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Understanding style and identity in the Mediterranean *oikoumene*

The case of the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Fregellae

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Summary

The sanctuary of Aesculapius at Fregellae provides a useful case study to understand the complex dynamics of cultural interaction and formation. The thesis will study its forms and what they could have meant at a socio-cultural level. While this question has already been addressed before, the approach followed static, linear conceptions of cultural interaction. Here, a more dynamic framework will be adopted, taking into consideration the heightened connections between local and "global" realities. What this implies is that Fregellae, as a local reality, could assert its own presence within the wider Mediterranean landscape without being a passive pawn in the hands of supralocal forces. The sanctuary will reflect these dynamics at an architectural level, whereby "global" elements that belong to a Mediterranean *oikoumene* are combined with localised architectural developments according to "glocalising bricolage." At a more socio-cultural tier, the sanctuary embodied these local-"global" dynamics by conveying different ideas of self-portrayal at different levels: local, regional and pan-Mediterranean.

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Writing history is usually a solitary endeavour, which, as Sidonius Apollinaris cogently put it, "begins in envy, continues in weariness and ends in hate" (*Ep*. IV.22.v). As it happens, I have been lucky enough to find an abundance of support, academic and otherwise, during this process. I should start by acknowledging that this thesis is the result of an idea, which was born almost two years ago, right at the beginning of my RMA at Utrecht University. Inevitably, all those who, in one way or another, have taught me anything to do with theory and methodology, have also been invaluable tassels in the shaping of this work. I should like to thank Dr Saskia Stevens, my supervisor, who has been patient enough to go through several drafts of foolish ideas before something began to make sense. At the same time, I should like to remember the pivotal role of Prof. M.J. Versluys, whose expertise in cultural interaction and formation has greatly shaped this work. I must admit that this thesis would have not been possible without the generous scholarships awarded by the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome (KNIR) and the most-feared KNIR Debates in which the members of the scientific staff enjoy ripping everyone's arguments to pieces: thanks to Dr J. Pelgrom and Dr T. Stek, whose knowledge on colonisation is unparalleled, Dr A. Witte, Dr A. Pelgrom and Prof. H. Hendrix for his encouraging words while eating chips and sipping on prosecco.

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Introduction

At the beginning of the second century BC, travellers, going from Rome to Campania along the Via Latina, would have reached a point where the road crossed the Liri river. It is there that they would have found Fregellae, founded by Rome as a Latin colony in 328 BC. The sight that our travellers witnessed can only be inferred from the scattered remains that nowadays we find on the site and in the local archaeological museum. Going through the town, they would have seen the signs of a lively settlement: bath-houses for leisure, the *comitium* and the *forum* for political administration, private *domus*, which, albeit partly precluded from their sight, contained displays of rich decorations and innovative trends. What our travellers would have certainly not missed was the imposing structure on the hill next to Fregellae, for the sanctuary to Aesculapius stood there, facing the settlement with its impressive dimensions that have earned it the title of "monumental." The starting point to understanding the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Fregellae is to determine what is meant by "monumental sanctuary." Along Moore's line of though, monumental religious structures can be separated from their non-monumental counterparts through three categories: permanence, centrality and visibility.[1] The first indicates that buildings are meant to last for more than a generation; the second refers to their geographical position either within urban centres or isolated areas; finally, the third is a fundamental aspect of monumentality, whereby these structures should be seen from afar. Moreover, as a monumental structure, the Fregellan sanctuary would have inevitably caused some reactions, psychological and/or emotional in the viewers, whether they be local settlers or occasional travellers. The sanctuary, therefore, was not a passive piece of architecture. Rather, it was an active conveyor of meaning between and among social agents.

Since the sanctuary's discovery in the second half of the twentieth century, scholars began to enquire about the complexity of the building, the provenance of its forms and the reasons behind its construction. Thus, already at the outset, it became clear that the main question related not only to cultural interaction and exchange, but also to the meaning behind the adoption of material culture and how that impacted on

[1] Moore 1996, 139-140. I have chosen to leave ubiquity out of my definition. While I am aware that Moore sees the distribution of sanctuaries as a determinant factor of monumentality, I do not believe that this is necessarily true since monumentality should be an intrinsic characteristic of the structure, independently from the distribution of other religious buildings.

how social actors (such as commissioners) portrayed themselves. The sanctuary's first excavators attempted to solve these issues, interpreting the evidence, as it was common, according to acculturation theory. Italian archaeologists, such as Coarelli and Lippolis, justified the presence of Hellenistic architectural forms by establishing linear connections between Italy and the eastern Mediterranean, specifically the Aegean.[2] At the same time, they could not help but attribute a central role to Rome: not only was the commissioner an influent Roman general, but the sanctuary itself stood as a reminder of the *Urbs*' imperialistic success. Rome's centrality was re-emphasised in Rous' doctoral thesis wherein he attributed more importance to the local elites, with the *Urbs*' presence inevitably looming over the whole work.[3] According to him, he monumental forms of the sanctuary were meant to increase the prestige of the local elites in light of Rome and the political benefits that it could grant them.

In more recent years, the academic world, at different paces in different national traditions, has been moving away from these linear, centre-to-periphery models, placing an ever-increasing interest on interconnectivity and networking. These new approaches have resulted in a twofold outcome: not only have they driven scholars to strengthen the application of modern theories to the ancient world, but it has also examined what, if any, the benefits may be. In this context, it is worthwhile mentioning the recent volume edited by Pitts and Verluys, in which they seek to demonstrate the applicability of globalisation to the study of antiquity.[4] In the context of recent research, moreover, scholars have bestowed increasing importance on the dynamics between local and global realities, how they shape one another and how global material culture might be inserted in a local stratum.[5] More specifically, the aforementioned linear connections, often established between East and West, do not stand in place any longer. Interaction within the Mediterranean acquired an increased degree of complexity, whereby the contemporary understanding of the ancient Mediterranean is of a highly and diversely interconnected landscape in which ideas and objects travel from various direction and not just along a linear view.

[2] Their views appeared in the sanctuary's excavation reports *Fregellae: Il Santuario di Esculapio*, published in 1986.
[3] See Rous 2010. It is particularly noteworthy to see that, despite the sociological character of Rous' thesis, a Romanising interpretation was still applied to the wider group of the Hellenistic sanctuaries in Latium. For the pitfalls of Rous' approach, see the historiographical section in this introduction.
[4] See Pitts & Versluys 2015.
[5] As an example, see Termeer 2015.

Despite this theoretical shift, monumental sanctuaries in Central Italy have not been examined according to these new models. In this thesis, therefore, I employ one such theory, glocalisation, to analyse one of these sanctuaries, namely that of Aesculapius at Fregellae, as a cultural thermometer to measure the inter-relations between local and "global."[6] In this context, the questions I aim to answer deal with how the sanctuary reflected dynamics of local-"global" interactions and what it tells us about the formation of material culture and socio-cultural issues, like identity. By asking such questions, I will demonstrate three points. Firstly, glocalisation will allow us to set a local reality, like Fregellae, as an entity with local interests within a wide environment, like the Mediterranean. Secondly, it will shed light on social interactions between and among communities across the Mediterranean, further characterising the reception and formation of material culture according to these interactions. Finally, a glocalising perspective improves our knowledge of the meaning, ideology and significance behind the adoption of material culture. Especially in cases like the Fregellan sanctuary, where scholarship has often linked certain forms to static provenances and, by extension, meanings, a glocalising treatment would force us to reconsider those views in light of a more holistic understanding of material culture. The choice of the sanctuary at Fregellae is related to chronology. As I will show later, it represents the first example of Hellenistic monumental sanctuary, dated to the second quarter of the second century BC. Thus, a more encompassing understanding would provide a solid foundation for a later study on the entire phenomenon of monumentalisation in Latium.

On my way to answering these questions, the examination of the sanctuary will inevitably touch upon an array of themes. I will have to assess the role of Fregellae within the wider region and within the "global" Mediterranean. In addition, I will have to focus on social agency: namely, who commissioned the building? Why would they choose that specific architectural typology? And, finally, let us not forget that Fregellae was close, both geographically and politically, to Rome: in this context, what was the function of this superpower in relation to the sanctuary?

Before delving into the thesis, I should remind the reader that understanding processes of cultural interaction, exchange and formation in the ancient world does

[6] I should like to point out here that I differentiate between global and "global". The former refers to global intended in its literal meaning. The second indicates a more figurative use, for instance in the ancient world where "global" could not be truly global, but referred to the world known at the time.

not represent a mere academic quandary. Such an enquiry is relevant for our contemporary times where we face phenomena of *en masse* migrations, thus forcing different social groups to come in contact with one another. Studies like this should show the general public that cultural exchange and formation are inevitable phenomena of human history.

Defining terms and boundaries

Latin colonies[7]

Latin colonies can be divided into two groups. The first consists of those settlement founded before the Latin War (340-338 BC). The earliest colonies, dating to the monarchical period, are shrouded in mystery. However, the early Republican ones are historically documented, whereby they were not solely founded by the Roman political body.[8] Rather, it has been argued that single individuals or *gentes* were responsible for their foundations.[9] A second cluster of Latin colonies is formed by those settlements founded after 338 BC. Among these, we find Fregellae, deducted in 328 BC. At the same time, part of this group is taken by seven colonies, founded before the Latin War. These held the status of Latin colony, unlike other settlements, which had been incorporated in the *ager Romanus* after 338 BC. What characterised Latin colonies was their semiautonomous administration: they were independent in their internal affairs, though Rome could intervene in rare instances.[10] By virtue of such an independence, Latin colonists lost their Roman citizenships.[11] Another feature can be gleaned from the comparison with Roman colonies. These were usually small garrisons, made up of around 300 colonists and built on the coast.[12] The Latin counterparts, instead, had a bigger population, between 2500 and 6000 inhabitants, and more distant to Rome, hence necessitating their own government.[13] Latin colonists benefited from the *Ius Latii*, providing them with certain benefits: they could marry a Roman citizen (*ius connubii*), they could trade under Roman law (*ius*

[7] For an overview on colonisation, see Pelgrom 2012, Stek 2018.
[8] Termeer 2015, 8.
[9] Bradley 2006, 169.
[10] Termeer 2015, 8.
[11] Salmon 1969, 55.
[12] Salmon 1969, 16; Galsterer 1976, 46.
[13] Termeer 2015, 9.

commercii), they had the right to move to Rome and, possibly, receive Roman citizenship (*ius migrandi*) and, finally, they could vote in Rome (*ius suffragii*).[14]

The geography of Latium and the position of Fregellae

Fregellae's history cannot be understood without a grasp of Latium's geography (fig. 1). The region is bounded on the western side by the Tyrrhenian Sea and to the eastern by the Central Apennine mountain range. The Tiber Valley, surrounded by the Sabatini Mountains, takes up the northern side of the region. The Liri Valley constitutes the southern ridge. Latium also comprises a series of coastal plains, such as that of the Pontine area, and a series of fluvial valley systems, the most important of which are those of the Sacco, the Liri and the Tiber. The colony occupied a central position within the Liri Valley, which, alongside the Sacco Valley, acted as a corridor between Latium and Campania. The parallel disposition of the Lepini Mountains (south-west) and the Ernici Mountains (north-east) to the sides of the Sacco Valley allows us to understand this geographical structure. A similar occurrence can be noted in the Liri Valley, where the Ausoni and Aurunci Mountains (south-west) and the Mainarde and Meta Mountains (north-east) form a wide corridor.

Fregellae occupied a focal point on the transversal routes between Abruzzo and the Tyrrhenian Sea. Ancient *tratturi* (transhumance roads) ran along the Cosa Valley into the Liri Valley, finally reaching the Pontine plain.[15] The Middle Liri Valley, moreover, was an obligatory transit for a series of roads that ended in Sora: that of the Roveto Valley, acting as a connection with the Fucino plain, where the colony of Alba Fucens was located; that of the Comino Valley, which allowed a rapid crossing to the Volturno Valley; that of the Lacerno Valley, giving access to the Sangro Valley; the route leading to Ferentinum; the road to Fregellae.[16] It is clear, therefore, that the routes to Sora also led to Fregellae.

In addition to this, the colony was crossed by two major arteries: the Via Latina; the road that crosses the corridor between the Ausoni and Aurunci Mountains, reaching the Via Appia between Fondi and Formia.[17] The Via Latina, in particular, accentuated the geo-political role of Fregellae during the Roman colonisation of

[14] Humbert 1978, 98.
[15] Coarelli 1981, 12.
[16] Coarelli 1981, 13.
[17] Livy 26.9.2-3.

Latium. In fact, the construction of the road cut out the ancient settlements along the mountains,[18] shifting the power relations to those towns, like Fregellae, that developed along the Via Latina itself. A final remark should take into consideration the position of Fregellae in relation to the Liri River. At an economic level, such proximity allowed an easy transportation route for goods toward the Tyrrhenian Sea.[19]

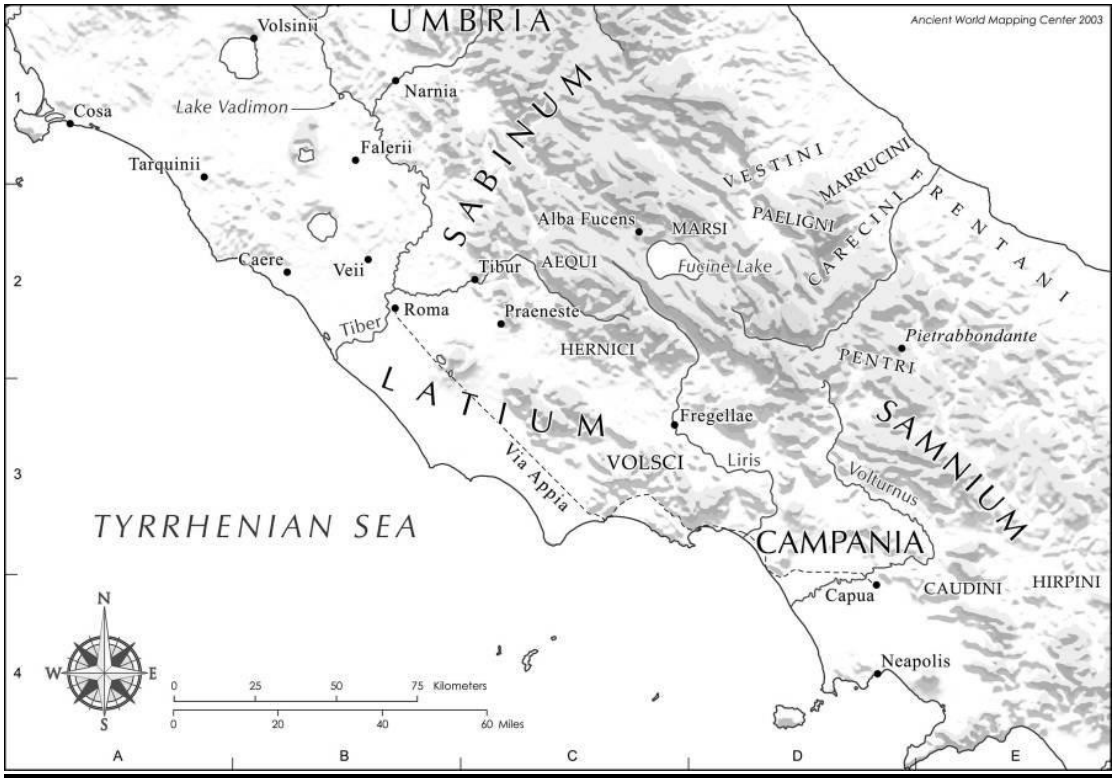

Fig. 1 Map of Republican Central Italy (note the position of Fregellae)

Literature review: the linearity of cultural contact and the triumph of Romanisation

As the title of this section indicates, and as I have made briefly manifest in the introduction, the way in which scholarship has treated the Fregellan sanctuary reveals an attachment to the linearity of cultural contact and to Romanisation. The first concept, in particular was emphasised with the discovery of the building, since the scholarly debate focused on the provenance and propagation of Hellenistic forms from the East to the West. As it will become apparent, this avenue of research was underpinned by the belief that certain forms of material culture belonged to specific socio-cultural and geographic contexts and that the presence of these items elsewhere

[18] Coarelli 1981, 15.
[19] Coarelli 1987, 23.

should be seen as emanating from their "original" centres.[20] Thus, in 1981, Coarelli argued for an eastern provenance of the architectural forms. More specifically, the Asklepieion on Kos played a predominant influential role, as seen by several stylistic similarities:[21] the Doric *triporticus* and the freestanding columns of the portico have been thought to represent strong influences from the Greek model.[22] Similarly, as Caputo showed, the wall painting in First Style was interpreted as an innovative prototype, following eastern tradition and diverging from the Campanian models.[23] Thus, the parietal decoration at Fregellae presented linear connections with a house near the Dipylon Gate, rather than Pompeii.[24]

Following this debate, Lippolis explained the dynamics behind the linear spreading of Hellenistic forms to Fregellae and, at a larger scale, to Italy, further providing an initial, albeit unrefined, explanation for the meaning of Hellenistic architecture.[25] Along Coarelli's aforementioned line, he accepted the influence from the eastern Aegean. Yet, he attempted to identify potential agents and potential reasons behind the adoption. In particular, within the context of linear connections, he viewed *mercatores* and *negotiatores* in the eastern Mediterranean as active agents for the propagation of Hellenistic style. By establishing their mercantile and financial activities there, these Italics came in contact with Hellenistic forms. The propagation of this new architecture, according to Lippolis, should be interpreted in relation to the political meaning behind the eastern sites: these structures had been financed by the Hellenistic monarchs for political propaganda.[26] According to the scholar, they were adopted in Italy as they conveyed that political ideology.[27] While the scholar noted the connection between political meaning and architecture, he failed to provide an explanation to its inner mechanisms and to how it might have worked in the case of Fregellae.

[20] This concept will be explored in more detail later on, especially in Chapter Three.
[21] Coarelli 1981, 46.
[22] Coarelli 1981, 44-46.
[23] Caputo 1986, 72. The details of this argumentation will be addressed again later on, showing the flaws behind this reasoning.
[24] Caputo 1986, 73.
[25] For the way meaning and ideology of architecture, see Chapter Three.
[26] Lippolis 1986, 38.
[27] Once again, as previously said, this view fits into the conception of cultures as well-defined containers. "Foreign" stylistic representations and their meanings have often been interpreted according to their original setting/meaning.

Within the analysis of architectural style, Lippolis also emphasised a linearity within Italic tradition. He identified Italic architectural elements, such as the architectonic decorations, connecting them with cultural prototypes. This is best exemplified through the reconstruction of the figures on the temple front.[28] While the material is very fragmentary, from a stylistic analysis, the decoration has been interpreted to indicate a close association with Rome, especially with the temple fronts of San Gregorio and that of the Via Latina, both dated to the second century BC.[29] Thus, even within the regional setting of Latium, past scholarship on the sanctuary has thought it inevitable to find linear inspirational sources, especially coming from the main centre of power.

The question of the sanctuary's tutelary divinity has also been assessed in the context of linear acculturation. Degrassi, in particular, noted that the cult's first instance occurs in Rome at the beginning of the third century BC.[30] Within the context of Fregellae, the archaeological material is very clear about the deity: Aesculapius and Salus were both worshipped at the sanctuary.[31] It is unclear, however, whether the god had been worshipped there before the second-century construction of the sanctuary. Although the votive material goes back to the third century BC, there are insufficient elements to reach a satisfactory answer. Nevertheless, Degrassi provided two speculations: on one side, the cult of Aesculapius had been there immediately after its adoption by Rome; on the other hand, the pre-existing cult could have been directed at a completely different deity.[32] What transpires from this view, therefore, is a dependency on the adoption of religious forms from specific centres. As we have just seen with material culture, the choice of the deity, too, must have followed a line that connected Fregellae either with Rome or with Kos.

