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BETWEEN GLOBAL AND LOCAL
GLOCAL REFRACTIONS
IN ROMAN MATERIAL CULTURE AND SOCIETY

Edited by
Rubén Montoya González, Emlyn Dodd



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES	9
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	11
Chapter 1. Why Go Glocal in Roman Archaeology? <i>Rubén Montoya González and Emlyn Dodd</i>	13
Chapter 2. Using Glocalization to Think With: The Case of the Cyclades <i>Rebecca Sweetman</i>	23
Chapter 3. Visualizing the Glocal Through Agricultural Production <i>Emlyn Dodd</i>	31
Chapter 4. The Reflection of Imperial Architecture in the Forums of the Western Provinces <i>Javier Domingo</i>	47
Chapter 5. Glocalizing the Pantheon: Empire and Innovation in Roman Construction Technology <i>Miko Flohr</i>	65
Chapter 6. Building Glocally: Construction Communities in Northwestern Sicily <i>Max Peers</i>	87
Chapter 7. Local Arrangements, Global Aims: The <i>Annona</i> and Ports of Etruria Through the Lens of Glocalization <i>Alice Poletto</i>	107
Chapter 8. Glocal Representations Within the Architecture of South Etruria: The Southern Necropolis of Falerii Novi Along the Via Amerina <i>Beatrice Fochetti</i>	123
Chapter 9. Defining Oneself, Defining Others: The Glocalization of Cupid Medallions in the House of the Gilded Cupids in Pompeii (VI.16,7.38) <i>Rubén Montoya González</i>	145

List of Figures

- 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).
- 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).
- Fig. 3.4: The *cella vinaria* with *dolia defossa* at Villa Regina, Boscoreale, Italy (photo: Emlyn Dodd; © Ministero della Cultura, Parco Archeologico di Pompei).
- Fig. 3.5: Aerial view of a winemaking installation at Antiochia ad Cragum, Türkiye. The conical collection vat is in the foreground (© ACARP 2012).
- Fig. 3.6: The conical collection vat at Antiochia ad Cragum from above (photo: Emlyn Dodd).
- 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).
- Fig. 4.1: Rome, Forum of Augustus (Anonymous, 1937: Dura-Europos archival photograph, Yale University Art Gallery, negative number y680a. Creative Commons Zero license).
- Fig. 4.2: Mérida, forum (after Ayerbe, Barrientos and Palma 2013, 314).
- Fig. 4.3: Cordoba, *Forum Novum* (after Portillo 2018, pl. 5).
- Fig. 4.4: Tarragona, upper forum, Tiberian phase (drawing by J. Á. Domingo).
- Fig. 4.5: Arles, forum (after Golvin 2021, lam. 9).
- 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).
- 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 of Franck Devedjian 2019, Wikimedia Commons. Creative Commons BY-SA 4.0 Deed license).
- 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).
- 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).
- Fig. 5.2: Ostia, so-called *Taberne Republicane* (I XI 1), late 1st c. B.C. *opus reticulatum* in the side walls (photo: Miko Flohr).
- Fig. 5.3: Pompeii, façade along the Via dell Abbondanza with mid-1st c. A.D. *opus latericium* (photo: Miko Flohr).
- Fig. 5.4: Baiae, dome of the so-called Temple of Mercury (photo: Miko Flohr).
- Fig. 5.5: Pergamon, Temple of Asklepios (photo: Francesca Tronchin).
- Fig. 5.6: (a) Paestum, house with two *atria*; (b) Pompeii, House of the Faun (drawing by M. Flohr).
- Fig. 5.7: Paestum, house with two *atria* with its wall of limestone ashlar (photo: Miko Flohr).
- Fig. 5.8: Pompeii, north façade of the Forum Baths (photo: Miko Flohr).
- Fig. 5.9: *Italica*, Casa della Exedra, *opus mixtum* with pebbles and local bricks (photo: Miko Flohr).
- Fig. 6.1: Map of the study area with cities mentioned in the text indicated in red (map by M. Peers).
- Fig. 6.2: Quarried bedrock at Soluntum that was subsequently built against (photo: Max Peers).
- Fig. 6.3: Pseudo-horizontal masonry at Soluntum (photo: Max Peers).
- Fig. 6.4: *Opus soluntinum* at Soluntum (photo: Max Peers).
- 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).
- Fig. 6.7: Theaters and their stage buildings at Iaitas (top) Segesta (middle) and Soluntum (lower) (drawing by M. Peers, after Wiegand 1997).
- Fig. 6.8: *Stoae* 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).
- 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 B. Fochetti).
- Fig. 8.2: Falerii Novi, *Cavo degli Zucchi* necropolis along the Via Amerina, view from the north (photo: Beatrice Fochetti).
- Fig. 8.3: The so-called *Tombe della Regina* at the *Rio Maggiore* (photo: Beatrice Fochetti).
- 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).
- 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).
- Fig. 8.8: *Cavo degli Zucchi* necropolis, *columbarium* tomb T.47 (photo: Beatrice Fochetti).
- Fig. 8.9: *Cavo degli Zucchi* necropolis, tombs and graves on the eastern flank (photo: Beatrice Fochetti).
- Fig. 8.10: The amphitheater of *Sutrium* (photo: Beatrice Fochetti).
- 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).
- Fig. 9.2: Plan of the House of the Golden Cupids (after McFerrin 2019).
- 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).
- 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).

