elite, using art to signal wealth and social status[29]. The painted decoration throughout the house reflects the commissioner's innovative approach while remaining anchored in tradition. Indeed, some of the decorations present at the time of the eruption were from the First Pompeian Style, which adorned the residence during its earlier phases.

The use of medallions in the house

As noted above, room I, a small chamber opening onto the northern corridor of the peristyle, was one of the most exquisitely adorned and intimate spaces in the House of the Golden Cupids. This room likely served various purposes, including the private reception of special guests, creating a "sumptuous feast for the senses"[30]. The attention of visitors would have been immediately drawn to the four gold-glass medallions and their reflections, particularly when artificial light illuminated the space. With central access and a window, the interplay of light reflecting off the glass medallions

29 Powers 2011, 16–17.

30 Powers 2011, 16.

and entering from the peristyle would have been visible from several vantage points. Despite the overall good preservation of the room, not all of the gold-glass medallions survived intact at the time of excavation (fig. 9.3).

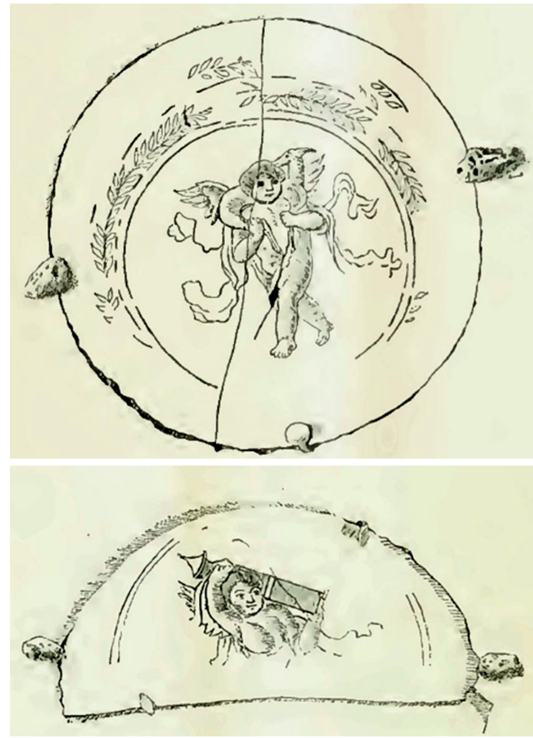

Fig. 9.3: Designs of the two medallions found in situ, showing a good state of preservation (after Sogliano 1908, 35–36, figs 5–6).

Of the medallions that were uncovered, the first – found on the right end of the northern wall – had a diagonal crack and depicted a flying (or walking) cupid carrying a small goat on his shoulders. Though the figure appeared to be moving to the right, its head was turned toward the left. A second medallion, located at the northern end of the eastern wall, was only partially preserved and showed, again, a flying (or walking) cupid holding a circular case. The third medallion, although fragmented, was found *in situ* on the left rear wall and showed evidence of a wing, indicating the presence of another cupid figure.

Unlike many other wall ornaments or sculptural reliefs with older chronologies found in the house, Seiler dated the inclusion of the gold-glass medallions to the late A.D. 60s, providing an *ante quem* date for the completion of the decorative program in room I. Based on stylistic comparisons with a similar gold-glass medallion from Berlin, Seiler suggested a timeframe between the A.D. 50s and the late 60s for the production of the Pompeian examples[31]. He also noted that these medallions were not the result of a collecting practice, due to their recent production, in contrast to the older wall ornaments and sculptures found in the house. Rather, they were specifically acquired or possibly created for the decorative scheme of room I, aligning with the other Fourth Style decorations in the house and in Pompeii[32].

Considering other Fourth Style decorations present throughout the residence provides further comparative material. Notably, other spaces in the house also featured medallions. For example, on the southern wall of the corridor of peristyle F, two painted medallions were displayed on rectangular panels (fig. 9.4). The remaining panels on this wall, either not preserved or lacking evidence of medallions, are situated on the western side, near the entrance to room N. The two preserved medallions depict a dancing satyr and bacchant, accompanied by a relief above them, featuring two beardless masks facing an older one, with a young satyr mask below[33]. This Dionysiac theme, reinforced by the sculptural wall ornaments between the columns and in the garden, suggests that the homeowner intended to evoke the mythological world of Dionysus[34].