After its excavation, the sanctuary at Fregellae did not stand within an academic vacuum, but it began to be considered in relation to the wider monumentalisation phenomenon in Latium. While Lippolis had hinted at this correlation, Coarelli's publication *I Santuari del Lazio in Età Repubblicana* (1987) delivered a detailed study on the whole group. Although the monumentalisation

[28] For details, Manca de Mores & Pagliardi 1986, 58-61.
[29] Manca de Mores & Pagliardi 1986, 61, 63.
[30] Degrassi 1986, 145.
[31] Degrassi 1986, 151.
[32] Degrassi 1986, 151.

occurred over a century (between the second and the first centuries BC), striking similarities, especially at an architectural level, highlighted the cohesive nature of the phenomenon.[33] This brought the scholar to think that all the terraced sanctuaries in Latium were influenced by the eastern models. The scenic scenarios on elevated position and the use of porticoes to delimit sacred areas all contribute to determining the eastern influential sources.[34] Apart from Fregellae, this element can be seen at Praeneste (sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia) and Tibur (sanctuary of Hercules Victor).[35] More interestingly, the similarity with the almost contemporary sanctuary of Juno at Gabii, in the first half of the second century BC, pinpoints the beginning of such an architectural phenomenon.[36]

After Coarelli, the topic was recently approached in Rous' doctoral thesis (2010) wherein he re-examined Hellenistic sanctuaries in Latium. At this point, I refer to the second part of this section's title: namely, the triumph of Romanisation. While Coarelli had provided a description of the sites, in which he also dispersed several hypotheses (inevitably underpinned by a linear view of cultural contact), Rous explained their construction highlighting their function as indicators of local prestige. He recognised that the local elites played a major role in building these structures.[37] However, he agreed neither with Coarelli nor with Lippolis on the eastern influences. Rather, Rous had the "terraced-sanctuary" model come from Rome itself.[38] In this sense, while phrased in modern sociological terms, his thesis is ridden with Romanising references. According to him, examples of Hellenistic architecture abounded in the *Urbs*. The *Porticus Metelli*, the *Tabularium* and another indefinite *substructio* on the eastern slope of the Palatine acted as representatives of the influence Rome must have exerted on the provincial settlements.[39] Another element that bound together Rome and the Latin sanctuaries relates to the deities. According to Rous, they were not the recipients of localised cults since they were also worshipped in Rome. He further pointed out that these cults were new. Hence, they could not have been symbols of local identity. In the case of Fregellae, as he noted, Aesculapius' adoption, whether mediated or not, had a definite eastern matrix. The

[33] Coarelli 1987, 8.
[34] Coarelli 1987, 28.
[35] Coarelli 1987, 38, 47, 85-86.
[36] Coarelli 1987, 15.
[37] Rous 2010, 239.
[38] Rous 2010, 246.
[39] Rous 2010, 137-140.

religious aspect, therefore, should not point toward a dichotomy between Rome and Latium. Instead, it should emphasise its close links in adopting the same cult.[40]

In this context, Rous explained the monumentalisation in Latium through Roman aristocratic competition. The locals, according to him, were emulating Roman practices: the provincial elites of Latium, including the Fregellani, built monumental structures, following Rome's lead in private euergetism of public structure.[41] The reason behind their choice related to the socio-political role of cultural capital, which the monumental structures increased.[42] Consequently, according to the scholar, these terraced buildings allowed their dedicators to portray themselves in a favourable light in the eyes of Rome. Of course, the result of this emulation becomes clear once, as Rous posited, we realise that local provincials could become involved in Roman politics.

Theoretical reconsiderations: Romanisation, Acculturation, World-System, Globalisation and Glocalisation

Romanisation as a unilinear system for understanding cultural exchange

The necessity for a glocalising framework should take into consideration the debate over Romanisation as an initial framework to deal with cultural exchange and formation. Haverfield, the theory's first promotor, employed such a model to explain how native cultures had been supplanted in favour of Roman civilisation.[43] His approach, however, should be theoretically inserted in a historical context wherein it hinted at a moral justification for colonial enterprises, further resulting in a dichotomous distinction between "Roman" and "Native." His view on cultural exchange saw Rome as morally superior, expanding its culture radially from the centre to the peripheries, thus reminding of England's relationship with its colonial empire.[44] In this context, not only did he justify Roman expansion, but he also provided a moralistic approval for Roman cultural forceful presence. Even though he realised that the contact between Romans and "barbarians" occurred along different

[40] Rous 2010, 141-142.
[41] Rous 2010, 247-248.
[42] Rous 2010, 120.
[43] Haverfield 1915, 11, 18.
[44] Haverfield 1915, 13.

modalities, Haverfield stressed Rome's civilising purpose.[45] Had it not been for them, the author argued, we would not have had Western society.[46]

Haverfield's colonial sentiments also showed in his argument for the exchange of material culture, which developed along a unilinear perspective. He claimed that the provincials' adoption of Roman items foreshadowed their faithfulness to Roman mores and customs, which, as seen in the precedent paragraph, aimed at improving the newly conquered populations.[47] In this context, he also defended the view according to which provincial cultures were bound to disappear. Notwithstanding the moralising overtone of this colonial view, the adoption of any form of material culture cannot be automatically linked to a change of customs. Simply put, just because provincials were using specific Roman objects (whatever they may be), we cannot expect them to put aside their own traditions and immediately embrace Roman ones.[48]

Acculturation as a tool for cultural exchange?

Once scholars recognised the problem with the unilinear approach offered by Romanisation, they began to think in terms of acculturation, which allowed for changes in the cultural pattern of the groups involved in cultural contact.[49] In this context, the final product of cultural contact aims at integration or fusion. In other cases, as Versluys mentioned, acculturation sees marginalisation and separation as the final end of cultural contact.[50]

Even Romanisation theory, moving away from Haverfiled's Romanocentric view, was framed into an acculturation matrix. The debate shifted away from the unilinear centre-to-periphery model, placing more emphasis on the provinces, as in Millett's reworking. In recognising the one-sided stress on Rome, he focused on the natives' key role within Romanisation.[51] Haverfield's moralistic overtone had been replaced by other historical motives, such as economy and politics.[52] Thus, rather than

[45] Haverfield 1915, 12.
[46] Haverfield 1915, 11.
[47] Haverfield 1915, 19-20.
[48] Woolf 1998, 14-15.
[49] Versluys 2014, 144. To interpret this phenomenon, scholars have come up with new terminologies. For instance, following the archaeological approaches in the New World, Webster (2001, 217, 218) understood that the reception of material culture varied according to the social class, thus resulting in "creolisation."
[50] Versluys 2015, 145.
[51] Millett 1990, 37, 38.
[52] Millett 1990, 35-36.

seeing Romanisation as an imposed, unilinear phenomenon, Millett thought of it as a coincidence of interests.[53] Since their power was granted by Rome, the provincial upper classes had it in their best interest to adopt Roman practices. Displaying the symbols of *Romanitas*, as Millett called them, acted as a tool through which the provincials expressed their association to the *Urbs*.[54]

Already at this point, we can understand that acculturation models apply to "Christopher Columbus scenarios," whereby two distinct cultures meet firsthand and result in a static mixture.[55] In historical reality, such encounters are rare. Can we really say that in the ancient Mediterranean there was no interaction at all between and among people and that every form of cultural contact occurred along a "Christopher Columbus scenario"? The answer is certainly negative. And even if there were situations in which two socio-cultural groups had never met before, we can postulate that the result was not statically fixed in time. In this setting, Woolf noted two conclusions: firstly, culture has a degree of autonomy and, secondly, it does not answer to social forces, hence making the results of cultural exchange unpredictable.[56] Although we might witness the fusion of culture at the beginning, we could also attest the opposite, namely rejection, in a later period.[57]

Even though acculturation sees cultures as distinct containers, the contraposition between "Self" and "Other," that is identity and alterity, does not have a foundation in any historical reality in the ancient Mediterranean. In this setting, "Roman" should not be seen only in oppositional terms to other cultural manifestations, like "Greek." Indeed, it is true that "Roman" and "Greek" identities were often portrayed as having antithetical traits. This was the case in Republican times, at least according to literary sources, which saw "Roman" as an epitome of masculinity and "Greek" stand for effeminate behaviours.[58] At the same time, it is important to note that these two categories were often employed concurrently. To put it in simple terms, one could be "Roman" by going "Greek."[59] As Termeer showed, the contact with the Greek world was important for the self-definition of the *Urbs* in

[53] Millett 1990, 38.
[54] Millett 1990, 38. For more details on the study of Romanisation, see also De Cazanove 2000, Curti 2001, Glinister 2006, Stek 2013.
[55] I owe the term "Christopher Columbus Scenario" to M.J. Versluys.
[56] Woolf 1998: 13.
[57] Versluys 2015, 145.
[58] Edwards 1993, 23.
[59] Versluys 2015, 145.

the third century BC.[60] Such a reasoning could be applied also to other categories, like "Roman" and "Latin" or "Latin" and "Greek." In this context, "Self" and "Other" do not indicate cultural formations, but, rather, modes of self-perception.

Following from this, acculturation does not explain very well the relationship between material culture and identity. The emergence of distinct cultural groups has driven scholars to interpret the ancient world according to "methodological nationalism," thus highlighting aspects of national identity. Each social group was seen in a nationalistic manner as forming a distinct cultural category with a distinct material culture, typical of that group, and that expressed a specific identity.[61] Hence, a certain body of material culture was deemed typically Roman and employed by the Romans. A similar reasoning applied to the Greeks and other peoples, like the Egyptians and the Phoenicians. Once we see material culture being traded and covering vast distances, "methodological nationalism" is no longer suited to explain cultural interaction and exchange. Simply put, if Greek vases were to be used in a Latin colony, would we say that the colonists had become Greek? In the case of Fregellae, does the construction of architectural models, typical of the Hellenistic East, prove that the colonists were abandoning their own cultural forms in order to adopt Greek ways of life? These rhetorical questions should drive us to see that acculturation does not offer a viable solution to the interpretation of cultural contact and formation.

Thinking about connections: World-Systems theory

In the 1970s, an increasing interest in global connectivity brought about the emergence of World-Systems theory. According to this framework, World-Systems brought together social groups from different geographical provenances, following ties of an economic nature (world-economies).[62] One of the main aspects of World-Systems theory is the relation between centre and periphery, geographically and culturally distinct regions which specialise respectively in capital-intensive (centre) and labour-intensive (periphery) production.[63] This differentiation, moreover, allows us to perceive the degree of mobilisation within the World-System and, by

[60] Termeer 2015, 46.
[61] Versluys 2013, 432.
[62] Goldfrank 2000, 167.
[63] Goldfrank 2000, 168.

implication, the world-economy. The function of the states is subsumed under a transnational approach, whereby class struggle, influenced by Marxism, was a widely spread phenomenon which did not take into consideration the boundaries among nations.[64]

Although World-Systems theory has been employed to explain ancient phenomena, it also attracted a great amount of criticism. Some of the assumptions moved by the model, for instance, are yet to be proven historically.[65] There is no correspondence for the movements of goods between centres and peripheries. For the purpose of this thesis, a World-Systems approach does not provide any insight into modes of cultural transmission and cultural formation. Indeed, as extensively said, the framework proves transnational contacts and movements. Yet, it approaches them from a largely economic or, at best, political perspective. Because of this, World-Systems theory predicts a homogeneous society over time, thus resulting as ineffective as Romanisation and acculturation in understanding phenomena of cultural contact and formation.[66] This is particularly visible with the emphasis on centre and periphery, a strong reminder of Romanisation approaches.

Cultural contact and formation through globalisation theory

Since the 1990s, the term "globalisation" has been extensively used not only by academic circles, but also by the wider public. In its simplest form, this theoretical framework indicates a high level of connectivity and interdependency between local and global realities.[67] While the theory was developed for the modern world, it can also be employed for the ancient past.[68] Pitts and Versluys listed a series of characteristics that support why the ancient world can be explained in light of globalisation: increased connectivity, the existence of a common market, the idea of belonging to one world and a stress on the local as part of global developments.[69] Even if scholars have defended the modern nature of these features, they can acquire different, yet recognisable forms, in the ancient world. Hence, globalisation displays a

[64] Goldfrank 2000, 172.
[65] Pitts & Versluys 2015, 10.
[66] Pitts & Versluys 2015, 10.
[67] Pitts & Versluys 2015, 11.
[68] See Giddens 1990.
[69] Pitts & Versluys 2015, 17.

degree of relativity, whereby it can be adapted to different context in different time periods.

Globalisation presents a useful tool to examine cultural contact. Firstly, unlike Romanisation and acculturation approaches, it does not make assumptions about the pervasiveness of cultures. Instead of postulating one supreme culture, whether Roman or Greek, coming in contact with "inferior" realities, further supplanting them, globalisation widens the net of cultural interaction.[70] Of course, Roman and Hellenic cultures are still part of the equation, but they share that position with other forces. Globalisation, moreover, does not require a uniformity of development at the global and local level. Thus, global changes do not have the same effect in all localities.[71] As we can infer from the previous discussions, Romanisation and acculturation do not account for this variability.

Though I agree with these aspects of globalisation, the theory does not account entirely for the local participation in cultural contact, exchange and formation. Robertson strenuously defended the view according to which globalisation is wrongly attributed a homogenising role.[72] Thus, we should completely reject the view that a globalising world will inevitably display the same cultural traits. As previously mentioned, globalisation produces different outcomes in different situations. At the same time, in order to prove his point, Robertson subsumed the local into the global. As he put it, "the promotion of locality is done 'from above'."[73] The reason for this statement is immediately understood once we realise that Robertson was applying his theoretical considerations to our contemporary society. He saw nationalistic particularisms and nationalistic fervours develop as localisms in relation, perhaps even opposition, to the global.[74] Such a view of what is local, however, does not take into consideration smaller localisms. While nationalisms can develop in relation to globalism (for instance, as part of nationalistic pride), what about the formation and development of localisms at the basic social unit, such as the village, or, in more extreme terms, one could even argue the family? Perceiving them as being formed "from above" renders local realities passive receivers of globalising tendencies to which they have to adapt *volens nolens*. At the same time, how can we explain the

[70] Termeer 2015, 56.
[71] Termeer 2015, 57.
[72] Robertson 2012, 192.
[73] Robertson 2012, 192.
[74] Robertson 2012, 192.

formation of a globalising world if we do not postulate a more independent and less passive role of the local? From this "top-to-bottom" perspective, it seems as if the global exists as a metaphysical entity, which proceeds to influence the local. Instead, as I will show in the next section, the global should be seen as being directly informed by the local. Thus, we should look for a theory which supposes a more organic intersection between local and global

Glocalisation: cultural formation as a compromise between local and global

Initially conceived as a framework to explain modern society, glocalisation is now also used to examine ancient phenomena.[75] Broadly speaking, following globalisation, this theory highlights how the local interacts with the global.[76] In its original setting, glocalisation dealt with economic analysis, leading scholars like Robertson, to approximate it to "micro-marketing."[77] In this context, goods and services can be tailored according to different local situations, creating a plethora of different localised products. At the same time, the products are global in application and reach.[78] Thus, unlike globalisation, where the emphasis was placed on the global aspect, glocalisation identifies a correspondence between local and global.[79] More specifically, while not aiming at homogenisation, glocalisation views the development of the local in relation to the global.[80] The advantage of glocalisation lies in placing the same weight on the global and the local in the dynamics of interaction.

Though initially contrived as a term for economic analysis, glocalisation has been employed for the examination of cultural contact, transmission and formation. From a local point of view, we cannot see cultures as existing on their own, as metaphysical entities, or, as Giulianotti and Robertson cogently put it, marking one another off. Rather, there is a series of processes whereby they are formed and come into existence.[81] And glocalisation allows us to understand how these processes work,

[75] Giulianotti & Robertson 2007, 134. In social theory, the term "glocalisation" was initially employed by Robertson (1992; 1995). Other theorists include Ritzer (2003, 2004), Roudometof (2005), Swyngedouw (1997) and Tomlinson (1999).
[76] Giulianotti & Robertson 2007, 134.
[77] Robertson 2012, 194. The term has been derived from the Japanese *dochakuka* meaning "global localisation" (See Robertson 1992, 173).
[78] Khondker 2004, 14.
[79] Even though the term *hybridisation* (Pieterse 1995) has been used as a synonym, I believe this to be a misnomer since such a term does not necessarily imply the inter-relation between local and global, but simply of two (or more) heterogeneous elements. Khondker 2004, 17.
[80] Robertson 2012, 192.
[81] Giulianotti & Robertson 2006, 172.

while also shedding light on the nature of local and global modes of self-representation or identities. It is clear, in this context, that glocalisation also aims at understanding humans as social agents, who make choices related to cultural practices that, inevitably, lead to modes of self-portrayal. As Roudometof argued, within the dichotomy between cosmopolitan and local, people play a major role in determining the inter-relationship between localised and globalised trends and what they might produce in terms of identity.[82] What is also implied in this global-local equation is that the local is not necessarily attached to a geographical location. Thus, in the case of many sociological works, glocalisation has focused on the local as part of diasporic movements.[83] In these settings, the local, like people, has a mobile nature that transcends territorial borders and interacts with the global irrespectively of its position. What this proves, in turn, is that glocalisation does not interpret culture as static containers, as in the case of Romanisation or acculturation, nor just in economic terms, like World-Systems theory, but in a dynamic and fluid manner.

How does glocalisation express the interaction between local and global realities? At this point, it is useful to introduce two notions, coined by Giulianotti & Robertson: "universalisation of particularism" and "particularisation of universalism."[84] The first notion indicates that all local realities are expected to form unique, particularised traits within a global setting, further highlighting a sense of specificity among various communities or groups. Conversely, the second notion, "particularisation of universalism," indicates the acquisition of universal practices and traits at a local level.

In the context of cultural glocalisation, four outcomes, also known as "glocalisation projects," can be emphasised. Each category results from the actions of social agents within the contact between local and a global: relativisation, accommodation, hybridisation, transformation.[85] Glocalised relativisation indicates that social actors are safeguarding their original cultural baggage. Thus, traditional cultural forms are maintained in the new cultural context.[86] Glocalised accommodation requires that the social actors employ their old cultural framework in

[82] Roudometof 2005, 127.
[83] Giulianotti & Robertson 2006; Giulianotti & Robertson 2007. Both works examine how migrant communities from the UK and Ireland have adapted their localised sporting practices within American culture.
[84] Giulianotti & Robertson 2004, 547.
[85] Giulianotti & Robertson 2007, 135.
[86] Giulianotti & Robertson 2007, 140.

a pragmatic way to keep traditional identities. This also includes employing new cultural traits as surrogates for original forms.[87] Glocalised hybridisation requires social actors to establish distinctive organisational forms.[88] What is important to emphasise here is that, unlike the usual concept of hybridisation, where two generic cultures are at work, glocalised hybridisation presupposes the interaction of the local with another set of cultural forms. Finally, glocalised transformation implies that the social actors conceptually relocate their local culture within a "global cultural ecumene," which I will call *koine*.[89]

Within the context of my research, glocalisation offers a new, innovative way to look at Fregellae, its sanctuary and at the formation of culture in a local setting within southern Latium. While Coarelli and Rous had placed the emphasis on linear connections with the East and/or Rome and on "Christopher Columbus scenarios," a glocal approach highlights the colony's interconnectedness within the Mediterranean.[90] In this context, the sanctuary to Aesculapius represents one of those glocal examples, whereby the local could incorporate "global" elements. Moreover, this theoretical framework will allow us to interpret the meaning behind material culture. As I will show, the architectural typologies reflected a specific social identity, which the colony applied to the local reality, further reflecting the glocal change of meaning in material culture.

Understanding the sources: advantages and limitations of the evidence

Literary texts

Finding information about Fregellae and its sanctuary to Aesculapius in the literary record and trying to create a historical narrative out of it is no easy task. First of all, we must acknowledge the scantiness of the evidence at a quantitative level. Given the time period, between the late fourth and the late second century BC, our point of departure should be Livy. In detailing the greatness of Rome, the historian could not fail to include the role of the Latin colony in the *Urbs*' plans. Yet, as I will show throughout this thesis, Livy can be employed only for two periods of Fregellae's

[87] Giulianotti & Robertson 2007, 143.
[88] Giulianotti & Robertson 2007, 146.
[89] Giulianotti & Robertson 2007, 149.
[90] See Coarelli 1987; Rous 2010, 137-140.

history: namely, the fourth and the second centuries BC. And even in these instances, we can only access information in a fragmentary fashion. In fact, starting from the foundation date in 328 BC, Livy's account will take us down to 293 BC. After this date, the historian's work was, alas, lost. The narration resumes in 219 BC until 166 BC.[91] Since Fregellae was destroyed in 125 BC, that means that we also miss the final decades of the settlement.