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.

Introduction¹

The Faliscan territory (*ager Faliscus*) was a culturally defined area of southern Etruria, in the middle of the Tiber Valley². 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 cultures³. 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 territories⁴. 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 Paterculus 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 areas⁵. 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 Falerii⁷. This new city was connected to Rome by an extra-urban road traditionally identified as the Via Amerina⁸, 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 process¹⁰. On the other hand, Roman military conquest of the territory undeniably had significant political, social, cultural, urban and economic implications¹¹. 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 identity¹². In the last decade, theoretical debates in archaeology have attempted to

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 recipiendi 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 theory¹³. The theoretical formulation adopted is that of Roudometof¹⁴, increasingly used in archaeological literature to illuminate the complex process of negotiation between local agents and global phenomena¹⁵. 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 evidence¹⁶. 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 hinterland¹⁸. 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 archaeology, 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 deep¹⁹. 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-south²⁰. 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 watercourses²¹. 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 south²². 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. surveys²³. 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 city²⁴. 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 Novello 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).

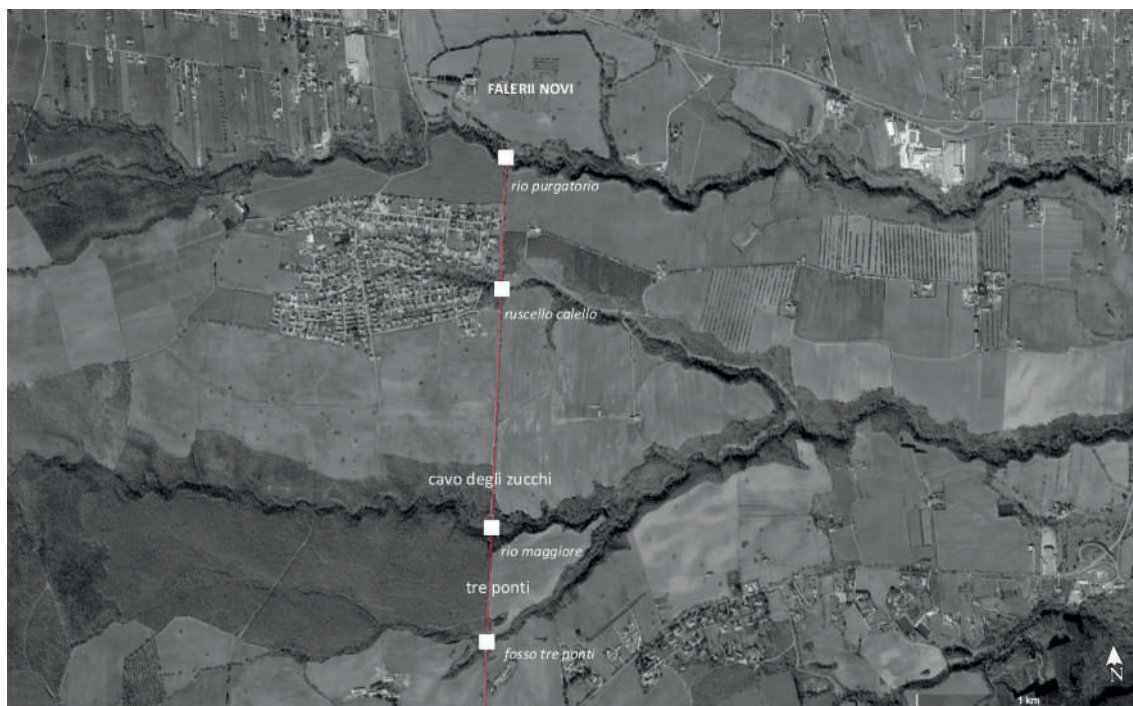


Fig. 8.1: Aerial view of Falerii Novi with the southern necropolis along the Via Amerina indicated in red. The squares indicate the bridges at the river crossings, corresponding to the necropolis sectors (© Google Earth, adapted by Beatrice Fochetti).



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 monuments²⁵. 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 age²⁶. 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 Amerina²⁷.

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 route³⁰. 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 Amerina³¹. 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 necropolis³². 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 Amerina³³. 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 culture³⁵. 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 broadly³⁸. 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 (Scardozi 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 area³⁹. This, too, was interconnected with a pre-Roman road leading west from Falerii (Veteres), which was later maintained during the Roman era⁴⁰.

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 Etruria⁴¹. 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 side⁴². 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 classification⁴³, 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 ages⁴⁵. 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 Cassia⁴⁶ and the broader surroundings⁴⁷, 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 ideas⁴⁸.