31 Seiler 1992, 104.

32 Seiler 1992.

33 Seiler 19992, 104; Powers 2011, 15.

34 Seiler 1992, 122–24.

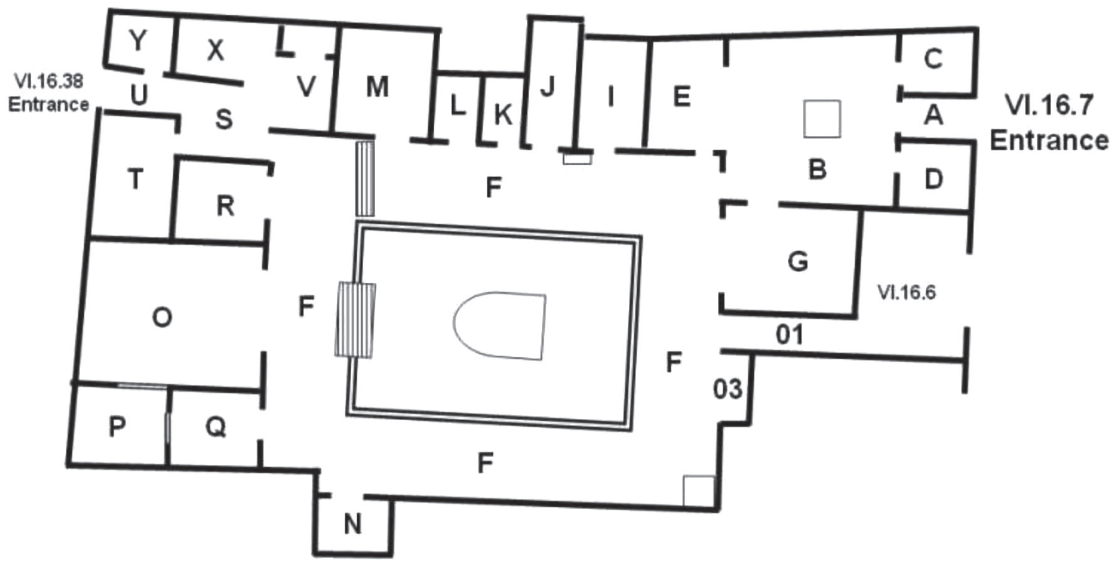

Fig. 9.4: Plan of the House of the Golden Cupids with the areas where other medallions were displayed as part of the decorative program (after McFerrin 2019).

Room R provides another example of medallions, where eight busts of women were painted on the side panels of a three-part decorative partition across the northern, western and southern walls, as well as the side walls of the eastern entrance. These medallions, facing the central imagery of the room, illustrate a cohesive decorative program. While some of the women are shown without attributes, others hold lyres, *kantharoi*, *thyrsi* and ivy wreaths: items linked to Dionysiac imagery. The features of the busts are too generalized for precise identification, leading scholars to variously interpret these figures as maenads, bacchants, or a mix of both[35]. Francis noted that such ambiguity is typical of bust medallions, which often defy exact identification[36].

As with the gold-glass medallions in room I, the decorative choices in room R reflect a highly deliberate and integrated design. Although no other medallions survive in the house, flying cupids were also painted as part of the decoration in the western corridor of peristyle F, as well as in the panels of rooms C, D, G and M[37]. The next section sets the gold-glass medallions in this decorative context within broader categories: (1) painted medallions and (2) wall ornaments depicting cupids found throughout Pompeii.