Unsurprisingly, Livy's work is characterised by a Romanocentric approach, which, inevitably, obscures and omits information about Fregellae. At a broad level, the settlement is usually mentioned in relation to Rome's political and belligerent schemes. Hence, we can find passages detailing the colony's military support during the Second Samnite War and Hannibal's march. In other instances, we get a more closeup insight of the political dynamics between Fregellae and other neighbouring settlements. However, as we shall see, even in these cases, they are intermediated by Rome's interests. At a more sociological level, these Romanocentric accounts offer a very limited view and they cannot inform us about how the cultural landscape had been changing throughout the century. Even if we had a more unitary narrative of the settlement's history, the author's ideology would still permeate the evidence, presenting an altered dimension for cultural formation.

Although in a very cursory manner, Fregellae is also mentioned by other ancient authors, like Cornelius Nepos, Strabo and Florus. In most cases, they are heavily influenced by the Livian account. In some instances, nevertheless, ethno-geographical notions, sometimes still circulating after the colony's destruction, allow us to infer data about Fregellae's socio-cultural practices. Some of these anecdotal stories will be addressed and examined in the course of this thesis since, I believe, they can be employed to move away from Romanocentric views.

Inscriptions

The epigraphic material does not constitute a quantitively reliable corpus for the analysis of Fregellae and its sanctuary. As previously mentioned, the sanctuary's excavations have resulted in a limited number of inscriptions: one of them, containing only a filiation, belonged to the sanctuary's altar and revealed the name of the deity,

[91] See Coarelli 1976, 21-22.

namely Aesculapius;[92] another, present on a statuette of *Salus*, has supported the identification of the deity according to the binomial association of Aesculapius-*Salus*.[93] Other epigraphical elements, thought to belong to the sanctuary, have been found elsewhere. A *titulus Mummianus*, that is an inscription dedicated by a certain Mummius, was found in Fabrateria Nova, the colony found after Fregellae's destruction in 125 BC.[94] What the significance of such an inscription has been for the whole sanctuary will be treated further on. It suffices to say that, even in this case, a Romanocentric approach has led scholars to see a Roman general, Mummius, behind the sanctuary's construction, although no clear evidence points toward that conclusion. If we examine the wider colony, inscriptions are not particularly abundant. At present, only a round tessera has been found. This object, dated to the second century BC, attests the involvement of a local magistrate into euergetic works.[95]

Archaeological data

Archaeology provides the most exhaustive collection of data for understanding the sanctuary and the wider colony. Since its excavation, archaeologists have been able to reconstruct the plan of the temple. While the sanctuary was destroyed, the foundations managed to survive the Roman attack in 125 BC. Hence, we know that, broadly speaking, the sanctuary was formed by a transversal central body (*cella*) with two *porticus* flanking it.[96] Architecturally, moreover, the scattered remains of the terracotta decorations have been reassembled, allowing scholars to conceptualise the decorative pattern of the main building.[97] Similarly, stucco remains from the *porticus* have shown that the complex presented a polychromous decorative scheme. The sanctuary's excavation, moreover, has allowed scholars to identify two construction phases. The turning point between the two was the second century BC, period in which a pre-existing cultic place was replaced by the temple under study here. This transition phase was not examined properly, especially regarding cultural forms, styles and the ideas behind them. Archaeology is also useful for the broader colony.

[92] Coarelli 1981, 30. In relation to this, it is worth mentioning the finding of a statuette with the inscription *Saluti*, indicating the goddess Health, usually found together with Aesculapius.
[93] See Coarelli 1987, 26.
[94] *CIL* I 2930a. In particular, see Bizzarri 1973 on this specimen.
[95] *ILLRPS* 117. Sironen 1990, 118, 120.
[96] Once again, the architectural details of the temple can be found in Lippolis 1986.
[97] See Manca de Mores & Pagliardi 1986.

The urban centre, in fact, has been extensively excavated.[98] Not only are we able to access how the town was constituted architecturally, but, as we have seen for the sanctuary, we can identify various construction phases, which distinguish between local forms and Hellenistic additions from the second century.

At a socio-cultural level, the archaeological remains of the sanctuary could shed light on certain religious practices. For instance, the abundant *ex-voto* deposits bear witness to the cult's area of religious concern.[99] The socio-religious experiences of the everyday worshipper can be also inferred from the architectural remains. The presence of water features and the finding of rooms under the *porticus* has led historians to see a specific ritual behaviour in common with other Asklepieia in the Mediterranean.

At the same time, we must beware of interpretational issues related to the archaeological evidence. As I will amply show throughout the thesis, there seems to be a tendency among the Italian archaeologists who have studied the sanctuary to approach the evidence from the viewpoint of linear acculturation.[100] Although such an approach might have been accepted by the Italian academic world, I believe that it obscures other possible interpretations, casting the evidence into a static cultural container. At a more practical level, archaeology cannot inform us about the sanctuary's exact dimensions since parts of the structure, like the northern *porticus*, are completely missing.[101] Similarly, if we shift the attention onto ex-voto deposits, we see a great variety of forms, spanning from anatomical figurines, votive vases, black ceramics, statues and architectonic fragments.[102] These point to the wide religious use of the site and, from dating, scholars have also attested a religious function in the century preceding the reconstruction. Nevertheless, given that they span from the fourth to the second century, the ex-votos do not inform us of the sanctuary's wide use throughout the region during or immediately after the construction.

[98] Alas, at the moment of writing, the academic community still awaits the publication of the site's main buildings. Thus, we must rely largely on Coarelli 1981.
[99] See Ferrea & Pinna 1986.
[100] The various interpretations contained in the archaeological reports do not entertain any other option than a Romanocentric one.
[101] Longo & La Rotonda 1986, 26.
[102] Longo & La Rotonda 1986, 27.

Methodology

In order to overcome the scantiness and the ideological factiousness of the evidence – literary, epigraphic and archaeological – I will employ a comparative system of analysis, whereby the evidence from Fregellae will be compared and contrasted with similar cases throughout the Mediterranean. From a literary point of view, while Romanocentrism will still affect the accounts, a comparative approach will provide us with a quantitatively and qualitatively sounder body of material: the relationship between Rome and various local settlements, mainly of a colonial character, can highlight traits – economic, political and cultural – which will shed light on local dynamics. The *Urbs*, in fact, did not deal with its colonies in the same manner. Understanding these differences is pivotal for establishing the influences of colonies at a local level and over other settlements. Inscriptions, too, would benefit from this comparative methodology. As we have just seen in the precedent section, Fregellae's material is limited at best. Yet, I believe that epigraphic material from the wider area of southern Latium will emphasise a socio-cultural pattern according to which towns displayed similar cultural traits and did not diverge dramatically from one another. I will be examining those inscriptions which deal with public buildings in the Republican period, bestowing extra attention on the last two centuries. With this premise in mind, the fragmentary epigraphic body from Fregellae could be mitigated by the data from neighbouring locations. In this context, it is worthwhile mentioning the value of statistics in epigraphy, which I will employ to understand how dedicatory and euergetic practices spread in Latium. Similarly, archaeological data will benefit from this comparative analysis. As such, the Fregellan sanctuary could be examined against the wider group of Hellenistic sanctuaries in southern Latium, studied by Coarelli. Although I am aware that the phenomenon of monumentalisation spanned the second and first centuries BC, I believe that many architectural, stylistic and socio-cultural practices might have been held in common among all examples in the group.[103] In some cases, such as that of Gabii, there is not temporal distance with the Fregellan sanctuary.

Still within a methodological context, a comparative approach would prove particularly useful in order to establish the degree of interconnectivity between Fregellae and the rest of the Mediterranean. In this context, not only will I approach

[103] A similar methodological approach is also present in D'Alessio 2011, 51-88.

interconnectivity from an archaeological point of view, but also from a sociological perspective. Comparing the Fregellan sanctuary with other examples will provide us with a better understanding of how glocalising tendencies work: highlighting foreign influences will inevitably point toward localised trends in architectural development, still maintaining a wide range of possibilities as far as foreign influences go. In fact, unlike past scholarship, who pinpointed specific inspirational sources, like the Asklepieion on Kos, I cast a wider geographical net. If we shift to a more sociological point, a comparative system between Fregellae and the eastern Mediterranean places the emphasis on social agents, rather than solely on the adoption of material culture. In this context, epigraphic material will prove to be an invaluable source since it demonstrates how interconnected places, at first sight so distant, can be and how social practices can be adopted across such an interconnected territory.

Structure

My argument will follow a threefold structure: contextualising Fregellae as a local entity within the Mediterranean; the sanctuary's architecture between "global" and local; identity and style: how the sanctuary's architectural style reflected multiple social identities within the Mediterranean.

In the first chapter, I will show that Fregellae could assert its sense of locality and its local interests, thus showing that the local played a preponderant, more independent role even in antiquity. At the same time, since glocalisation deals with connectivity, this chapter also aims at detailing how the colony's interconnectedness within the Mediterranean manifested itself. Rather than seeing Fregellae as a passive player in Rome's imperialistic ventures, this chapter depicts the colony as a more active agent to which the Mediterranean could offer a plethora of opportunities. As I will show, in fact, the presence of Fregellani within the Mediterranean landscape cannot be wholly separated from an intensification of economic avenues, which, inevitably, would be reflected on the local landscape. It is not by mere chance that, at the time when the Fregellani were intensely involved in this Mediterranean network, the colony witnessed a full-scale process of monumentalisation of its civic and religious monuments.

In the second chapter, the emphasis will be shifted towards the sanctuary itself. After examining its dates, I will focus on the stylistic and architectural

elements. Rather than indicating the success of Romanisation, the sanctuary's architectural model should be seen as the result of the intensified interconnectedness. At a broader level, the sanctuary displayed architectural elements typical of the Hellenistic *koine*, common throughout the Mediterranean. I will also show the existence of localised elements in the sanctuary, as seen from the cultic *cella* and other stylistic solutions, which traditional scholarship branded as manufactural "errors." What transpires from this analysis is that the Mediterranean offered an ample variety of stylistic, architectural and artistic forms, which would have been reworked at a local level, further resulting in a formation of new material solutions.

Finally, the third chapter examines the relationship between architectural style and identity. Given that identity refers to people's self-perception, the first step is to understand who the sanctuary's commissioners were. In particular, I will argue for a more preponderant local initiative, rather than a Roman imposition. Subsequently, I will examine the sanctuary according to a semantic system, as devised by Hölscher, for whom style was situational and communicated certain ideas. Following a twofold process of universalisation and particularisation, I will show that the commissioners had become acquainted with universalised architectural forms of Hellenistic architecture, initially determined by the Hellenistic monarchs. Through particularisation, they applied these forms to their own reality, further resulting in a change of meaning. In this context, I will examine the affordances offered by style. In particular, I will emphasise the fascination of the exotic and how, through this conception, style could be employed as a tool for the assertion of social identity at multiple levels. The advantage of a semantic system, in fact, is that it allows scholars to examine material culture in different contexts. In particular, the meaning behind the Fregellan sanctuary will be seen from a local, regional and pan-Mediterranean perspective.

Chapter One

Contextualising Fregellae: reasserting the local in the Mediterranean

In setting the stage for the analysis of the sanctuary, this chapter wants to define the development of Fregellae as a local reality and its interconnectedness within the Mediterranean. By doing so, it will determine the socio-political dynamics of the colony at a local and trans-local level in order to avoid treating glocalisation as a "buzzword." In addition, the emphasis will be shifted away from the static Romanocentric interpretation of colonies as *simulacra Urbis*. In this sense, the development of the local will highlight how, from a Roman military garrison, Fregellae asserted a more independent sense of localism. Following from this, this chapter will show that, as a local entity, Fregellae's alliance with the *Urbs* determined the colony's interaction within the wider Mediterranean. I will also briefly introduce the effects of such interactions. The connection between the local and the Mediterranean can be viewed at an economic level and also in the way the colony adapted its infrastructural cityscape.

The foundation(s) of Fregellae: securing Rome's interests

The Romans established their hegemony over Latium with the renewal of the Latin League (358 BC) and with victories over the Etruscans and the Gauls between 354 BC and 348 BC.[104] In this context, the treaty with the Samnite (354 BC) set the premise for the consolidation of Roman power into the Liri Valley.[105] Although the terms are unknown, we can infer that the Liri River must have acted as a border between Rome and Samnium. The Samnites held power on the left bank, while the Romans had control on its right bank. This is further understood in light of their movements after the *foedus*. Rome captured Sora, winning against the Volscians.[106] Similarly, Samnium conquered Casinum and Aquinum on the opposite side of the river.[107] As Salmon argued, the acquiescence of the two powers indicated the

[104] Livy 7.12.7; 7.19-26; Polybius 1.6.4; 2.18.5. This phase ended with a series of treaties: apart from the abovementioned renewal of the Latin League, Rome signed *foedera* with Caere (Livy 7.19.6-20.9), Tarquinia and Falerii (Livy 7.22.5), Carthage (Livy 7.27.3; Diod. 16.69.1; Polybius 3.24), the Falisci (Livy 7.38.1) and with the Samnites (Livy 7.19.4; Diod. 16.45.8.).
[105] Livy 7.19.4; 7.15.9.
[106] Livy 7.28.6.
[107] Coarelli 1998, 30.

righteousness of their actions.[108] After all, had one crossed the territorial boundary, the other would have surely reacted, as it happened later.

It is in this historical landscape that Fregellae was founded in 328 BC. Not only did this first foundation represent the *casus belli* against the Samnites, but it also hinted at Rome's political and military use of the colony.[109] In the period between the Latin War and the Second Samnite War, Rome experienced a favourable increase in population – and, consequently, military units – with the conquest of Capua and of the Latins.[110] Hence, the *Urbs* was at a high peak of military strength and in need of territorial expansion. At the same time, the Samnites had found themselves involved in the wars against Alexander of Epirus.[111] Thus, they were forced to release their control of the Liri Valley. Such an action was perceived as a symptom of weakness by the Romans, who chose to provoke their enemies by violating the *foedus* and found Fregellae on the Samnite side of the river.[112]

The reason for the Roman dispatch of a colony to Fregellae related to its strategic geographical position. The Latin colony, in fact, allowed a more secure control of strategic locations: a crossing over the Liri River, the Trerus Valley road (coinciding with the Via Latina) and an easier connection over the Auruncan Mountains to the Tyrrhenian Sea.[113] The Samnites, too, were aware of Fregellae's strategic placement. However, in order to counteract Rome's movements, they had to wait for the Romans' military loss after the *clades Caudina*, when the *status quo* of the 354 BC treaty was reinstated. They recaptured the old territory, destroying Fregellae. As Coarelli noted, the colony must have been empty for six or seven years, during which the entire Liri Valley was under Samnite dominance.[114] Nevertheless, the place's strategic importance acted as an incentive for the Romans' counterattack.

[108] Salmon 1967, 194.
[109] Livy 8.23.6; Dion. Hal. 15.8.4; App. *Samn* 1.4. See Broadhead 2007.
[110] Salmon 1967, 215.
[111] Livy 8.17.9.
[112] Livy 8.23. Within southern Latium, the Romans showed great military activity. Not only did they found Fregellae, but they also intervened in the war between the Aurunci and the Sidicini (Livy 8.15.1-5): between 337 BC and 334 BC, the Romans besieged and conquered Cales, an Auruncan city, allied to the Sidicini (Livy 8.16.1-11). According to Salmon (1967, 210), the Samnites had brought the Sidicini under their sphere of influence. In this sense, the Romans violated the treaty, by indirectly harming the Samnites. Similarly, Roman action extended to the Pontine region, where the last remnants of Volscian resistance were eradicated, with the conquest of Privernum and the foundation of Tarracina (Livy 8.21.10-11).
[113] Salmon 1967, 212.
[114] Coarelli 1998, 31.

After recapturing Sora (315 BC) and Terracina (314 BC),[115] they reoccupied Fregellae in 313 BC.

The second foundation of Fregellae, too, throws light on the intense militaristic interests of Rome in southern Latium. The archaeological remains of Latin colonies in the Liri Valley and the Fucine area show colonies with impressive fortifications. At Alba Fucens (303 BC), for instance, the fortifications were built throughout a long process, which began immediately after its foundation. The size of the constructions emphasises the importance of the city walls, thus hinting at a paramount defensive role.[116] Ramparts represented another element that reinforces the military overtone of Central Italian colonies. At Alba Fucens, a rampart was inserted in the western wall of the town. Apart from the grand frontal dimensions (7.70 m), the dating of the structure points to the first years of the colony, as inferred from Campanian ceramics.[117] At Fregellae, the excavations have not revealed such an extensive fortification wall. However, the description of a travelling Frenchman, Chaupy, might throw some light on this obscure element. At the end of the eighteenth century, he wrote:

> Ce quartier est composé d'un grand emplacement formé par le Liris d'un coté, et par d'enfoncements du terrain de toutes les autres parts de plus de six milles de circuit, tout rempli de fondations qui sont la seule carrière que Ceprano connoit, et dont celles de tour, que j'ai vues creuser en un endroit, se montrent par leur épaisseur extraordinaire, pour avoir été de ces murs, à l'abri desquels on crut pouvoir couper les ponts du Liris à Hannibal meme.[118]

What transpires from this passage is that Fregellae, indeed, had city walls, described as great constructions.[119] The natural decline of the slope emphasised the defensive

[115] Diod. 19.76.2; Livy 9.25.
[116] The earliest part of the wall was 2925 metres long; the walls had a width between 2.80 and 3.40 metres with blocks of stone reaching exceptional dimensions (1.80 m x 1.30 m or 2 m x 0.95 m). The defensive role is also ascertained by the presence of an *agger* behind the wall itself, providing more stability to the construction (Mertens 1969, 51).
[117] Mertens 1969, 52. See also Mertens 1988.
[118] Chaupy 1779, 475.
[119] Chaupy mentions that the colony's material had been reused elsewhere, hence providing a reason for the wall's disappearance. Colasanti (1906, 101) was also able to see a trait of the walls on the northern side.

function of the walls: after all, the colony, as Chaupy mentions, was built on the Opri plateau.[120]

In this militaristic light, after the reconquest of Fregellae in 313 BC, Roman policy aimed at strengthening the *Urbs*' territorial advance. In order to do so, not only were old centres, like Fregellae and Cales, rebuilt, but the construction of new colonies intensified.[121] Suessa Aurunca, for instance, closed off the access to coastal Latium and northern Campania, which were often threatened by Samnite incursions.[122] The following year, Interamna Lirenas was built, controlling the Samnite centre of Casinum.[123] Finally, the access routes into southern Latium, coming from the Apennines, were placed under Roman control with the foundations of Sora, Alba Fucens and Carseoli.[124]

This system of colonies in the Middle Liri Valley proved solid and functional in light of subsequent events, thus securing Rome's expansionistic interests. In the aftermath of the Samnite Wars, the area was not taken away from the Romans, although it was severely threatened.[125] In fact, Pyrrhus and Hannibal were capable of endangering – without success – the defensive system, geographically and strategically hinged around Fregellae.[126]

Asserting local interests and acquiring power: the relationship between Fregellae and Rome

By the time of Hannibal's descent, in the late third century BC, the historical narrative of Latin colonies in southern Latium can be employed to shed light on internal dynamics. More specifically, while Rome's military interests had determined their initial phases, with time colonies could assert their local interests.[127] As we read in

[120] At Cales, too, a nearby Latin colony slightly older than Fregellae, the Romans decided to establish the settlement on an elevated position, using natural formations for defensive purposes (Coarelli 1998, 53).
[121] Coarelli 1998, 32.
[122] Livy 9.28.7; Strabo 5.3.5; 5.4.11.
[123] Livy 9.28.8.
[124] Sora and Alba Fucens: Livy 10.1.1; Carseoli: Livy 10.3.2; 10.13.1.
[125] Coarelli 1998, 33.
[126] While the colony's role is not directly mentioned, Florus (1.13.24) tells us that Pyrrhus could only ravage its territory, without capturing the settlement itself. Yet, it is with Hannibal's march toward Rome that Fregellae's strategic position proved of the utmost importance. According to Livy (26.9.3), the Fregellani were responsible for cutting off the bridge on the Liri. The result of such an action was favourable for Rome. Hannibal, in fact, had to follow a longer route, allowing Fulvius Flaccus to defend the *Urbs* (Livy 26.9.11).
[127] Of course, we cannot pinpoint the exact date of this increased localism. Thus, though the sources point to the late third century BC, such a phenomenon might have started even earlier.