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 lesene 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 necropolis⁴⁹, or as an imitation of a turriform mausoleum⁵⁰.

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 tomb⁵¹. 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 conquest⁵². 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 Nepi⁵³ or the walls and towers of Falerii Novi⁵⁴), infrastructure and hydraulic systems⁵⁵, as well as private and public buildings⁵⁶.

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 m⁶⁰. 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* sector⁶¹.

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 bedrock⁶³. 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 necropoleis⁶⁴, or at the Porta Romana and Via Laurentina necropoleis at Ostia⁶⁵, along with more monumental examples, including the *columbarium* of *C. Scribonius Menophilus* along the Via Aurelia at the Villa Doria Pamphilj⁶⁶.

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 slabs⁶⁷, as well as several traces of wall painting⁶⁸. 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 cemeteries⁷², 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 façade⁷³, which highlights the integration of elements derived from different architectural traditions. Although with some variations, both tombs feature an entrance surmounted by a *tympnum*, 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 *tympnum*. 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-tomb⁷⁴. 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 Etruria⁷⁶. 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 streets⁷⁷. In the necropolis of *Valsiarosa* at Falerii (Veteres), where a series of chamber tombs line the road, the same principle can be identified⁷⁸. 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; Steingraber and Ceci 2014; Steingraber 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 identity⁸⁰. 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 influence⁸¹.

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 workshops⁸². At Falerii Novi, specialized local craftsmen were almost certainly employed to construct large-scale building projects, such as the city's wall circuit⁸³. 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 conquest⁸⁴.

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 road⁸⁶.

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 Etruria⁸⁷. 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 period⁸⁸, or the later examples of Syracusae in Sicily⁸⁹ and *Leptis Magna* in *Africa Proconsularis*, dated epigraphically to the principate of Nero⁹⁰. In the Italic peninsula, the closest comparison is the amphitheater of Cagliari⁹¹, 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 Sutri⁹². 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. Steingraber 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 Fucens⁹³ and Otricoli (*Otriculum*), a city in the middle Tiber Valley along the Via Flaminia⁹⁴. 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 Novi⁹⁵ and Nepi⁹⁶, 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 Amerina⁹⁷. 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 *Otriculum* 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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