Painted Medallions and other Gold-glass Wall Ornaments Depicting Cupids in Pompeii

Two other residences in Pompeii include the display of gold-glass wall ornaments. The first house contained two gold-glass panels found in a room off the atrium of the bakery at VII.2.3[38]. The two panels show similarities with the subjects represented in the gold-glass medallions studied

35 Seiler 1992, 114; Francis 1983b, 73–81.

36 Francis 1983a.

37 Seiler 1992.

38 Fiorelli 1875, 182; Beretta and Di Pasquale 2004, 219.

in this chapter since both of them depict cupids[39]. Although both plaques are fractured, it is possible to identify some of the subjects: the first panel presents at least two standing, winged figures, one of which is holding a circular object, plus a possible third figure as indicated by what seems to be a hand; the second panel shows a winged cupid standing, almost frontal, plus a disk with the remains of another figure (human or animal) and what seems to be a leg[40]. Powers noted how both rectangular panels are composed of an incised and painted sheet of gold foil that was applied to glass, which affected ancient viewers using the play of light over their surfaces and in the delicate and complex craftsmanship noted in the observation of these artworks[41]. Borriello suggests they could have been inserted as wall ornaments as part of a painted decorative program, similar to that found in the House of the Golden Cupids[42].

Pompeian studies mention a second space where this type of wall ornament could have been displayed: the *tablinum* of the suburban Villa of the Mysteries. In such a space, van Buren interpreted the areas where paintings had faded as remains of traces where wall ornaments, "discs or slabs of natural or artificial glass, with or without figured decoration" would have been displayed[43]. Caution should be taken when considering this as a real example[44] since no traces of these wall ornaments are mentioned by Maiuri[45]; in addition, a close examination of the painted program in this room confirms that it is not a medallion, but a faded area in the wall. Thus, the instances from the House of the Golden Cupids constitute a *unicum* that allows further consideration of associated clear architectural contexts of use and display[46].

When one considers the subject matter represented in the two medallions preserved from room I, further insights can be provided. Seiler mentions how the iconography shown in these gold-glass medallions depicting cupids coincides with one of the motifs often found in Pompeian Fourth Style decorative programs[47]. When assessing the iconography of these gold-glass medallions, however, he principally focused on tracing the origin of the iconographic motif, decoded the significance of their attributes, and mentioned several examples/similar motifs found in Pompeian paintings[48]. Despite the accuracy of these conclusions, Seiler overlooked the common representation of flying cupids in painted medallions across Pompeian residences. These medallions are also characteristic of the Pompeian Fourth Style. Thus, following Seiler's notes on the relationship between the decorative elements and characteristics of Fourth Style decoration[49], the relationship between these gold-glass medallions and painted medallions must be investigated in detail.

39 Ruesch 1911, 399.

40 Morey 1959, 51, pl. XXVIII.

41 Powers 2011, 19–20.

42 Borriello 2004, 219.

43 Van Buren 1932, 35–36

44 Seiler 1992, 104, n. 542.

45 Maiuri 1931, 52–53, 201–4.

46 In Rome, two fragments of glass plaques representing a panther and a rosette have been interpreted to had gold decoration, see Cima 1986, 141–42.

47 Seiler 1992, 194.

48 Seiler 1992, 116.

49 Seiler 1992, 194.

Painted medallions from Pompeii

Painted medallions depicting cupids have been found in the main sections of walls in 13 other Pompeian houses (Table 3)[50]. Within these walls, medallions appear displayed on the main section, sometimes on the central panel or, often, on the lateral panels accompanying a central figured scene. In the House of Taedia Secunda (I.13.4), the remains of two medallions have been found in room 4. One of them shows a flying cupid with a metal tray in the right hand and a timpani in the left; the second shows a psyche dressed in a green tunic, holding a garland in his right hand and a metal tray with flowers in the left. Both medallions present a black background and a leaflet frame and are placed on the lateral panels of a tripartite decorative scheme[51]. The House of the Flamine (V.4.3) has medallions in two of its spaces: room D had two medallions showing cupids holding unidentified items, while room F, interpreted as *triclinium*, housed different medallions of cupids holding gladiatorial items[52].