Livy, a group of twelve Latin colonies, growing tired of providing levies and tributes, refused to contribute to the Second Punic War. At the same time, Fregellae, as a representative of eighteen colonies, declared full loyalty to Rome.[128] The delegation, led by a Fregellanus, M. Sextilius, was not a casual choice, but it had an official significance: the colonies met and acted as a cohesive body.[129] This was not the only time when a Fregellanus acted as a representative of a wider group of colonies: a few years later, Lucius Papirius acted as an official spokesman to Rome on behalf of the Latin colonies.[130] In this setting, the association among these colonies has a twofold significance for current scholarly analysis: firstly, it shows Fregellae's pre-eminent role among colonies; secondly, it proves that they could come together and decide whether to go to Rome's aid, thus weighing their own interests against those of the *Urbs*. Even though the Romans reminded the twelve dissident colonies of their Roman foundation, such an argument did not persuade them.[131] In this sense, we start to understand that the alliance between Rome and its colonies was not a given nor was it underpinned by cultural similarity with the *Urbs*. The Roman senate's and consuls' surprise at the twelve colonies' defection has led Pfeischifter to believe that the interaction between Rome and its colonies was minimal, thus allowing them to foster localised interests.[132] At the same time, we must beware not to confuse the colonies' actions with pro- or anti-Roman sentiments. The twelve "dissident" colonies, after all, did not join Hannibal's forces when he was near. Thus, they were not displaying a reaction against Rome's power, but simply asserting their own local needs over Rome's belligerent efforts.

As a reaction to this, the *Urbs* opted to reassert its own power over them, using Fregellae, which had been loyal, as a supervisor. From an historical point of view, Rome's action in southern Latium in the aftermath of the Second Punic War should lead us to see a local reality, like Fregellae, as partaking in wider dynamics of political and social interconnection. According to Strabo, Fregellae held control over the neighbouring colonies along the Via Latina: Ferentinum, Frusino, Fabrateria, Aquinum, Interamna Lirenas, Casinum, Teanum, Cales, Setia, Signia, Privernum,

[128] Livy 27.10.3.
[129] Livy 27.9.2; Coarelli 1998, 34.
[130] Cic. *Brut.* 170.
[131] Livy 27.9.
[132] Pfeilschifter 2006, 126-127.

Cora, Suessa, Trapontium, Velitrae, Aletrium.[133] Interestingly, Strabo specified that the towns under Fregellae were characterised by their Roman foundation. Hence, they were Latin colonies.[134] It is possible, as Coarelli suggested, that Rome placed the twelve "rebellious" colonies under the control of Fregellae for its great loyalty and military distinction in Rome's wars.[135] In this case, two conclusions must be noticed: first of all, Fregellae had strengthened even further its socio-political position within southern Latium; secondly, the colony held a relationship with the *Urbs*, which, for the purposes of this thesis, will play a role in the understanding of interaction and cultural formation within the Mediterranean.

Fregellae's increased connectivity: the local enters the Mediterranean

As we have just seen, Fregellae, as a local reality, could assert its own local interests. Such interests led the colony to form a political alliance with Rome. In turn, as we will see, this political move signalled a more intense interconnectivity between the colony and the wider Mediterranean. While the Fregellani could have entered the Mediterranean scene long before, the first piece of evidence refers to Rome's belligerent efforts in the East. Near one of the private houses in Fregellae, at the corner between the *cardo maximus* and the *decumanus* 3, a terracotta frieze was found, probably decorating the adjacent *domus*. Despite its fragmentary state, archaeologists have been able to reconstruct the figures, which are prevalently of a military nature. Roman soldiers are clearly attested from their helmets and their cuirasses. Similarly, next to them, it is possible to notice soldiers in Hellenistic attire with Phrygian helmets, round Macedonian shields. Apart from human figures, the frieze also contains fragments of animals (horses and elephants) and war ships (fig. 2).[136]

[133] Strabo 5.3.10.
[134] If we examine the list of the aforementioned twelve dissident colonies (Ardea, Nepete, Sutrium, Alba, Carseoli, Sora, Suessa, Circeii, Setia, Cales, Narnia, Interamna) eight of them (except for Ardea, Nepet, Sutrium and Narnia) presented Roman foundations.
[135] Coarelli 1998, 37.
[136] Coarelli 1998, 63.

Fig. 2 Elements from the fragmentary Republican frieze

What transpires from this find is its historical portrayal. The scene must have represented a battle: the Macedonian armours could point to the wars against the Hellenistic kingdoms, between the first and the third Macedonian War.[137] As Scullard noted, the presence of elephants might even indicate the Syrian War.[138] The ships also attest a naval battle. While this might appear as odd within an inland Latin colony, Livy mentioned that Latins were enrolled in the navy during the war against Antiochus III.[139] The events of the frieze could refer to a period between the battle of Magnesia and Myonnesos, thus dating after 190 BC.[140] In fact, the presence of the *turma fregellana*, the consul's bodyguard formed of aristocrats from Fregellae, in the East is attested during the Syrian War against Antiochus.[141]

The involvement of Fregellani in the East did not concern only military actions. They also became involved in mercantile exchange. This was possible, once

[137] Coarelli 1998, 63.
[138] Scullard 1974, 178-180.
[139] Livy 35.20.12.
[140] Coarelli 1987, 30.
[141] Livy 37.34.6.

again, because Fregellae and Rome held a strong relationship, through the colony's conscious support in the *Urbs*' military exploits. Thus, the starting point to understand trade in the eastern Mediterranean is to analyse the role of Rome.[142] Although Italics had been trading with the East already from the fifth century BC, Rome's successes in the eastern Mediterranean brought about a shift in economic transactions: wealth, accumulated in private hands, caused an increase in demand for foreign commodities.[143] This also provided enough capital, further invested on foreign trade. The implications of this economic change can be seen in the increased number of traders, as we infer from the Italic presence on Delos (even in the Delian aristocracy).[144] The provenance of the merchants further shifted from the Italiote Greeks to the inhabitants of the coastal region from the Surrentine peninsula to the Volturnus (including also Latins and Romans, who participated in the administration of Delos).[145] Moreover, the merchants became settlers, shifting from trade to banking, moneylending and exploitation of lands.[146]

Fregellae itself, alas, does not produce quantitively significant evidence for mercantile involvement in the East. Nevertheless, the available material sheds light on the function of Fregellani as merchants and traders. First of all, the finding of Rhodian amphorae in Fregellae indicates a commercial exchange with the East, intermediated by the port of Minturnae.[147] In addition, there is also certain evidence for the settlement of Fregellani in the eastern Mediterranean. An inscription mentions a M. Sestius Fregellanus at Delos.[148] His presence there at the end of the third century BC predates the more intense commercial links with the Italics, typical of the mid-second century BC. Again, this might indicate the strong relations between Fregellae and Rome, without which the eastern involvement would not have been possible. The document attests a decree of *proxenia*, thus showing that the individual had a certain social rank: he was a banker who had given a loan to the city with reasonable terms. In this setting, it is safe to surmise that Fregellan bankers were present at least on Delos immediately after the end of the Hannibalic War. As I will show in the following section, this period coincides with the colony's phase of economic

[142] See also Gabba 1980, D'Arms 1981, Gabba 1988, Gabba 1994.
[143] Wilson 1966, 88.
[144] Rauh 1993, 1, 4.
[145] Wilson 1966, 87; Rauh 1993, 9.
[146] Wilson 1966, 87.
[147] Coarelli 1998, 67. Greek elements of exchange in Fregellae were also noted in Maiuri 1912.
[148] *IG* XI 4 757; Hatzefeld 1912, 77-78.

prosperity.[149] Fregellani, like Sestius, involved in mercantile and financial activities must have made great profits, which they then took home.

Though connectivity at Fregellae manifested through belligerent and mercantile actions in the eastern Mediterranean, we must also realise that the second century BC brought about an inverse phenomenon whereby people began to move from the outer regions toward Fregellae. We have already seen the migration of people from Samnium and the Paeligni, dated by the sources to 177 BC.[150] Similarly, the excavation of a temple near the *forum* and the *comitium* revealed a series of architectural terracottas, which, according to the signature on one of the fragments, was carried out by a Greek artist.[151] Thus, second-century Fregellae did not witness linear migratory movements from the colony to the Mediterranean, but also more localised interactions. This is particularly important for the later discussion on the architecture of the sanctuary itself. The presence of Greek artists and architects in Latium, not only in Fregellae, but also in Rome and Ardea, can already make us understand that viewing cultural exchange and formation in linear connections does not work.[152]

Mediterranean interconnectedness and its effects: imperialism, the increased wealth of Fregellae and the urban structure.

Entering the Mediterranean did not mean only an increased connectivity, but also a conspicuous income, which, as I will show here and throughout the thesis, has paramount repercussions on the local. The distribution of booty from the East must have been conspicuous. While they were fighting for Rome, the allied communities benefited from the war booty.[153] As Sage stated, the revenues allowed the Italians to recoup some of the war expenses and to increase their income.[154] In the case of a Latin colony, like Fregellae, this is even more significant. Since they were not Roman citizens, they could not have participated in the distribution of land. Hence, booty represented the only source of profitable income. Apart from the prescribed division, each soldier could also loot.[155] As Brunt argued, although these sums were often

[149] Coarelli 1987, 30.
[150] At a more local level, connectivity is also explained by Roselaar 2011.
[151] Coarelli 1996, 250. For a more general approach, see Gros 1973.
[152] Pliny *NH* 35.22.
[153] Polybius 10.15.4-16.9. See also, Ilari 1974.
[154] Sage 2008, 210.
[155] Rosenstein 2012, 110.

small, they might have had a greater value in a world less monetised than ours.[156] A sense of the amount of revenue from the eastern wars is given by Livy: in 172 BC, volunteers rushed to enrol in the army for the Third Macedonian War, having seen that soldiers in previous wars had come home very rich.[157] As far as Fregellae goes, its involvement in the eastern wars since the early second century BC must have meant a great amount of income from those belligerent efforts.

As we have seen, the presence of Fregellani as merchants and bankers would have impacted on the colony's economy. Yet, in order for a small local reality to enter in contact with the eastern Mediterranean, the relationship with Rome proves to be pivotal. Although the Romans considered maritime commerce as dangerous,[158] senators could be involved in mercantile actions through the involvement of allies.[159] Plutarch's biography of Cato explains how the senatorial class overcame the restrictions on maritime commerce. In the light of the eastern conquest, the opportunities for an easy profit had increased. Rather than being actively involved in maritime exchange, senators could support trade by financing ships.[160] Archaeological evidence shows senatorial involvement in trade. For instance, the seals SES or SEST on amphorae from Cosa can be linked to the Sestii, a senatorial family in Rome.[161]

Fregellae's economic gains are reflected on the settlement's urban façade, especially at a public level (see the maps in fig. 3 and fig. 4).[162] The *comitium*, for instance, witnessed a process of monumentalisation according to Hellenistic architectural schemes. This can be seen especially in the building north of the circular *cavea*: the *curia*. While its first phase presented a modest structure, it was later expanded and monumentalised.[163] In this same phase, the *curia* was also included into a larger construction, surrounded by a portico.[164] Like the private houses, even this public area was rebuilt during the first years of the second century BC, thus fitting

[156] Brunt 1971, 393-94.
[157] Livy 42.33.6.
[158] In 219-218 BC, the *plebiscitum Claudium*, vetoed the rights of senators and their children to engage in maritime trade, given its inherent risks and perils. See Livy 21.63.3-4; Zalesskij 1983, 22.
[159] Keller 2007, 46.
[160] Cato required his borrowers to form a large company, and when there were fifty partners and as many ships for his security, he himself took one share in the company, and was represented by Quintius, a freedman of his, who accompanied his clients in all their ventures. See Plutarch *Cat. Mai.* 21.6.
[161] Garcia Brosa 1999, 176.
[162] Coarelli 1996, 242. For more details on the excavations, see Crawford 1984, Crawford 1985 and Crawford 1987, Hayes & Martini 1994.
[163] Coarelli 1998, 59.
[164] Coarelli 1998, 60.

into the prosperous phase of the colony. A similar occurrence can be noted in the thermal complex. The construction technique of the vault stops being used from the second quarter of the second century BC. Hence, even in this case, the baths can be dated to the early decades of the second century BC. A stratigraphic analysis, moreover, has attested the existence of a previous building. Interestingly, the complex had a portico, like the *comitium*, hinting at a use of the Hellenistic architectural typologies for public buildings. In this context, although, as previously stated, Fregellae's interconnection could have antedated the early second century BC, it is only from the period of its involvement in Rome's eastern wars and mercantile ventures that the colony publicly reflects such connections onto its civic landscape.

While we cannot be entirely sure about who was behind this civic refurbishment at Fregellae, a comparative analysis with another second-century settlement, Praeneste, might shed light on this contested ground. Like the Fregellani, the Praenestini, too, were deeply involved in mercantile activities in the eastern Mediterranean. Apart from the *Dindii*, the *Samiarii* and the *Tampii* in Aquileia, other families can be found on Delos (*Anicii*, *Malgunii*, *Orcevii*, *Samiarii*, *Satricanii*, *Saufeii*), Chalcis (*Acutii*, *Antonii*, *Herennii*, *Levii*, *Petronii*, *Plautii*, *Pontii*), Mytilene (*Caecilii*, *Fadii*, *Flavii*, *Pontii*), Samothrace (*Iunii*, *Levii*, *Octavii*, *Oppii*), Kos (*Antonii*, *Avilii*, *Caecilii*, *Caedicii*, *Caesii*, *Claudii*, *Plaudii*/*Plotii*, *Rupilii*, *Seii*), Miletus (*Samiarii*, *Levii*, *Octavii*, *Papilii*, *Seii*).[165] What transpires from the case of Praeneste, moreover, indicates that these Praenestinii in the East were also heavily involved in local politics. In fact, among the dozen families, which dominated the town, we find the *Anicii*, *Fabricii*, *Feidenatii*, *Magulnii*, *Merseii*, *Orcevii*, *Saufeii*, *Tampii*, *Tondeii* and *Vatronii*. Yet, the *Saufeii* and the *Magulnii* are the most present in the epigraphic *corpus*.[166] In addition, it is important to point out that these *gentes* were also involved in the second-century civic reconstruction of Praeneste (in Hellenistic style), including the monumentalisation of its sanctuary. Shifting the attention back to Fregellae, something similar could have happened there as well. Those involved in the eastern Mediterranean could have accumulated enough wealth to return back home and be involved in a local phenomenon of civic restructuring.

[165] Caliò 2003, 65-66.
[166] For more details, see Caliò 2003, 65.

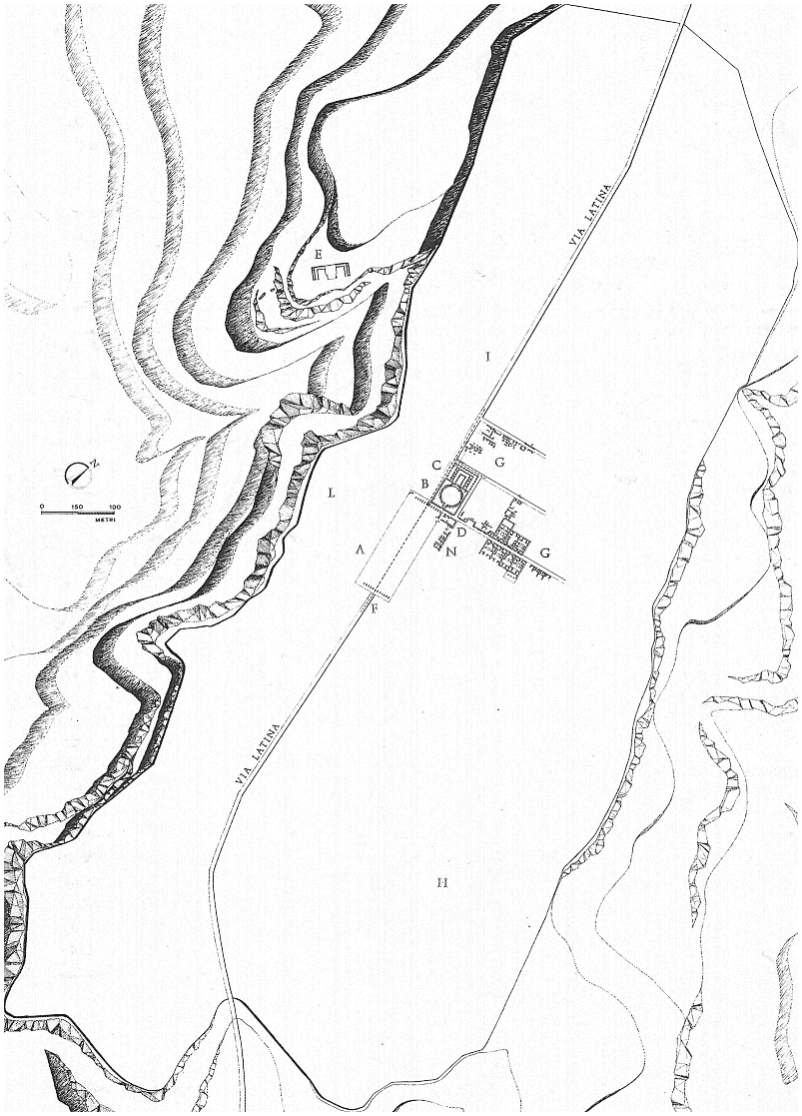

Fig. 3 General Map of Fregellae: A) Forum; B) Comitium; C) Curia; D) Temple in the Forum; E) Sanctuary of Aesculapius; F) Aqueduct; G) Houses; H) Sanctuary of Hercules; I) Imperial Cistern; L) Probable Sanctuary; M) Extra-urban Sanctuary; N) Macellum

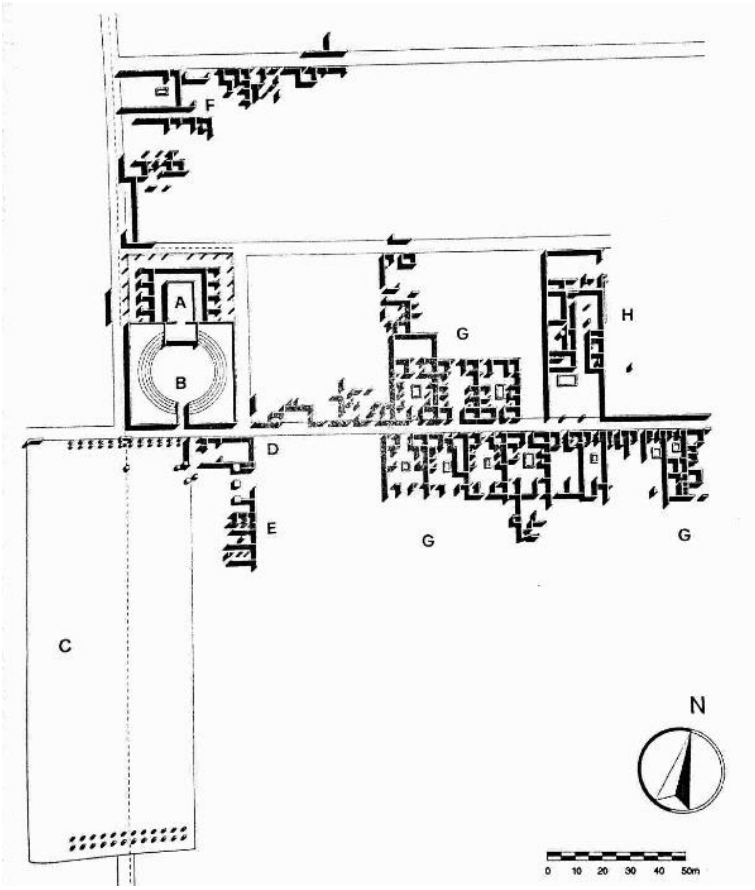

Fig. 4 Map of the Central Quarter: A) Curia*; B) Comitium; C) Forum; D) Temple in the Forum; E) Macellum; F)* Domus *with historical freeze; G) Inhabited Quarters; H) Bath-house*

Summary: Fregellae in its Mediterranean context

Fregellae, as a Latin colony, did not display a static existence, whereby it was founded by Rome and it remained Roman throughout its existence. Rather, as I have shown, the colony could develop away from the *Urbs*, while still recognising its role of superpower for the assertion of local interests. No one would doubt that its first years served Rome's expansionistic interests. With time, perhaps even two generations from its foundation, the colony could assert a sense of localisation, which contrasts the traditional approach of colonies as *simulacra Urbis*. A varied ethno-cultural society, where colonists and indigenous people mixed together, could have fostered the creation of a local cultural environment and of local interests. It is in this localised setting that I have reinterpreted Fregellae's choice to help Rome. More specifically, colonies could come together and weigh their own interests against those of the *Urbs*. This is how we can explain the behaviour of the twelve "rebellious" colonies and Fregellae's "loyalty." The choice of helping the *Urbs* was at the core of Fregellae's intensified interconnection within the Mediterranean: Fregellani took part in Rome's wars with Antiochus III; at the same time, their presence as merchants and traders in the late third century BC predates the more intense Italic dealings in the

mid-second century BC. That the eastern Mediterranean was a source of wealth can be seen in the urban façade of Fregellae. The early second century BC bore witness to an intense architectural reconstruction, both at a private and public level. *Domus* were ampliated and decorated concurrently with the monumentalisation of public, civic buildings, which followed the style of the Hellenistic East. It is in this historical context that we should examine the construction of the sanctuary to Aesculapius.