Recent excavations in the so-called House of Leda (V.6.12) unveiled in room b, the *cubiculum*, remains of two medallions with flying cupids holding objects on the side of a tripartite scheme. The composition suggests that the rest of the walls, while not preserved, would have other two medallions to complete the program[53]. The House of Herakles (VI.7.6) has an uncertain number of medallions decorating the walls of the *atrium*, showing cupids in different positions, holding boxes, *thyrsi* and other objects[54]. Worth noting are the examples from the House of the Tragic Poet (VI.8.5), in which room 14 contained 7 medallions with cupids holding different objects[55]. The current state of preservation does not allow further identification of the objects they were carrying, although Schefold mentions *thyrsi*, cornucopias and silver baskets/trays[56]. Several 19th c. reproductions of this room are preserved and they show cupids holding different objects. However, artists interchanged the objects and designs of these cupids, therefore making

50 Because of the scope of this chapter, I have only focused on domestic spaces found within Pompeii's city walls, therefore excluding any suburban and rural residences. In addition, the data analyzed here comes from houses excavated before 2022; in this regard, some of the new finds from Regio V and IX are not included. Although in this chapter I do not focus on ceilings, it is worth noting them briefly. Remains of cupids within (painted stucco) medallions have been found in the ceilings of room R in the House of the Golden Cupids, as well as in room 12 in the House of the Lovers. The former example shows the use of flying cupids within small medallions as part of a larger geometric composition, whilst the latter consists of a central medallion within the ceiling containing a flying Cupid around which the rest of the composition is organized. Another example, of a public building, comes from the ceiling of the Stabian Baths. Rooms 1 and 2 had numerous stucco-painted medallions depicting cupids in different attitudes, holding objects (see Carratelli and Baldassarre 1996, 181–85, figs 61, 63, 65–67, 70, 75 and 86). Thus, in ceilings, this iconographic motif was used either as (i) a complement to a range of scenes, therefore using circular medallions as part of the overall composition, or (ii) as the main central emblem around which the composition was organized, in which the figure of Cupid occupied a predominant position.

51 Carratelli and Baldassarre 1990, 883, fig. 2; 885, fig. 4; Esposito (2009, 199) notes that psyches and cupids were depicted in this room, referring to te notes provided by Carratelli and Baldassarre (1990, 883). However, only cupids are mentioned in the abovementioned work, as well as in Bragantini *et al.* 1981, 185–86. After a detailed analysis of both medallions, I agree with Esposito, since psyches usually appear dressed and with slightly different features, a fact that occurs in this residence.

52 Schefold 1957, 84; Carratelli and Baldassarre 1991, 1050–1, figs. 10–11; Bragantini *et al.* 1983, 96. Although no further descriptions of the weapons are made by Schefold, it is worth noting, as a comparison, that two of the medallions mentioned above from room 2 in the Stabian Baths show cupids holding a shield and a sword, respectively.

53 Osanna and Muscolino 2021, 139–52.

54 Schultz 1838, 180.

55 Carratelli and Baldassarre 1993, 560–64, figs 67–8, 71–3.

56 Schefold 1957, 105.

House	Room	Cupid Medallions Found	Media	Description
House of Taedia Secunda (I.12.4)	Room 4	1	Painting	One medallion shows a flying cupid with a tray in one hand and a timpani in the other one. A second medallion with a psyche holding objects complements the program
House of the Flamine (V.4.3)	Room D, room F	2 (room D) Several (room F)	Painting	Room D: unidentified Room F: cupids with gladiatorial items
House of Leda (V.6.12)	Room b	2	Painting	Flying cupids with objects
House of Herakles (VI.7.6)	Atrium	Uncertain number	Painting	Cupids in different positions, holding boxes, thyrses and other objetcs
House of the Tragic Poet (VI. 8.3,5)	Room 14	7	Painting	Cupids holding different – not identifiable – objects (thyrses, cornucopias, silver baskets/ trays, etc.)
House of Dioscuri (VI.9.6–7)	Room 43	2	Painting	The only identifiable medallion contained a flying psyche and cupid playing an instrument
House of Vettii (VI.15.1)	Room e	4	Painting	Cupid with a peacock; cupid riding a ram; cupid riding a goat, cupid riding a panther
House of the Golden Cupids (VI.16.7)	Room I	4 (3 preserved)	Gold-glass	Remains of a cupid; cupid carrying a goat; cupid holding an object (?)
House of Championnet (VIII.2.1)	Room n	3	Painting	Cupid hunting a pigeon; cupid with a stag; cupid with a peacock
House of Herakles and Auge (VIII.3.4)	Unidentified space	1	Painting	Cupid riding a dolphin and holding a scepter
House of Popidius Celsinus (VIII.5.28)	Room 6	2	Painting	Cupids holding objects
House of Epidius Sabinus (IX.1.22)	Room t	2	Painting	Flying cupid holding an object and another medallion probably similar
House of M. Lucretius (IX.3.5)	Room 8	2	Painting	Cupid holding Hercules' club and cupid holding a rabbit and a pedum
House of Jason (IX.5.18)	Room 0	2	Painting	2 pairs of flying cupid and psyche with attributes of Juno and possibly Mars one, and attributes of Mercury and possibly Venus the other.