Chapter Two

The sanctuary of Aesculapius: "global" forms in a local context

Even though the Fregellani's actions in the Mediterranean have been interpreted in light of economic motives, it would be too simplistic to think that increased connectivity only had an economic significance.[167] After all, just like in the modern world, contact with different cultures also underpins cultural exchange and ethnogenesis, which manifest both in ideologies and in material forms. In the case of Fregellae, we have seen that, once the local reality entered the Mediterranean network, several public buildings underwent a process of monumentalisation according to Hellenistic forms. More specifically, the sanctuary of Aesculapius offers an interesting insight into how the local dealt with cultural contact and, more specifically, how it could integrate local and foreign forms into a new construction. Although the similarities with Hellenistic prototypes have already been noticed, such an attribution has always been based on a specific case study, namely the Asklepieion on Kos. Here I move away from this unilinear view and argue that the Hellenistic elements in the Fregellan sanctuary belonged to a wide architectural and stylistic *koine* within the eastern Mediterranean. At the same time, past scholarship on the sanctuary has not emphasised its local aspect sufficiently. Scholars, like Coarelli and Lippolis, have highlighted the similarities with other structures in Italy, failing to understand that, at an architectural level, the sanctuary represented a localised instance.[168] Making sense of the sanctuary's architectural forms will highlight the importance of implementing the new formation of material culture from a universal into a particular landscape.

The sanctuary at a glance: plan, date and cult.

The starting point for an architectural analysis of the complex is to provide a description of its composition and position within a chronological framework. Although the remains of the sanctuary are scanty, Lippolis was able to reconstruct, with good approximation, the floor plan and the architectural composition. The sanctuary developed on two or three terraces (*substructiones*), the topmost of which, flanked by two porticoes, was symmetrically organised along a central axis (fig. 5).

[167] This emphasis is particularly visible in Coarelli 1981.
[168] Coarelli 1979, 202; Coarelli 1986, 7-10; Lippolis 1986, 39-40.

The focus of this axis was the building on the central podium, which has been identified as the cultic *aedes*, the temple proper of Aesculapius. Only the perimeter of this central structure survives, making it impossible to understand its internal disposition. Nevertheless, it is clear that the edifice was formed by a large rectangular room (18,20 m x 14,80 m). This has been identified as the place where the *cella* or *cellae* were. A smaller projecting area (13,85/13,95 m x 8,00 m) was attached to its front. According to Lippolis,[169] this space was occupied by the staircase, leading into the temple, and the *pronaos*. The altar, of which more later, was supposed to have occupied a central position on the staircase. At the rear of the podium, the wall, despite not surviving, was connected to the two porticoes. On the right side of the projecting area, archaeologist have found a small rectangular structure (1,30 m x 1,40 m), identified as the *thesaurus*, like the one found in the neighbouring colony of Sora.[170]

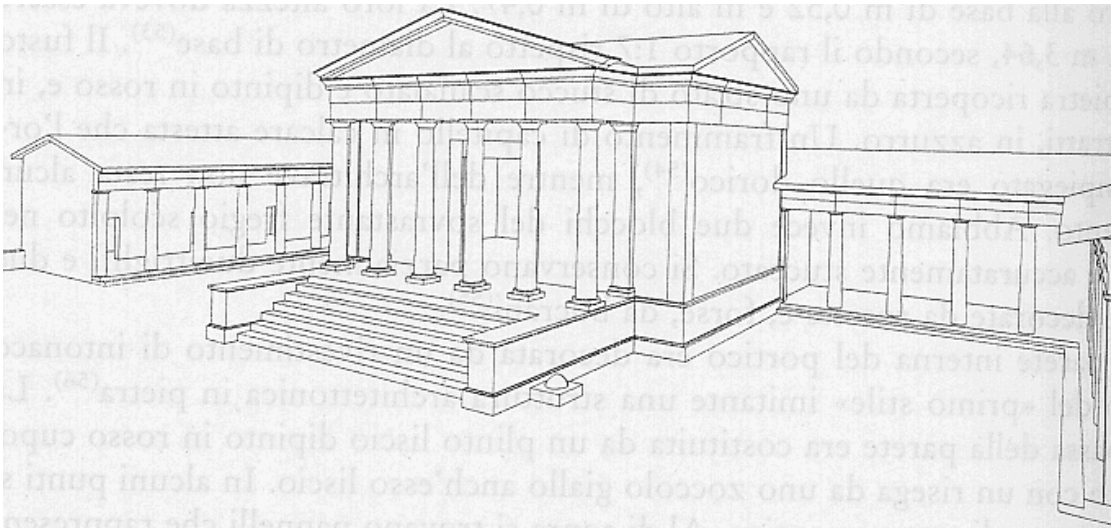

Fig. 5 Reconstruction of the sanctuary of Aesculapius

Shifting to the porticos, archaeologists have traditionally differentiated between a northern and a southern side (see fig. 6). The northern *porticus* stands in better conditions to allow its reconstruction. The southern counterpart, although no longer standing, would have developed symmetrically. From the surviving elements, each portico had two arms, one orthogonal and one parallel to the temple's axis. The former presents five columns, while the latter does not allow us to identify the exact number. Archaeologists, moreover, have inferred that, from the right angle between

[169] For this descriptive section, I rely on Lippolis 1986, 35.
[170] Lippolis 1986, 36.

the two arms, a series of room opened along the section parallel to the *cella*.[171] Except from the fragmentary wall painting on the rear wall, scanty elements can allow us to infer the architectonic decorations of the portico. In particular, a capitol indicates that the style was Doric. The columns had no base but were placed directly on the stylobate. Their diameters varied from 0,52 m at the bottom to 0,47 m near the capitol. The numerous fragments of stucco from the back wall show a polychromous coloration in green and red.[172] There is no surviving element of the architrave, although the above Doric frieze is attested by a damaged piece.

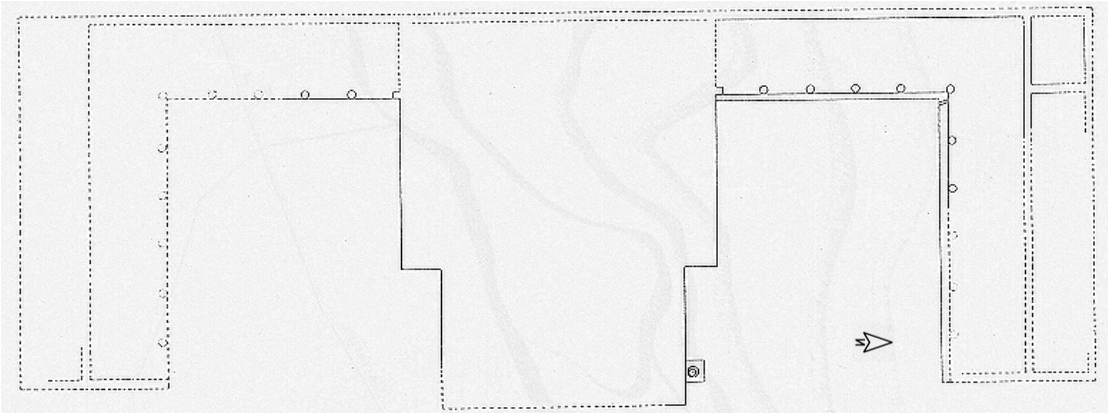

Fig. 6 Reconstructed Plan (1:300) of the Sanctuary with the northern portico on the right and the southern portico on the left.

The complex has been dated to the second quarter of the second century BC. Although no stratigraphic elements have been found, scholars have examined epigraphic material and architectural decorations. The finding of a fragment from the altar presents an incomplete inscription (fig. 7 and fig. 8), of which only seven letters survive: AISC and LAP.[173] Coarelli reconstructed it as *Aisc*[*o*]*lap*[*io*], a clear indication to the god Aesculapius, Asklepios' Western counterpart. Although the diphthong AI points to the Republican period, it cannot provide a more detailed timeframe. A palaeographical examination, nevertheless, shows that the letters are carved homogeneously with a limited use of the *apices*. More specifically, the L, carved with a right angle, is not found before the second quarter of the second century BC.[174] Similarly, the open P finds a similar parallel in the altar of A. Postumius

[171] Lippolis 1986, 36.
[172] Lippolis 1986, 37.
[173] *CIL* I 2930a.
[174] Coarelli 1986, 43.

Albinus in the Area Sacra of Largo Argentina, and it dates before the last decade of the second century BC. Given that Fregellae was destroyed in 125 BC, this offers a certain *terminus ante quem*.[175] Thus, from an epigraphical analysis, the altar and, by extension, the sanctuary should be placed after 175 BC and before 125 BC. Such a date is also supported by the architectural terracottas of the complex. As Pagliardi noted, it is clear that, from a stylistic point of view, most of them are to be situated within the second century BC.[176] The architectonic elements, too, fit into this temporal framework, further narrowing it down. The fragmentary piece of the cornice from the podium displays equal proportions for height and depth, driving Verzár-Bass to include it in the group of second-century central Italian sanctuaries.[177] In addition to these proportions, the type of round moulding, neither too high nor too flat, can be compared to the upper moulding of the podium at Gabii, which has been dated to the central years of the second century BC.[178] By contrast, the moulding of temple C in Largo Argentina is deeper than larger, thus typical of the monuments dated to the last three decades of the second century BC or first decade of the first century BC.[179] It follows, therefore, not only that the example at Fregellae should predate 130 BC, but that, like Gabii, its *terminus ante quem* should coincide with the more central years of the second century BC.

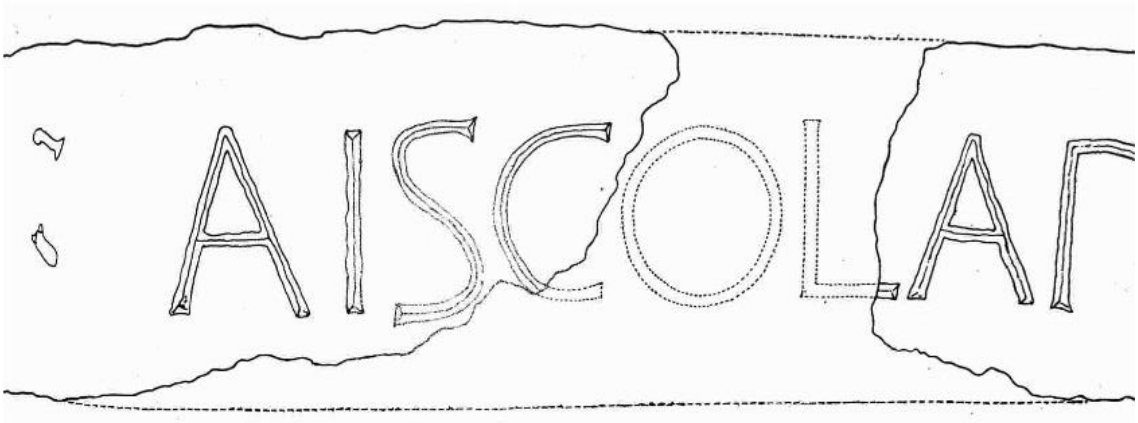

Fig. 7 Inscription from the Altar of Aesculapius

[175] *CIL* I^2 2711=*ILLRP* 121=*Imagines* 60.
[176] Pagliardi 1979, 211.
[177] Verzár-Bass 1986, 45.
[178] Almagro-Gorbea 1982, 75, 79-80.
[179] Verzár-Bass 1986, 46.

Fig. 8 Remains of the altar of Aesculapius with dedicatory inscription

As far as the tutelary deity goes, the second-century sanctuary was dedicated, as we have just seen from the altar, to the god Aesculapius. At the same time, the finding of a terracotta statuette provides a more precise identification. Beneath the object, there is an inscription, this time complete, which reads *Salute* (fig. 9). The ending in *-e* can be explained as an archaic dative of the third declension.[180] Thus, it seems that Aesculapius was not the only god venerated there, but that he was joined by the goddess Salus.

Fig. 9 Statuette with dedicatory inscription to Salus

[180] Coarelli 1986, 44.

The sanctuary's Hellenistic style: moving away from an acculturation approach and linear connections

The monumental sanctuary at Fregellae presents spatial and architectural renditions, typical of Hellenistic architecture. Scholars have spent great quantities of ink on examining the provenance of such style in Latium: namely, did the Fregellani appropriate these forms through the intermediary function of Rome or did they reach Italy directly from the East? Already at the outset, we can understand that the issue with these questions relates to the employment of acculturation theory and linear connections between well-defined sets of material culture.

In examining the evidence from Rome, the *Urbs* did not play any inspirational role for the spreading of Hellenistic monumental religious architecture in Latium. Rous argued, albeit not convincingly, that Rome presented a series of monuments with architectural characteristics similar to those of the monumental sanctuaries in Latium.[181] While this is true, Rous went too far in postulating an influential role of Rome over the Latin sanctuaries.[182] Especially in the case of Fregellae, such an influence could be seen as an illogical interpretation of the archaeological evidence since many Roman "prototypes" postdate the Fregellan sanctuary or do not represent an organic, unified architectural complex. Rous' first example is the *Porticus Metelli* (fig. 10). Like the Fregellan sanctuary, the complex dates to the second century. However, it has been placed in the period between 143 BC and 131 BC, thus a quarter of a century later than the Fregellan sanctuary.[183] At an architectural level, moreover, while the *porticus* is a feature in common to both the Roman and the Fregellan monuments, it develops according to different trajectories, surrounding the whole square in the *Porticus Metelli*. Similarly, the lack of *substructiones* does not account for the spreading of Hellenistic forms into Latium. After all, one of the most recurrent features of all monumental sanctuaries – and more specifically those in Central Italy – consists of elevated positions, obtained through the employment of platforms. Such *substructiones*, according to Rous, can be seen on the eastern slope of the Palatine.[184] Even in this instance, the example cannot be seen as truly inspirational. Indeed, the artificial platform is dated to the first half of the second century BC.[185] Nevertheless,

[181] Rous 2010, 137-138.
[182] Rous 2010, 150.
[183] Gros 1996, 98-99.
[184] Rous 2010, 138.
[185] Anselmino 2006.

although the temple of Fortuna Respiciens was placed on it, there is no certainty about it.[186] Thus, it might not have formed a unified complex as in the case of most monumental sanctuaries in Latium. A similar reasoning can be applied to the *Tabularium* (fig. 11). Although Tucci has recently interpreted it as a *substructio*, the presence of temples on top of it does not identify a unitary complex.[187] In this sense, architectural forms similar to those of Latin monumental sanctuaries should not be seen in light of Roman cultural influence over neighbouring settlements. Rather, as I will show in the rest of this chapter, they should be interpreted as an architectural development which took place contemporarily in the *Urbs* as much as in Latium as part of a pan-Mediterranean *koine*.

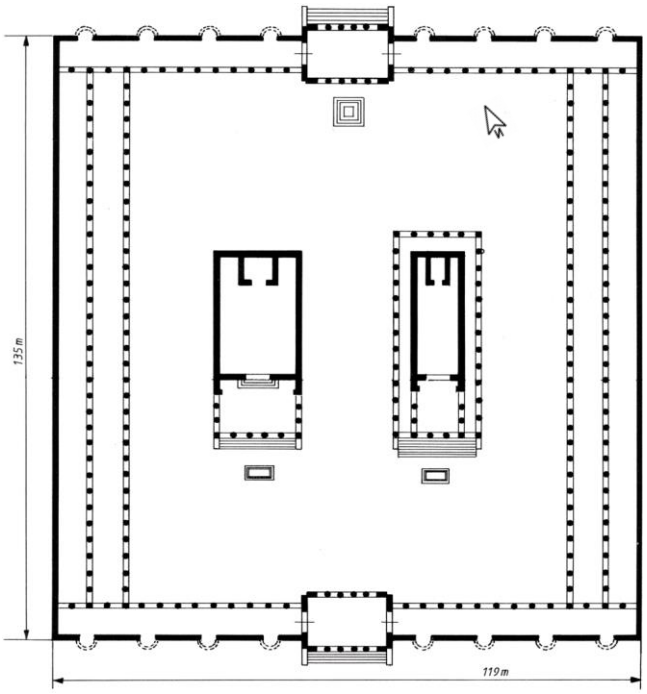

Fig. 10 Plan of the Porticus Metelli *in Rome*

[186] Anselmino 2006, 237-238.
[187] Tucci 2005, 7-9.

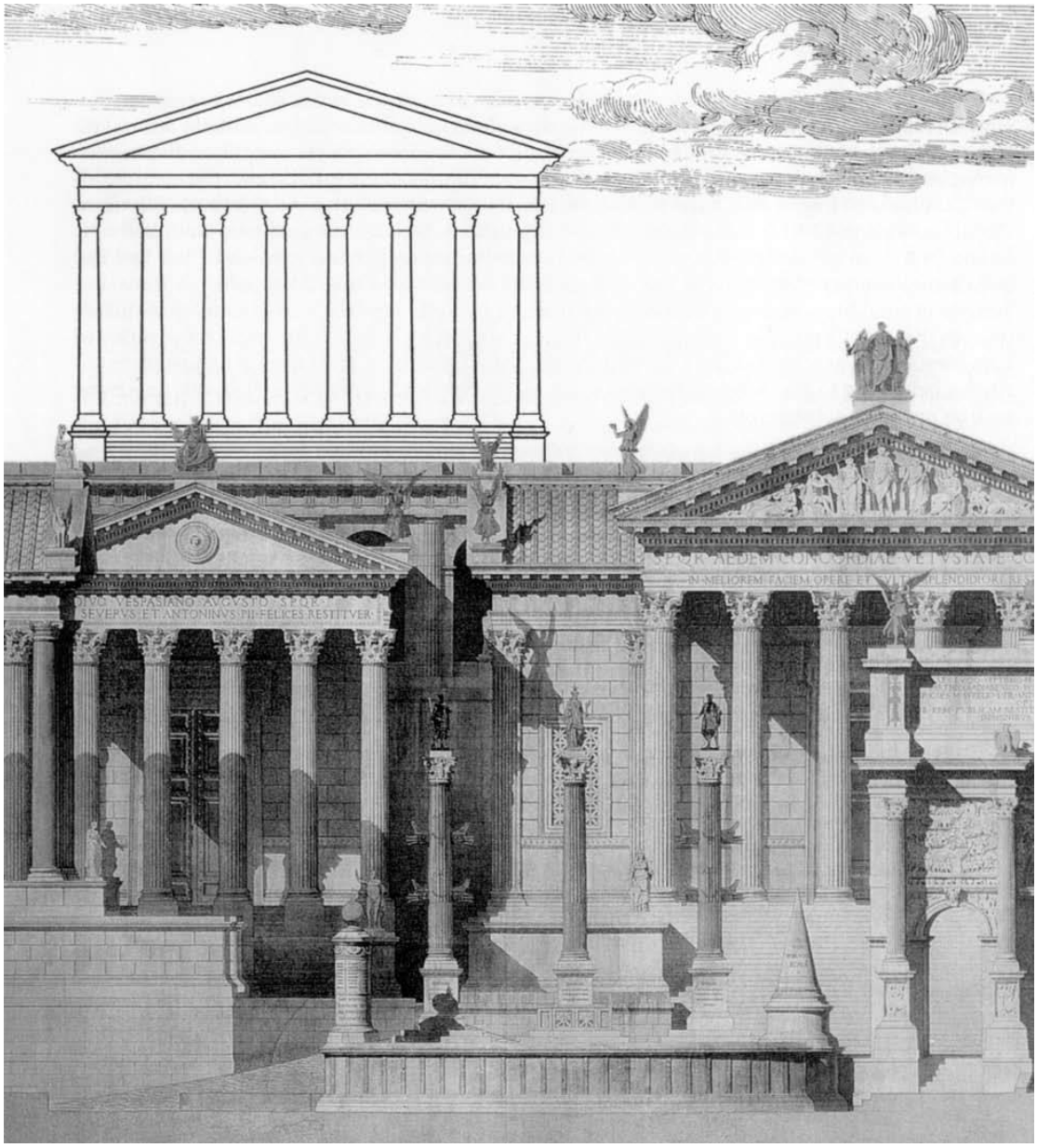

Fig. 11 Reconstruction of the temple on the Tabularium

At this point, we should turn our attention toward the eastern Mediterranean. Coarelli and Lippolis had already argued for a direct provenance of Hellenistic forms from the eastern Mediterranean through the action of Latin tradesmen and merchants.[188] Yet, these scholars narrowed these influences down to a main example, namely Kos, without realising the dangers implied in such a linear connection (fig. 12). Not only does the Koan Asklepieion present chronological problems, but said scholars attributed a degree of specificity to that example without taking into account that the entire region of the Dodecannese provides interesting parallels.

[188] Coarelli 1986, 8; Lippolis 1986, 38.

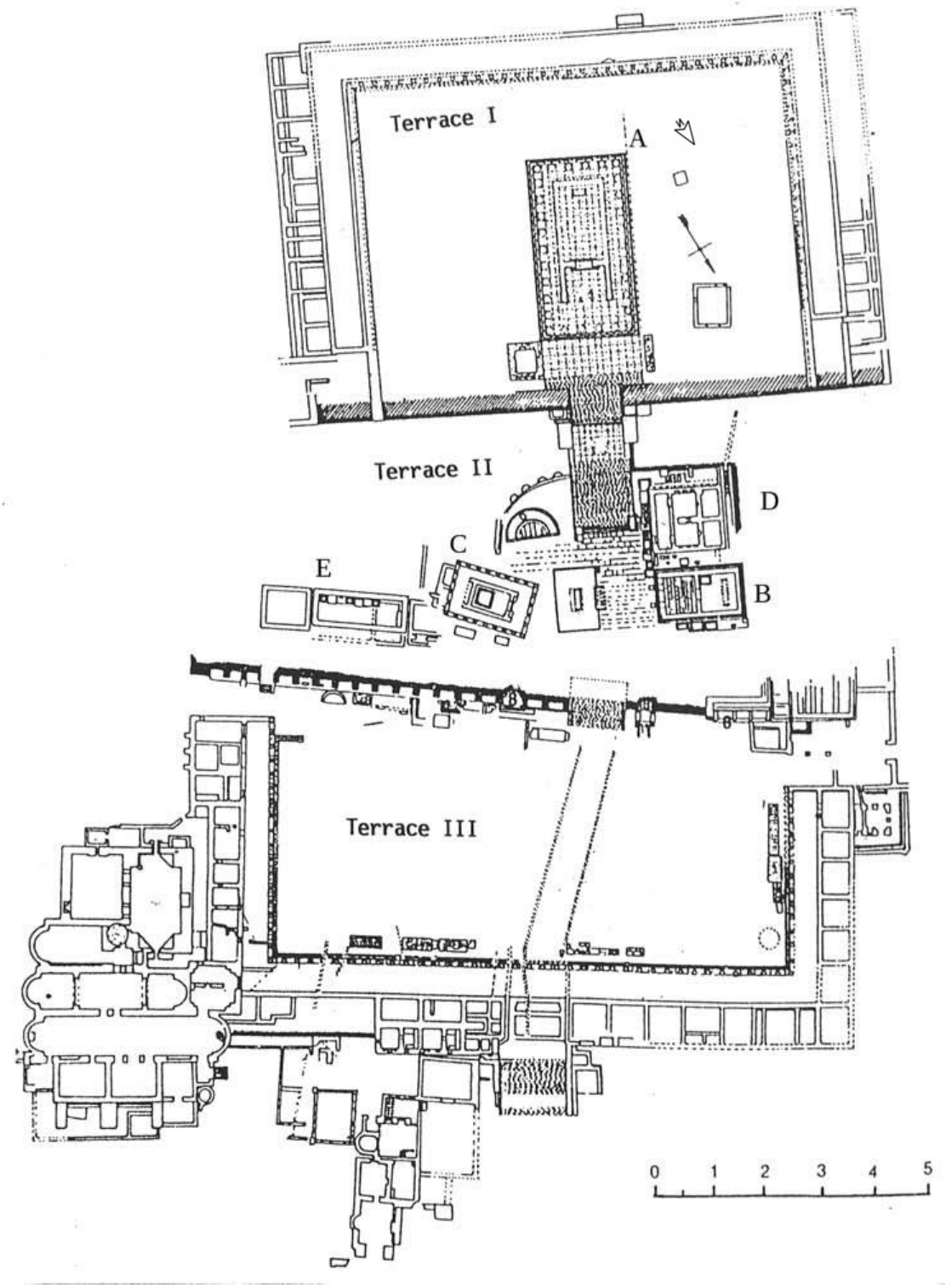

Fig. 12 Map of the Asklepieion on Kos

If we take into consideration the Asklepieion on Kos, while the similarities with the Fregellan sanctuary are many, it does not act as a suitable prototype. The sanctuary had already witnessed a construction phase in the third century BC, developing along

three terraces.[189] The first and the third, in particular, present porticoes like that of Fregellae, with adjacent rooms behind it. It would be possible, along many scholars' lines of thought, that the Fregellani in the East had seen the island and the temple, further employing it as an inspirational prototype. In the early second century BC, however, the Koan sanctuary underwent a radical transformation. In this context, we can understand how dangerous it is to establish linear connections with eastern prototypes. In the period between 170 BC and 150 BC, the Asklepieion saw the creation of a new north-south axis, which, as we have seen, features in Fregellae, creating a sense of symmetry.[190] In addition, the porticoes of terraces I and III formed part of a major reconstruction in marble.[191] Large staircases were also built in this period, following the aforementioned axis. How can we see the Koan Asklepieion as a prototype if its core elements, which we also find in Fregellae, were being built at the same time in the Latin colony?[192] I will provide an answer to this *vexata quaestio* in a few paragraphs.

While the Koan Asklepieion offers a vivid set of similarities, in understanding the sanctuary at Fregellae Coarelli and Lippolis, as previously said, only focused on that example. Yet, the whole area of the Dodecanese provides architectural parallels. If we look at Kamiros (fig. 13), on the island of Rhodes, the third-century monumentalisation of the acropolis displays two levels, the lower of which is formed by a Doric portico.[193] Hence, not only is the stoa similar to the one in Fregellae, but we also should not fail to notice the development along terraces. Similarly, the development along a central axis, which in Kamiros was applied to the upper terrace, is also present in the Fregellan sanctuary, where the temple and the portico followed a symmetric structure.[194] The case of Kamiros, however, is not isolated. The sanctuary of Athena at Lindos (Fig. 14), apart from a third-century portico, presents, once again, a sense of symmetry along a central axis.[195] Moreover, just like at Kamiros and Kos, the sanctuary at Lindos employed nature as a way to create scenic vistas.[196] Thus, at

[189] Interdonato 2016, 172.
[190] Interdonato 2004, 242-244 notes that the axial centrality, the *substructiones* and the *porticus triplex* in the Koan Asklepieion can be dated to the period between 170-150 BC, thus coinciding with the dates of Fregellae.
[191] Interdonato 2016, 176.
[192] See Rous 2010, 88-89.
[193] Caliò 2003, 53.
[194] Caliò 2003, 53.
[195] Caliò 2003, 54.
[196] Caliò 2003, 54.

the end of the third century BC, the Dodecanese had a school of architects, who favoured axial dispositions, monumental architecture and symmetry. As for the understanding of the Fregellan Asklepieion, we can already begin to see that Kos is not the only place where certain Hellenistic architectural solutions took place.

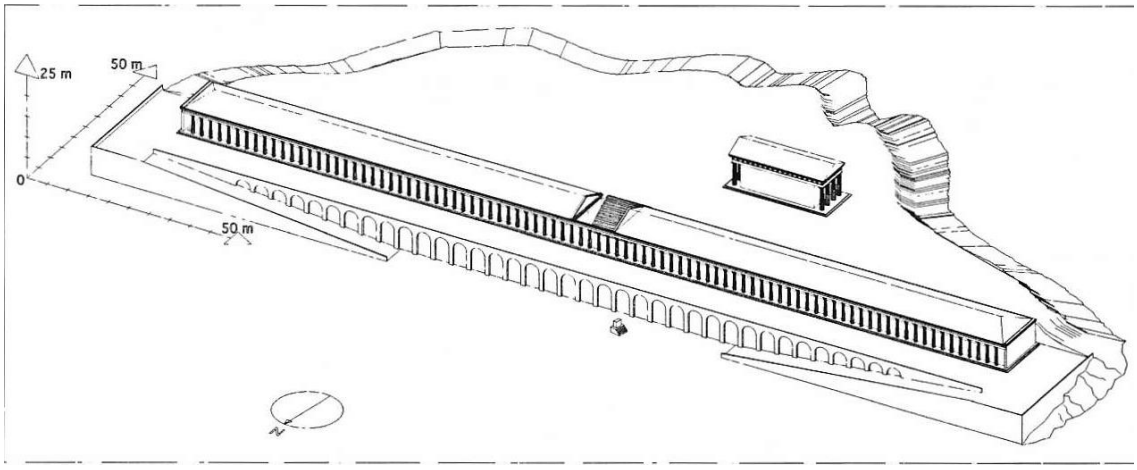

Fig. 13 Axonometric view of the sanctuary on Kamiros

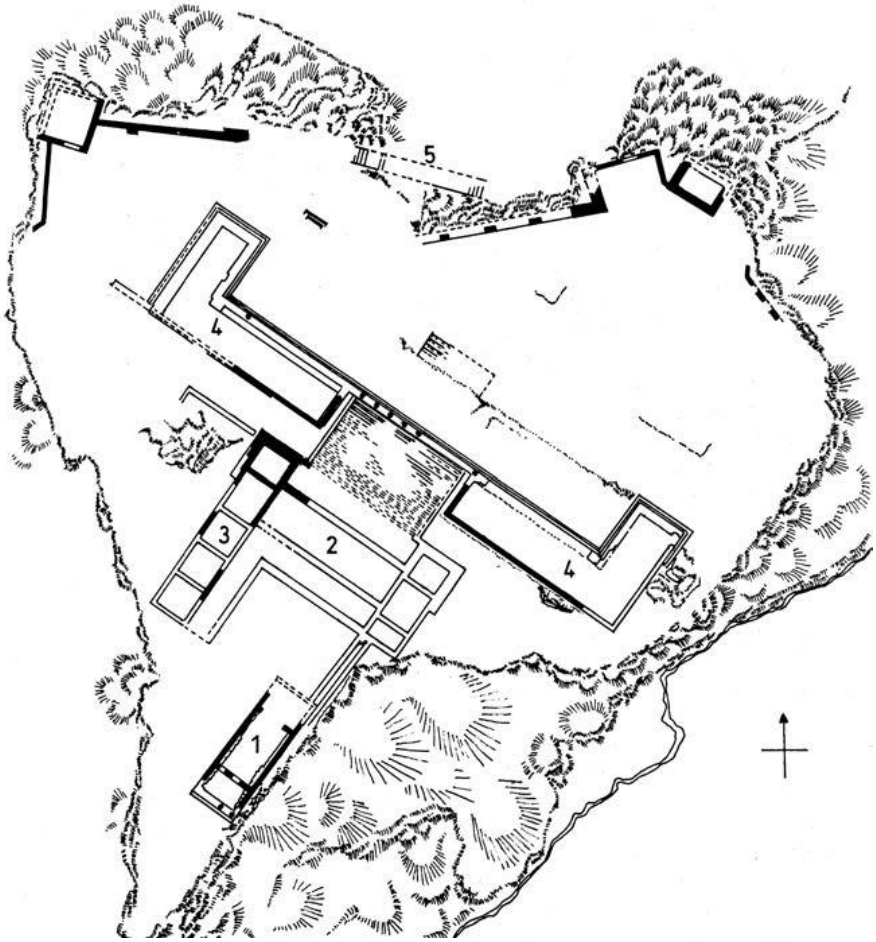

Fig. 14 Map of the sanctuary of Athena on Lindos

***Intra-cultural connectivity: the sanctuary's Hellenistic style as part of a* koine**

As we can perceive from the Dodecanese, there are several architectural elements that are not specific to a single building, spanning instead a much wider geographical region. Yet, establishing a connection only with the Dodecannese does not really solve the problem of linear connections within acculturation. In this section, I will show that certain elements on the Fregellan sanctuary belonged to a *koine* formed through a process of universalisation, whereby "styles and elements, which originally belonged to a specific culture, are detached from that specific culture in order to play a role in a larger system."[197] In particular, those features often thought to be in common between the Fregellan and the Koan Asklepieia, that is the employment of colonnades and of scenic vistas (through *substructiones* or elevated platforms), are all part and parcel of a pan-Mediterranean architectural development which takes place in multiple locations and across a diachronic timespan. Similarly, the sanctuary's decorations, architectural terracottas and mural paintings, though never seen as part of a Koan influence, can be employed to ascertain the existence of a Mediterranean *koine* in which the Fregellan monument plays a role.

Apart from Kos and Lindos, colonnades were responsible for the imposing appearance of many other sanctuaries, such as that of Artemis at Magnesia, that of Demeter and Zeus at Pergamon, and the temple of Zeus at Dodona and Megalopolis.[198] As Winter showed, though the *stoa* reached its apogee during the Hellenistic era, its development spanned several centuries, going back to the sixth century BC.[199] It was in the fifth century BC, moreover, that Ionian and Attic architects devised the Π-shaped portico, enclosing three sides of an open area, as we can see in the temple of Artemis at Brauron (420-410 BC).[200] Once fourth-century Ionians began to regard it as the ideal method for enclosing space, the Π-shaped portico was introduced throughout Asia Minor where it became a standard element of the cityscape: this is particularly seen firstly in the agora of Priene (probably in the late fourth century BC) and, subsequently, in the various "Hippodamian" towns of Asia Minor. [201] As Winter argued, in addition, the Π-shaped portico was an elaboration of its L-shaped equivalent. Even in this latter case, the Hellenistic era bore

[197] Versluys 2015, 155.
[198] Winter 2006, 50.
[199] Winter 2006, 51-52.
[200] Winter 2006, 55.
[201] Winter 2006, 55-56.

witness to an intense use throughout the Hellenic world. By the fourth century BC, examples of L-shaped porticoes were already present in civic contexts, such as at Kolophon, Miletos and Aigai.[202] What is interesting to note about the Hellenistic *stoa*, moreover, is that it had a high degree of flexibility in the various locations in which it was employed, further fitting into the notion of a *koine*. In some cases, in fact, due to the lack of a fixed monumental canon, the portico was no more than a single-aisled promenade, along one or more sides of an agora or a sanctuary. This is the case of the small temple courts of Lindos and Dodona and of the south side of the Athena precinct at Pergamon.[203]

If we shift the attention to vistas and landscapes, once again, the examples of the Dodecanese do not stand in isolation. Throughout the Mediterranean, there were different approaches to the insertion of monumental architecture into the natural landscape as a way to increase visual effect. As we have seen for the use of colonnades, the interest in creating vistas spans several centuries before the Hellenistic era. Apart from the exceptional site of the Athenian acropolis, the Heraion at Argos develops along three levels or terraces. In the fifth century BC, the site also witnessed the construction of porticos, thus attesting the interest in exploiting vistas within the landscape.[204] In the western Mediterranean, more specifically in Sicily, we notice a similar phenomenon: despite relying only on natural features, the Greeks were interested in employing architectural monumentality and heights in order to achieve dramatic vistas. At Selinus, for instance, the temples of the city and those of the eastern hill faced one another across the valley; similarly, at Akragas, modern-day Agrigento, saw its temples facing those in the Valley of Temples.[205] The Hellenistic period bore witness to an increase in dramatic vistas across the whole eastern Mediterranean, further resulting in a great deal of architectural variety within the *koine*.[206] In particular, two "schools of thought" can be seen emerging: the Alexandrian and the Pergamene. For the former, the natural elements were essential for the creation of vistas; for the latter, the natural aspect was almost entirely replaced by the architecture.[207] Such a difference and variety within the *koine* is also shown by

[202] Winter 2006, 56.
[203] See Winter 2006.
[204] Winter 2006, 208.
[205] Winter 2006, 209.
[206] Winter 2006, 212.
[207] Winter 2006, 213.

two sanctuaries: that of Athena at Pergamon, under the Attalids, and that of the Great Gods in Samothrace, under the Ptolemies. In the temple and precinct of the sanctuary of Athena, the ordered architecture dominates the landscape in a way unseen in Samothrace.[208] In conclusion, let us remind ourselves that, when the Fregellani were interacting with the rest of the Mediterranean, they did not need to go to a specific site, such as Kos or, more broadly, the Dodecanese. Both architectural features and architectural solutions were present throughout the Mediterranean, thus allowing them to choose from a wider *koine*.

Apart from the architecture in general, focusing on specific decorations, like the mural paintings of the sanctuary, can offer an insight into the concept of a Mediterranean *koine*. The wall of the Fregellan *porticus triplex* was covered in first style painting, composed of a red plinth, a yellow dado and, over them, a row of blue orthostates (fig. 15).[209] Above these ran two tiers of yellow and red isodoma blocks, a frieze in white and blue and a "galleria" with pilasters framing blue panels.[210] Although such decoration has been thought to belong to the "Roman-Campanian" group, it also present striking differences from the examples in Pompeii.[211] In the lower part of the wall, the orthostates are thicker than the plinth, thus moving away from those typical of Campanian styles.[212] Caputo, too, recognised the difference between the Fregellan first style and its Pompeian counterparts.[213] Yet, along the lines of acculturation, she established a linear connection with a specific form in the eastern Mediterranean. Hence, according to her, the first-style example in the *porticus triplex* resembles more that of a house near the Dypilon Gate in Athens.[214] As seen above, this approach does not really inform us about dynamics of cultural adoption and formation. If we move away from this linear acculturation approach, we see the first-style painting at Fregellae as part of a wider Mediterranean stylistic group. For Bruno, such a *koine* spanned several centuries, starting in the mid-fourth century BC: the masonry-style examples of the sanctuary of Hera at Samothrace (fig. 16) was one of the earliest examples alongside fourth-century buildings of the Athenian Kerameikos

[208] Winter 2006, 213.
[209] Caputo 1986, 72.
[210] Moormann 2011, 50.
[211] Let us be aware that even if the Fregellan mural painting belonged to canonised Pompeian paintings, we would still be envisaging a linear connection in order to explain the formation of material culture.
[212] Bruno 1969, 310.
[213] Caputo 1986, 72.
[214] Caputo 1986, 73.

and the Agora (fig. 17). By the second century BC, however, First Style or Masonry Style had become widespread throughout the Mediterranean. Apart from the second-century domestic wall paintings on Delos (fig. 18), the presence of this type of mural decoration is also seen in the western Mediterranean.[215] Notwithstanding the well-attested cases of Pompeii and Fregellae, archaeologists have found comparable parallels on the island of Pantelleria, where it is not possible to identify the provenance, whether from a public or private context, of the mural fragments (fig. 19).[216] What transpires from these examples is that certain decorative features developed concurrently, during the second century BC, both in the West and the East, hence attesting that they were taken from a Mediterranean *koine* and adapted to the local context.[217]

Fig. 15 Remains of the First-Style mural painting in the sanctuary

[215] Bruno 1969. Consult also Bruneau & Ducat 1966.
[216] See Schäfer 2006, 57.
[217] For Pompeii, in particular see Leach 2004, 60.