Table 3: Medallions depicting cupids found in Pompeian Houses.

it impossible to rely on these reproductions for identifying the exact location of each of the cupid medallions within the room.

Room 43 of the House of Dioscuri (VI.9.6–7) contained a medallion with a flying psyche and a cupid playing an instrument; another medallion in this room, badly preserved, probably held a similar iconography[57]. The House of the Vettii (VI.15.1) has provided four well-preserved examples on the side panels of two tripartite decorative schemes from room e, interpreted as an *oecus*; these medallions show a cupid with a peacock, a cupid riding a ram, a cupid riding a goat and a cupid riding a panther[58].

57 Esposito 2009, 67; Schefold 1957, 118; Carratelli and Baldassarre 1993, 921–2, figs 113–4, 116–8; Bragantini *et al.* 1983, 214–15.

58 Schefold 1957, 142.

A unique display of cupid medallions is found in the summer *triclinium* from the House of the Golden Bracelet (VI.17.42), where the bands dividing the main panels that compose the garden scenes show a display of four medallions with flying cupids, two of them holding objects[59]. In the House of Championnet (VIII.2.1), three medallions depicting cupids were evidenced during excavations in room N, interpreted as a *triclinium* or *cubiculum*; these medallions presented a cupid hunting a pigeon, a cupid with a stag, and a cupid with a peacock[60]. In addition, a design made by G. Abbate of an unidentified space from the House of Herakles and Auge (VIII.3.4) shows a medallion with a cupid riding a dolphin and holding a scepter – probably associated with Venus[61]. The bad state of preservation of this house does not allow us to ascertain whether or not other medallions were displayed in the room.

The House of Popidius Celsinus (VIII.5.28), in room 6 interpreted as an *ala*, contained two medallions, now destroyed, depicting cupids holding objects[62]. In the House of Epidius Sabinus (IX.1.22), room T – interpreted as an *exedra* – contained a medallion with a flying cupid holding an object and another medallion probably depicting similar iconography[63]. In the House of M. Lucretius (IX.3.5), 5 medallions adorned the walls of room 8, also interpreted as an *ala*; from them, two represented cupids holding a Hercules club, and the other a *pedum* and a rabbit[64]. Finally, in the House of Jason (IX.5.18), room O – interpreted as the *oecus* – contained at least two medallions depicting a flying couple of cupid and psyche; one of them showed attributes of Juno and possibly Mars, whilst the other medallion presented attributes of Mercury and possibly Venus[65].

One of the aforementioned examples, known through a 19th c. design made by F. Morelli, caused debate regarding the exact location of the painting. A similar situation is presented in a design by Gell showing a medallion with a cupid holding a tray and another unidentified object, with the legend "in the Apothecary's house Street at the Forum"[66]. Although it is not possible to spatially locate the medallion due to the current state of evidence, its inclusion here as a possible location must be cautiously considered.

Defining Oneself, Defining Others: The Glocalization of Cupid Medallions in the House of the Gilded Cupids (VI.16.7)

Pompeian painted medallions depicting cupids can be grouped into three categories according to their iconography: (i) cupids interacting with different animals (in different attitudes and, in some cases, holding objects); (ii) cupids flying or in movement, holding musical instruments

59 Ciardello 2006, 162–86. Similar examples, now at the Naples Archaeological Museum, were found during the excavations of the so-called villa of Cicero outside Pompeii's city walls.