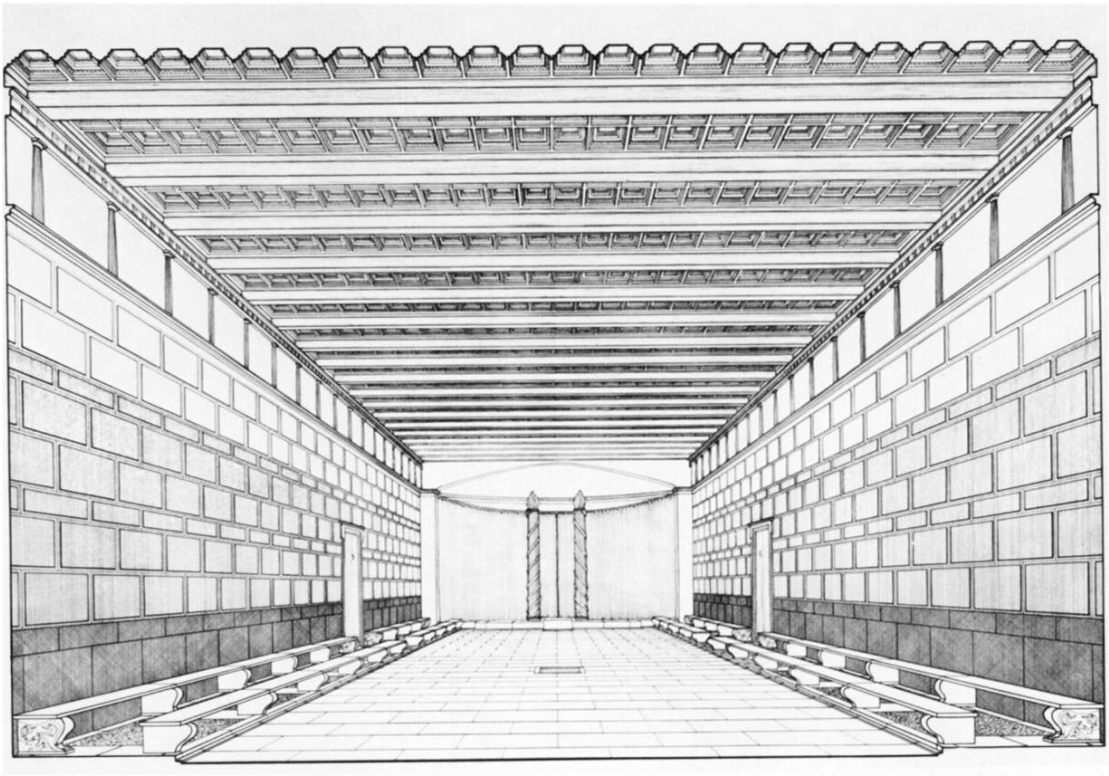

Fig. 16 Restored perspective of the cella *of the Hieron at Samothrace*

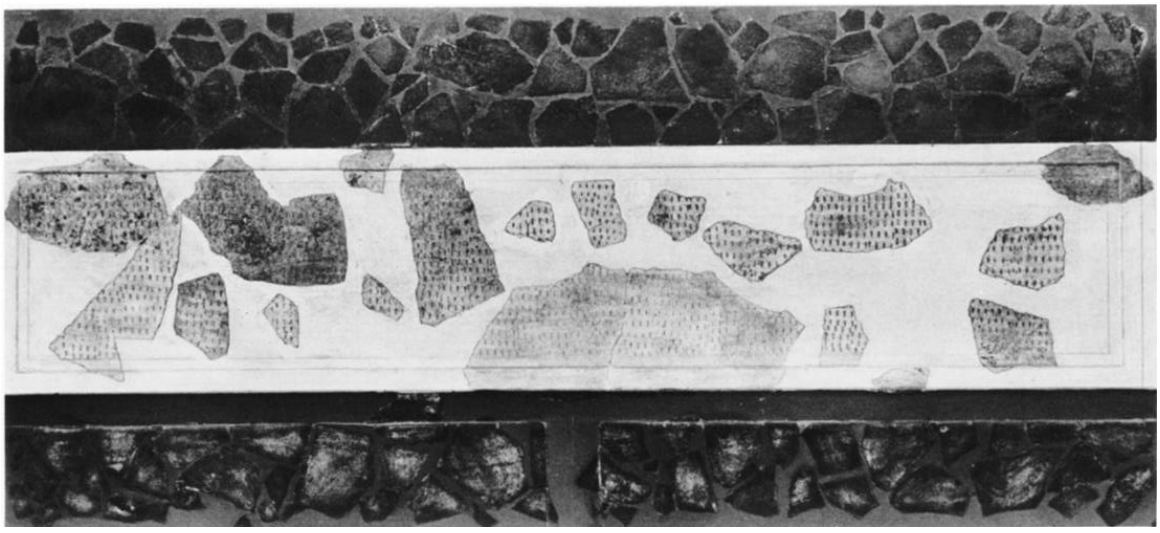

Fig. 17 Fragments of the mural decoration (Masonry-Style) from the Athenian Agora

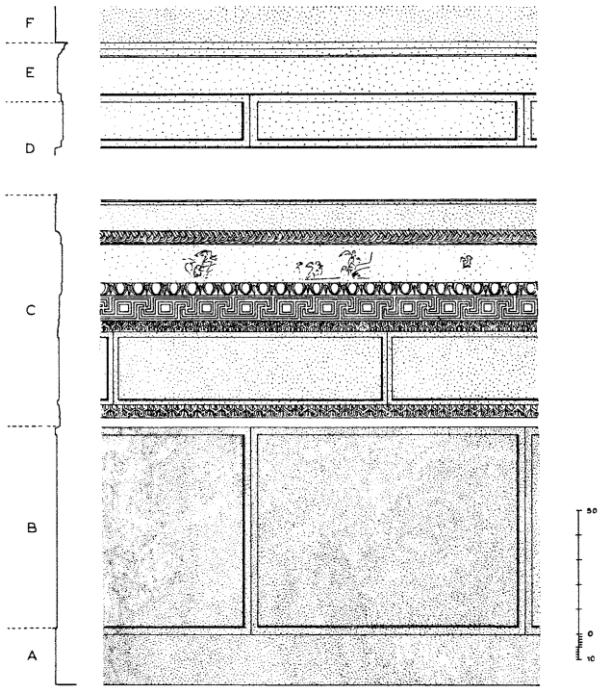

Fig. 18 Masonry-Style decoration from Delos

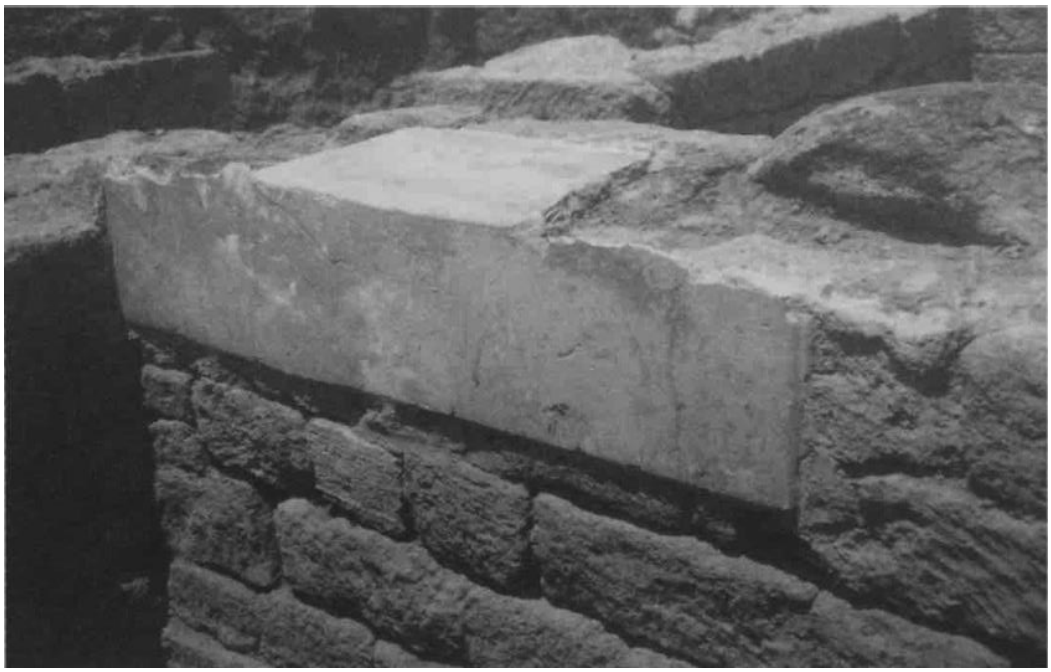

Fig. 19 In situ *fragment of Masonry-Style decoration on Pantelleria*

The architectonic terracottas, too, shed light on the influence of a Mediterranean *koine* on the Fregellan sanctuary. Manca de Mores and Pagliardi catalogued all the architectural terracottas, which formed the architectonic decorations of the sanctuary. In particular, they noted a group of antefixes with the image of the *Potnia Theron*,[218]

[218] Manca de Mores & Pagliardi 1986, 51.

the Mistress of Animals. Similarly to what we have seen for the architecture and for the wall painting, the motive of the Mistress of Animals, too, belonged to an eastern Mediterranean *koine*, which began in the centuries before the Hellenistic age.[219] Similarly, the figure of a satyr, playing a *syrinx*,[220] and of Attis could be connected to Hellenistic influences.[221] Interestingly, if we examine Andrén's detailed catalogue of architectural terracottas, we would notice that these typologies are also present at Minturnae in the second century BC, thus at the same time as at the Fregellan sanctuary.[222] In particular, the second-century reconstruction of the *capitolium* at Minturnae displays antefixes with the *Potnia Theron*, where she is depicted with lowered wings and head crowned by a flat *polus*, just like the examples from Fregellae.[223] Similarly, the Republican stoa contains antefixes of a winged satyrs, playing the *syrinx*.[224] Given these similarities between the two settlements, and remembering that the maritime port of Minturnae was connected to the fluvial port of Fregellae through the Liri River, I believe it would not be entirely farfetched to postulate that such decorative motives travelled throughout the Mediterranean to Fregellae and Minturnae. As Monti noted, these eastern influences intended to act as a reference to Fregellae's participation in the eastern military exploits.[225] Since Fregellae was present in the East, it would make sense that the elements were adopted there, for whatever significance, from a pre-existing universal *koine*.

In conclusion, while past scholarship on the sanctuary has explained its architectural formation as the result of linear contact between Fregellae and a specific prototype (usually situated in the eastern Mediterranean), I believe we need to move away from such a view and, instead, adopt a more encompassing understanding of ethnogenesis in which cultures are not static, well-defined containers (each with its specific set of material culture) and cultural formation as a biunivocal influence between the containers. Rather, we should see ethnogenesis through intra-cultural relations whereby material forms reflected a plethora of stylistic possibilities in the wider Mediterranean.

[219] Nilsson 1927; Marinatos 2000, 129.
[220] Manca de Mores & Pagliardi 1986, 51.
[221] Manca de Mores & Pagliardi 1986, 53.
[222] Andrén 1940, CCXXVIII, CCXXX.
[223] Andrén 1940, 481.
[224] Andrén 1940, 481.
[225] Monti 1999, 47-48.

Particularisation: local contexts and localised solutions

While the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Fregellae employed elements of the Hellenistic *koine*, it would be simplistic to see the monument as a merely copying its forms. In this context, I put forth the idea that the complex bears witness to a process of particularisation. This term, as seen in the introduction, is applied to the contextualisation of universalised elements (*koine*) to a local reality.[226] In fact, an attentive analysis of the archaeological evidence from the Fregellan sanctuary reveals a tendency to integrate foreign elements, such as the aformenioned *porticus*, with localised architectural solutions, like the *cella*, as we will see later. In this context, we should remind ourselves that interconnectivity would have played a paramount role. As noted above, Fregellae bore witness at least to an artist of Greek ethnicity and trained for Hellenic artistic forms. At the same time, the presence of numerous Samnite disenfranchised people would have provided ample manual resources for the construction of the temple. Hence, it is in this socio-cultural landscape that we should analyse the sanctuary's localisation.

The *cella* of the temple has attracted scholars' attention for its unusual model and potential inspirational sources. The temple presents a transversal *cella* where its width is greater than its depth. In describing this same spatial disposition, Vitruvius omits the sanctuary of Aesculapius, yet mentions that the temple of Castor and Pollux *in Circo Flaminio*, that of Veiovis *inter duos lucos* and the temple of Diana Nemorensis in Aricia follow a similar pattern.[227] Moreover, he provides an explanation for their origin: the Erechtheion on the Athenian Acropolis and the temple of Athena at Sunion were built following the same structure.[228] Recently, however, the influential inspiration of the Greek models has been criticised, leading Gros to state that "sono da respingere i pretesi antecedenti greci invocati dal teorico latino."[229] The archaeological analysis, in fact, does not prove a direct connection between the Greek and the Roman worlds. As far as the Sunion temple goes, there is no surviving structure that matches a temple with a transversal *cella*. The only known and preserved temple is that of Athena,[230] which does not display the same spatial

[226] Versluys 2015, 155.
[227] While I am aware that the temple of Apollo at Cumae and the temple of Concordia displayed a similar plan, I have not focused on them extensively since they date to Imperial times, thus much later than the period in consideration here.
[228] Vitruv. 4.8.4.
[229] Gros 2001, 146.
[230] Dinsmoor 1971, 37-51; Tataki 1978, 41.

plan as the Latin examples. Similarly, the Erechtheion, whose floor plan shows a transversal *cella*, did not reflect, according to Conticello de' Spagnolis, the architect's will to create a new architectural structure.[231]

Thus, in order to understand the Fregellan temple, we should examine local developments. As Vitti explained, the transversal *cella* in Italy acquired "una sua formulazione del tutto originale in ambiente romano."[232] This is particularly visible in the proportions of the *cellae*. If we compare the temple of Diana Nemorensis with that of Fregellae, for instance, their lengths and widths vary significantly (30,20 m x 11,80 m at Nemi, 10 m x 18,20 m at Fregellae).[233] In the case of the temple of Veiovis, we notice different dimensions again (15,00 m x 8,90 m on the outside, 13,70 m x 7,70 m on the inside).[234] As for the temple of Castor and Pollux, the *cella* measured 9.60 m x 21.80 m, thus displaying different proportions from the aforementioned examples.[235]

Apart from these divergences, we should also note that the position of the *cella*, whether vertical or horizontal, did not change its function. Thus, even though the aforementioned examples could have been influenced by an eastern prototype, the longitudinal spatial solution did not reflect an innovativeness in use.[236] Although Monti attempted to show a correlation between the *cella*'s functionality and the divinity's cult, his argument is not very persuasive.[237] More specifically, he argued that the god Veiovis stood in opposition to Jupiter since the former was a chthonic divinity. It would follow, according to him, that even the cult places, namely the *cellae*, had to be built in order to reflect such opposition: an "anti-Jupiter" would need an "anti-entrance" in his temple.[238] For Monti, moreover, such an explanation did not apply only to Veiovis, but also to Aesculapius. According to the scholar, in fact, the medical god presented some chthonic elements, reflected by elements such as the underground springs often associated to Aesculapius.[239] In this context, the *cella* of the Fregellan temple would follow this rule of thumb. Upon attentive examination, however, it is clear that, while Monti's theory might be fascinating, it remains just a

[231] Conticello de' Spagnolis 1984, 35.
[232] Vitti 2008, 85.
[233] Lippolis 1986, 30; Ghini 2013, 29.
[234] Colini 1943, 8.
[235] Conticello de' Spagnolis 1984, 49.
[236] Gros 1976, 145. He postulates that the temple of Apollo on Delos could have been a prototype for the Italic counterparts.
[237] Monti 1999, 49.
[238] Monti 1999, 50-51.
[239] Monti 1999, 49.

hypothesis, unsupported by the evidence. First of all, if we consider Vitruvius' examples, the chthonic nature of the divinity was not evident: after all, the Castores and Diana Nemorensis hardly convey any idea of the underworld. This lack of chthonicity becomes even more accentuated with later temples with transversal *cella*, built in Imperial times: how would we connect Concordia, whose temple had a transversal *cella*, to chthonic elements? In addition, shifting the attention on the Veiovis-Aesculapius connection, the link is not as strong as Monti would like. In fact, we are not even sure that the Fregellan cult of Aesculapius was the same as the Roman Aesculapius.[240] In this sense, the chthonic nature of the various divinities cannot be taken as a sign for an architectural change to a transversal *cella*. Within such a contested debate, Conticello de' Spagnolis emphasised localised trends. She argued that a longitudinal disposition of the *cella* finds a justification case by case, taking into consideration various (spatial) conditions.[241] Yet, her argument did not examine the possible agency of the commissioners, architect and builders. In 2007, Rous' article shed light on why a transversal *cella* might have been employed. More specifically, the author argued that, at a time when architectural scenography played a paramount role, the development of the transversal *cella* indicated an interest in visibility. The temple, by enlarging its frontal dimensions, would have appeared more scenic, thus visible.[242]

Notwithstanding the architectural disposition of the *cella*, some architectural elements can highlight how "global" elements could be interpreted in a localised fashion. A Doric capitol from the northern portico presents a very flat shape. The *echinus* is almost straight, forming a 30° angle with the *abacus*. The surface line of the *abacus*, moreover, is slightly oblique and does not display a 90° angle with the short side of the *abacus*.[243] While Verzár-Bass thought of it as an error of the artist, I believe that such an interpretation is too simplistic. Had it really been a mistake, the type of capitol would be localised just to Fregellae. Once again, we should turn to the contemporary sanctuary of Juno at Gabii. In the proximity of the northern portico, a fragment of a Doric capitol shows a straight *echinus* and the three "tondini" are in line with it, like the example at Fregellae.[244] Although the angle between the *echinus* and

[240] Rous 2007, 338.
[241] Conticello de' Spagnolis 1984, 37.
[242] Rous 2007, 343.
[243] Verzár-Bass 1986, 46.
[244] Almagro-Gorbea 1982, 50.

the *abacus* is not as acute in Gabii (fig. 20), the aforementioned similarities demonstrate that there could be variations from the *koine*.[245] In this sense, while Verzár-Bass saw the Fregellan capitol as replete with mistakes, I believe it could also be interpreted as reflecting local adaptations, performed by craftsmen at a local level. After all, as Lippolis showed in his analysis of the architectural forms, the measurements used for the construction of the temple were not in Roman feet (0,2927 m), but rather in Oscan feet (0,275 m).[246] This would fit with the historical accounts, according to which a large group of migrants from Samnium and the Paeligni had taken residence in Fregellae in 177 BC, further coinciding with the beginning of the sanctuary's construction phase. It is possible, therefore, that, among these, craftsmen that migrated to Latium worked on the temple and employed their own construction techniques, thus justifying the "errors" in rendition.

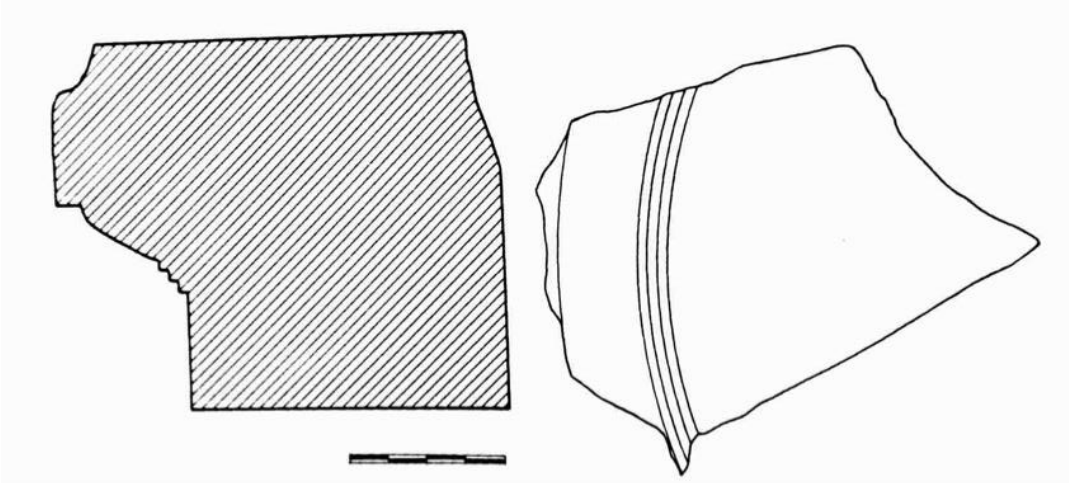

Fig. 20 Example of the Doric capitol in the sanctuary of Juno at Gabii

Making sense of the sanctuary from an architectural point of view: syncretism, hybridity or bricolage?