60 Schefold 1957, 210; Carratelli and Baldassarre 1998, 38; Bragantini *et al.* 1986, 284.

61 Carratelli and Baldassarre 1995, 259.

62 Fiorelli 1875, 447. A design by F. Morelli aligns with Fiorelli's description of the space. According to Carratelli and Baldassarre (1998), although Morelli locates this design in the *atrium* of the House of the Doctor (VIII.5.24), the composition does not match the designs found in other *atria*. The partial excavation of the *insula*, which was numbered differently, could also have led Morelli to locate the medallion there.

63 Schefold 1957, 238–39 does not specify the existence of medallions, which, however, appear in two designs, one of them presented in: Carratelli and Baldassarre 1998, 1028 fig. 128.

64 Schefold 1957, 248; Kuivalainen *et al.* 2019, 294–95.

65 Schefold 1957, 264; Carratelli and Baldassarre 1999, 712–13 figs. 56–57; Bragantini *et al.* 1986, 489.

66 Gell 1831, 84.

or other objects; and (iii) cupids paired with a psyche, with or without objects. The two gold-glass medallions from room I in the House of the Gilded Cupids clearly fall within two of these categories. Moreover, the use of consecutive laurel wreaths in the framing of the best-preserved medallion, identified by Seiler as a mark of Roman iconography, closely mirrors the vegetal – and even laurel – wreaths seen in some painted medallions featuring cupids[67].

These observations affirm the connection between the gold-glass and painted medallions from Pompeii, offering a valuable entry point for analysis using a glocalization framework. This helps us understand how the iconography of cupids, part of the global visual repertoire of Fourth Style Pompeian paintings, was not only adopted but also adapted locally. In this case, the global character of this type of design is represented by the broad decorative trend of painted medallions featuring cupids[68], while the local dimension is embodied in the choices of the commissioner of the House of the Gilded Cupids, particularly in room I during the last phase of its decoration.

At the urban macro-scale of Pompeii, the glocalization process resulted in the creation of multiple glocalities, with each local refracting global elements; in other words, each local (person) made choices from a global repertoire, influenced by different social and cultural dynamics. As Roudometof has argued, glocalization leads to the creation of "a spectrum of differences," with systematic variations reflecting local interpretations of global models[69]. The diverse iconographies and combinations of cupid medallions throughout Pompeii reflect how the abstract, global decorative template was transformed by local factors. Glocalizing this model contributed to the widespread popularity of these motifs as part of the broader decorative fashion at Pompeii. Both individuals and communities participated in the creation and display of these shared symbols, reinforcing collective and personal identities through the adoption of similar visual and material culture[70].

On a household micro-level, the gold-glass medallions from room I in the House of the Gilded Cupids, part of Pompeii's urban visual koine, offer deeper insights into elite identity and self-representation. The commissioning of these medallions served not only to reinforce the individual identity of the homeowner within Pompeian elite circles but also to distinguish them from their peers. This distinction is particularly evident in the rare and luxurious materials used for room I's decoration, which set the space apart from other, more conventional examples. Although household members or craftsmen may have been involved in the decision-making process[71], ancient sources indicate the importance of the commissioner's final agency. Aulus Gellius recounts how Marcus Cornelius Fronto engaged different builders to propose bath plans, ultimately choosing a specific design and negotiating its cost[72]. Even if the commissioner delegated aspects of the project, they retained final control over the decorative scheme. Similarly, Cicero's letters to T. Pomponius Atticus reveal how Cicero entrusted Atticus

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67 Seiler 1992, 104.

68 We must not confound Pompeii as a global scale, since it is an urban scale which is also the case study analyzed. The display of painted medallions depicting cupids, also evidenced in other Vesuvian sites, must be understood as a global or empire-wide fashion part of the decorative and cultural circuits of the Roman world in this period.

69 Roudometof 2016a, 65.

70 See Vlassopoulos 2013, 19–20.

71 Esposito 2021, 66–67; Esposito 2009, 16; De Vos 1981, 119; Flohr 2019, 113 n. 51.

72 Aul. Gell, *Attic Nights,* 19.10.1.

with selecting sculptures for his Tusculan villa, confirming that the commissioner had ultimate authority over the artistic process[73].

This perspective enables us to better interpret in a glocal manner the symbolic and material significance of the gold-glass medallions in room I for both the commissioner and the broader socio-cultural elite[74]. Following Simmel and Pries[75], two levels of decision-making can be identified regarding the decoration of cupid medallions. First, many Pompeian commissioners followed a shared trend by incorporating cupid medallions into their painted decorative programs, aligning with established (global) Fourth Style practices[76]. Second, one commissioner made a deliberate choice to utilize gold-glass medallions, thereby individualizing both the design, the space and the sensory experience. These dual layers of decision-making reflect Simmel's notion of one being for himself and another being for the other, as the choice of materials and iconography served both personal and social purposes[77]. From a glocalization perspective, both the widespread use of painted cupid medallions and the singular use of gold-glass medallions represent expressions of local agency and symbolic power. The collective choice of displaying cupid medallions allowed members of Pompeii's elite to align themselves with a shared cultural trend, while the individualized choice of gold-glass medallions served to differentiate a single commissioner from their peers. In doing so, the commissioner asserted their unique identity and elevated their status within elite circles through a bespoke design and the use of rare and precious materials.

The aesthetic value of these medallions cannot be overstated. Glass was prized among the Roman elite for its resemblance to precious stones in terms of transparency, reflection and color[78]. Gold, similarly, esteemed for its aesthetic qualities, carried moral implications tied to its association with power and potential corruption[79]. This tension surrounding the use of gold likely contributed to the rarity of gold-glass medallions in the archaeological record[80], reflecting the commissioner's nuanced understanding of material symbolism. The choice to use gold and glass thus became a key means of expressing personal identity and status within the Pompeian elite.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the application of the glocalization framework to the commissioning and display of visual material culture in the Roman world, with a focus on the gold-glass medallions from the House of the Golden Cupids in Pompeii. By examining how local agency – through both material and symbolic dimensions – shaped the decoration of this space, this study has shed new

73 Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*, 1.1.5, 1.3.2, 1.4.3, 1.5.7, 1.8.2, 1.9.2, 1.10.3–4, 1.11.3.

74 Roudometof 2016a, 72; id. 2016b; Montoya 2020; id. 2021; id. 2024.

75 Simmel 1950, 339; Pries 2005.

76 I must indicate that caution must be kept when considering this assertion as absolute. In this regard, future studies will provide further results when: (i) considering the iconographic relation between these cupid medallions and the remaining iconographies in each of the spaces where they are identified; as well as (ii) their occurrence across the spaces in Pompeian residences.

77 Simmel 1950, 339.

78 Swift 2022, 206.

79 Anguissola 2022, 39–50, esp. 46.

80 Although other factors such as post-antique desirability, looting, etc., could also have contributed to the rare preservation of in situ gold remains in the archaeological record.

light on how elite identity and self-representation were expressed through the adoption and adaptation of global visual motifs. While previous research has highlighted the diversity of evidence across the Roman Empire, this paper has emphasized the central role that local agency plays in refracting global cultural currents, leading to bespoke outcomes within specific contexts. The integration of glocalization into this analysis not only encourages multi-scalar navigation on a physical plane, but also helps us to understand symbolic layers inherent in the archaeological record. By investigating the medallions depicting cupids, this study illustrates how local commissioners engaged with global visual trends to assert their individual and collective identities within Pompeii's socio-cultural elite. The use of gold-glass medallions in this Pompeian residence demonstrates how these choices were not merely aesthetic, but strategic, signaling wealth and status while differentiating the homeowner from their peers. However, the conclusions drawn here are preliminary, as this research is limited to a single decorative and iconographic motif: cupid medallions. An expansion of scope to other motifs and materials is necessary, tracing how global fashions and iconographies were localized across a broader range of contexts. Such investigations would enhance our understanding of how décor functioned as a means of communicating status and power, blurring global and local boundaries and intertwining both the physical and symbolic dimensions of space, to reflect the identities of individuals and communities within the Roman world.

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