Prior to understanding the more socio-cultural reasons behind the sanctuary, we must address the issue of a composite style, whereby certain forms in the Hellenistic world were adapted and incorporated within a local framework. As I have shown, past scholarship tackled this matter from an acculturation standpoint. More specifically, the Hellenistic architecture of the sanctuary was a result either of contact with an Aegean island, namely Kos, or it was determined by a tendency to emulate Rome. In

[245] Verzár-Bass 1986, 46.
[246] Lippolis 1986, 37.

this sense, there was no emphasis on the localised component. How do we explain the concomitance of Hellenistic elements with more localised renditions? Among many approaches, the term "syncretism" has been employed within the analysis of cultural formation as a way to describe the combination of distinctive cultural traditions. Yet, a syncretic approach implies a casual merging of elements from different "pure" categories, further resulting in a pejorative meaning. The strongest criticism, therefore, comes from the conception that "pure" cultures do not exist and that, from an explanatory point of view, the term indicates a matter of fact.[247] After all, it would be difficult to find a non-syncretised phenomenon out of cultural formation. In the context of the Fregellan sanctuary, syncretism would not be particularly helpful as it would simply see the architectural forms as resulting from indeterminacy, without providing any insightful analysis on its inner motivations.

Another process is that of "hybridity." Given that, at its basic core, the term indicates a composite nature made out of diverse, heterogeneous origins,[248] it is tempting to see the sanctuary at Fregellae in such a way. Once again, as we have just seen with syncretism, hybridity harkens to ideas of purity within cultural formation. And, just like syncretism, it does not allow us to reach a satisfactory understanding of the formation of new architectural solution. It merely tells us that two or more cultures have mixed together and resulted in a "hybrid." Moreover, it does not inform us about appropriation and agency.[249] In discarding syncretism and hybridity, indeed we move away from an acculturation perspective. It is necessary, at this point, to look for a more practical and applied terminology.

In proposing a solution to this problem, Versluys defended the usefulness of the term "bricolage." In the case of Fregellae, I put forth the concept of a "glocalising bricolage." Widely employed in the social sciences and the humanities, "bricolage" indicates "how various influences and traditions are used to create a new whole."[250] By "glocalising," I intend the formation of a bricolage according to glocalisation, whereby the "various influences and traditions" presuppose the interaction between global and local. As we have seen in the case of the Hellenistic forms, the most striking parallels are not provided by a single example, but, rather, from a plethora of

[247] See the discussion of the terms used in this section in Versluys 2017.
[248] Versluys 2017, 204. See also Mattingly 2014.
[249] Versluys 2017, 204-205.
[250] Versluys 2017, 206.

examples that spanned the entire eastern Mediterranean. In this sense, they had a degree of "globality," which was adapted at a localised level. What is particularly important to notice within this system relates to the degree of agency behind the architectural solutions. Rather than casual choice, as presupposed by syncretism and hybridity, a glocalising bricolage would see the choice behind the sanctuary as expressing specific ideas, which I will explore in more detail in the following chapter.

Summary: the Fregellan sanctuary between "global" and local

What this chapter aimed at showing is that material culture, as seen in the sanctuary of Aesculapius, follows complex dynamics which highlight intense interconnectivity. Rather than highlighting a linear connection between Fregellae and another location (read: Kos), traditionally thought to supply an influential prototype, I have examined the sanctuary's architectural features from a broader perspective. The forms adopted in the Fregellan building reveal a phenomenon of participation in a stylistic *koine* typical of the entire Mediterranean. Yet, in the process of cultural formation, we need to account for localised variations. And it is precisely this that I have done in the final part of the chapter where I argued that so-called "errors" are not mistakes at all, but, rather, represent a series of localised variations. In trying to make sense of this global-local relationship, I have chosen to employ the term "glocalising bricolage" since it indicates how various influences are employed to create a new form of material culture. In presupposing a sense of agency behind this choice, I will show in the next chapter how this aspect is reflected in the self-portrayal of various social agents at various levels within the Mediterranean.

Chapter Three

The sanctuary of Aesculapius as a symbol of expression

In the previous chapter, we have seen that the architectural forms of the sanctuary were not mediated through linear acculturation, but reflected a glocalising bricolage between a Hellenistic *koine* and localised architectural solutions. This final chapter examines the meaning behind these forms, dealing with the complex link between style and identity. And, since identity denotes the way in which people want to be viewed, the first step will be to identify the commissioners behind the sanctuary's construction. Subsequently, it is necessary to understand the commissioners' use of (architectural) style. In particular, treating style as a semantic system within a glocalising framework allows us to achieve a threefold outcome: first of all, style is seen as a tool for communication and does not have unchangeable, fixed meanings; secondly, such an approach forces us to move away from the static conception of style as an indicator of ethno-cultural identity; and, finally, through a process of universalisation and particularisation, we are able to detail the "biography" of style. In regard to this last aspect, the employment of architectural style as a tool for expressing oneself changes the way in which the sanctuary at Fregellae has been treated. Traditionally seen as a celebratory monument of Rome's imperialistic policies, a glocalising semantic system highlights the use of style as a determinant factor for asserting social identity at multiple levels.

The sanctuary's commissioners

Since the publication of the excavation reports, the construction of the Fregellan sanctuary of Aesculapius has been attributed to an euergetic act of Lucius Mummius, the victorious general, responsible for the destruction of Corinth. It is important to understand, however, that this attribution is not supported by evidence. Rather, it can be explained by a tendency to view ancient phenomena on Italian soil through a Roman lens: namely, the spreading of artistic and architectural forms was possible through the actions of Roman generals like Mummius. Indeed, he is well-known for presenting various towns with gifts from the pillaged Greek cities.[251] Despite this, even though scholars have seen a dedicatory inscription by Mummius (fig. 21), supposedly belonging to the Fregellan sanctuary, as final proof for the temple's

[251] Schultz 2016, 66. Epigraphic evidence for this includes *CIL* I^2 628 (Nursia) and *CIL* I^2 629 (Parma).

commissioner, I believe that it is far-fetched to associate such a piece of evidence, namely a statue base, to the construction of a monumental sanctuary.[252] After all, this *titulus Mummianus* was found in Fabrateria Nova, the colony founded after Fregellae's destruction (125 BC). Thus, there is no certainty whether the original context was Fregellae. And, even if it were, how can a dedication on a statue base indicate the commissioning of a sanctuary? It simply cannot. Other proofs of Mummius' commission have been deduced from the sanctuary itself. In reconstructing the fragmentary front of the temple, Manca de Mores and Pagliardi postulate that there is a strong connection between the representation on the temple front and the general.[253] The scene depicts Amicus' punishment during the mythological quest of the Argonauts. The two scholars point to an organic link between the Argonauts, Mummius and Corinth, recently destroyed by the general. For them, therefore, this represented another tassel for Mummius' involvement behind the temple's construction with the spoils of war (*ex manubiis*). Even in this case, however, the attribution is neither supported by any other direct evidence, nor by Mummius' actions elsewhere. Rather, the scholars interpreted the fragmentary scene to support an *a priori* dedication by Mummius. Another illogical, sweeping statement can be attributed to Degrassi, who connects the tutelary divinity, Aesculapius, to Mummius' intense devotion toward the god: the intensity of such devotion is measured against a single inscription found in the Asklepieion of Epidaurus.[254] In the scholar's words, "non è azzardato dunque pensare che la sistemazione monumentale ricevuta dal santuario […] sia stata promossa da L. Mummio stesso, fedele di Esculapio."[255] Again, it is hard to believe that such an inscription testifies to anyone's decision to build a monumental sanctuary.

[252] *CIL* I 2930a. Bizzarri 1973, 140.
[253] Manca de Mores & Pagliardi 1986, 63.
[254] Degrassi 1986, 152; *IG* IV 1183.
[255] Degrassi 1986, 152.

Fig. 21 Titulus Mummianus *from Fabrateria Nova, supposedly belonging to the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Fregellae.*

More evidence that Mummius could have not built the temple *ex manubiis* comes from Rome itself, where manubial buildings are not as copious as traditionally thought. Orlin's study found out that, already in the period between 304 BC and 291 BC, when nine temples were built in the *Urbs*, [256] only that of Fortuna was dedicated through spoils. The remaining were built from the funds acquired with the *aediles*' fines.[257] Similarly, the period after the Second Punic War, although characterised by rash building, does not conform to any pattern of manubial building.[258] The regular source of financing public architecture was the state treasury, which must have acquired a conspicuous income from the indemnity payment from Carthage and from Antiochus after 187 BC.[259] Orlin's analysis of textual evidence shows that only five temples over eighty are attested as having been built from *manubiae* in Rome during the entire Republican era.[260] This represents a low ratio, which hardly provides a

[256] Concordia (304 BC); Salus (302 BC); Venus (295 BC); Victoria and Jupiter Stator (294 BC); Bellona, Quirinus and Fors Fortuna (293 BC); Aesculapius (291 BC).
[257] Orlin 1997, 127.
[258] Fourteen temples were dedicated between 194 BC and 179 BC: Juno Sospita, Faunus, Vediovis (on the Tiber Island) and Fortuna Primigenia (194 BC); Vediovis on the Capitoline (192 BC); Iuventa and Magna Mater (191 BC); Venus Erycina and Pietas (181 BC); Fortuna Equestris (180 BC); Lares Permarini, Diana, Juno Regina and Hercules Musarum (179 BC).
[259] Orlin 1997, 128.
[260] Orlin 1997, 134.

strong prevalence for manubial temple building at Rome. In the case of the colonies, one can postulate that the possibility of a manubial construction by Romans would be as rare. After all, Roman generals, among whom Mummius, would have approached the topic of dedication *ex manubiis* in a similar way as in the *Urbs*. In the context of *manubiae*, Wiseman argues that these leaders bestowed more importance on the display of spoils (concurrently with their dedication to a god) than the construction of a building.[261] Hence, rather than an indicator of commission, the aforementioned inscription found at Fabrateria Nova was part of these donations through which generals portrayed a specific image of themselves throughout the Italian peninsula.[262]

From a statistical point of view, epigraphy could help us clear the murky waters of the Fregellan sanctuary's dedication. What transpires from this approach is that, although the earliest euergetic practices date from the mid-third century BC, the inscriptions reporting them become more numerous in the following two centuries: from roughly 30 specimens in the third century BC, there is a rise to 200 specimens in the second century BC and more than 297 specimens in the first century BC.[263] These data, nevertheless, should be treated with care since the rise in numbers also coincided with an extension of territory. Despite this, it seems that the epicentre of this dedicatory phenomenon was Rome and Latium.[264] Another aspect of the epigraphic analysis emphasises the nature of the dedications. More specifically, the inscriptions attesting public works are more abundant than those attesting other forms of donations, like distribution of money, food and organisation of *ludi*: 516 attestations for public buildings against 59 for the remaining group.[265] This seems to be in line with the literary evidence, whereby, according to Cicero, public buildings would represent the so-called *impensae meliores*, thus a better way of spending funds.[266] Yet, who were these dedicators? Again, epigraphic examination highlights a distinction between private and public, with magistrates in public positions, whether civil or religious, being more numerous than private dedicators: 448 attestations for public positions against 26 for privates.[267] If we focus on the provenance of the funds,

[261] Wiseman 1987, 395. See also Orlin 1997, 132.
[262] It could be possible that the inscription had initially been dedicated in Fregellae. Yet, I suppose it would have only been set up as a statue base.
[263] Panciera 2006, 56.
[264] Panciera 2006, 56.
[265] Panciera 2006, 57.
[266] Cic. *Off*. 2.60.
[267] Panciera 2006, 62.

again the dichotomy between public and private must be used, as attested from the attestations *pecunia publica* and *pecunia privata*. The mere statistical data point toward the contrary, with 187 dedications with public funds against 233 with private money.[268] Yet, according to Panciera, the specification *pecunia publica* stopped being used from the second century BC, since it was the norm and, thus, did not need to be specified.[269]

As far as euergetism in the area of Fregellae goes, the evidence is scanty. The colony itself yielded a single inscription on a *tessera*, according to which a certain Lucius Atinius allowed free access to the *thermae*.[270] Although the dedication does not mention the construction of the building, some observations can be made. Firstly, the object has been dated to the mid-second century BC, thus coinciding with the last construction phase of the sanctuary to Aesculapius.[271] Secondly, the dedicator does not appear to be a Roman, but, instead, a Fregellanus, more specifically a high magistrate.[272] This would also fit with the aforementioned epigraphic evidence, showing that, within the context of second-century Fregellae, there were local people in public office involved in euergetic deeds.

Clearer evidence of building construction comes from nearby Sora, where the local sanctuary displayed a *thesaurus* like the one in the Fregellan sanctuary to Aesculapius. In addition, though, the example from Sora had a metal revetment, now in the Archaeological Museum, on which the magistrates had inscribed their names to indicate their euergetic actions.[273] As Lippolis noted, the form of the *thesaurus* was based on Late Classical and Hellenistic models.[274] Given Fregellae's intense connection within the Mediterranean, it would not be far-fetched to postulate that Sora was adopting certain models like those of Fregellae. After all, both *thesauri* date to the second century BC. The example from Sora shows that euergetic dedications on part of magistrates were occurring in neighbouring and less central settlements. This might allow us to infer that in a town, economically and institutionally pivotal like Fregellae, the same practice was present.

[268] Panciera 2006, 65-66.
[269] Panciera 2006, 66.
[270] Sironen 1990, 120.
[271] Sironen 1990, 120.
[272] Sironen 1990, 119.
[273] Lolli Ghetti & Pagliardi 1980, 177-180.
[274] Lippolis 1986, 36.

More direct evidence for the involvement of magistrates comes from other monumental sanctuaries in southern Latium. We find dedications in the sanctuary of Juno at Gabii, that of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste and that of Hercules Victor. As for the first, the inscription of the altar mentions a certain Cethegus (fig. 22).[275] While Rous states that such attestation identifies an individual project, there is not enough information to reconstruct who he might have been.[276] Moreover, Coarelli's analysis of the stone should be discarded since his restoration of the text, connecting Cornelius Cethegus with the Roman aristocracy, relies only on the scholar's suppositional theory rather than factual evidence.[277] Once we shift to Praeneste and Tibur, where the sanctuaries survive in better conditions, we realise that the inscriptions reveal a communal effort to build the sanctuary.[278] The sanctuaries were not built by private individuals, but by the communities' magistrates, who, through inscriptions, associated themselves with the public works.[279] At Praeneste, civic interest can be seen in the sanctuaries' plan. While the "upper sanctuary" was devoted to the oracle, the "lower sanctuary" was architecturally similar to a Forum.[280] Although Gullini saw a religious function for the "lower sanctuary," nowadays a civic purpose constitutes a more viable interpretation.[281] The *aerarium*, previously thought to have a private function, helps us define the civic character.[282] Even at Tibur, civic interest resulted in urban development, as seen in four subsequent stages: 1) the town's exterior façade and roads; 2) the "tempio rotondo;" 3) the sanctuary of Hercules Victor; 4) the Forum.[283] It is significant that Fregellae witnessed a similar phenomenon: there was an intense construction phase after the Punic War, whereby the civic part of the settlement underwent a process of refurbishment according to Hellenistic models. It would be possible to establish a typological link with Praeneste and Tibur, thus inferring the involvement of local magistrates at Fregellae not only in typically civic buildings, but also in the monumentalisation of the sanctuary.

[275] Coarelli 1982, 125-130.
[276] Rous 2010, 114.
[277] Coarelli 1982, 126-127. He seems to see the Roman family of the Cethegi even though the evidence is not exactly clear about that.
[278] Coarelli 1983, 221-222.
[279] For Tibur, see *CIL* I^2 1492, 1494a. For Praeneste, see *CIL* XIV 2980, 3013. Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1990, 710, 714, 717.
[280] Coarelli 1987, 40.
[281] Gullini 1983, 146-147.
[282] *CIL* I^2 1463; Delbruck 1907, 57-58; Gullini 1973, 751-52.
[283] Coarelli 1983, 222.

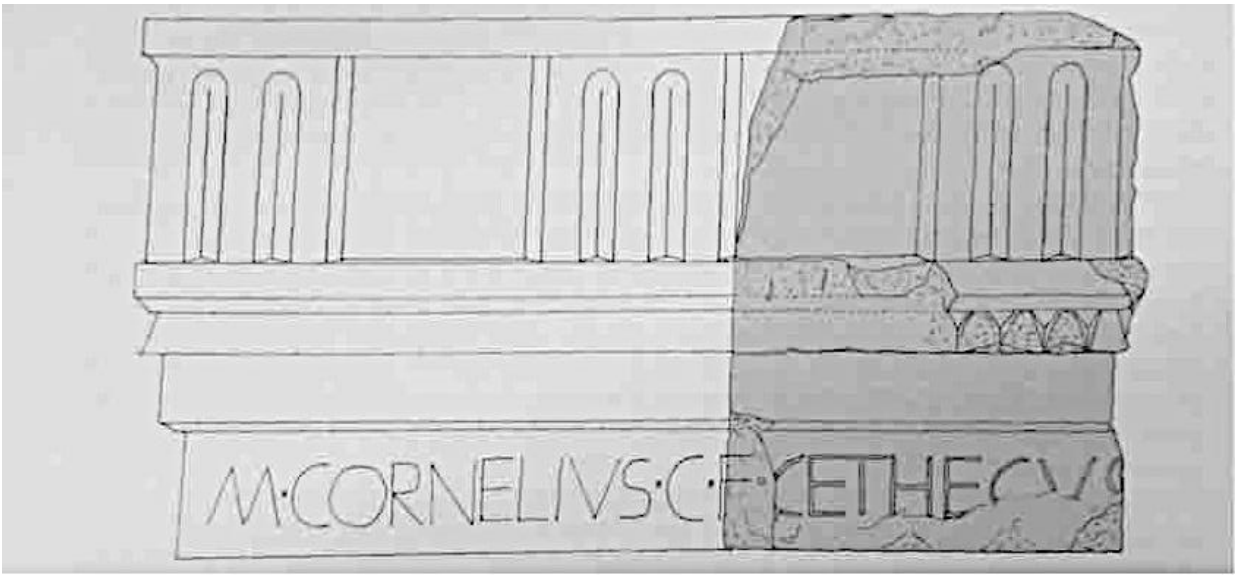

Fig. 21 Altar inscription from the sanctuary at Gabii, showing the section reconstructed by Coarelli

Style and identity: from an ethno-cultural notion to a social conception

At this point, given that we have shed more light on the nature of the commissioners, it is pivotal that we examine what they were trying to communicate through the construction of the sanctuary. The main question, therefore, will deal with the relationship between style and identity. Yet, what type of identity are we referring to? After all, as Meskell suggested, there is not just one single form of identity, but, rather a plurality of identities, which take into consideration ethnicity, culture, sexuality, gender, class and social relations.[284]

Within the study of identity and material culture in the ancient world, a strong emphasis has been placed on ethno-cultural identity. Jones defined this type of identity as "that aspect of a person's self-conceptualisation which results from identification with a broader group in opposition to others on the basis of perceived cultural differentiation and/or common descent."[285] This implies that ethno-cultural identity does not necessarily depend on biological or genetic factors, as much as on a will of a specific group to identify with a certain ethnicity or culture. The emphasis on ethno-cultural identity can be explained by the way in which, since the nineteenth century, material culture and, more specifically, style were studied: namely "methodological nationalism," whose analytical core was shaped by the concept of nation and its aspects of colonialism, cultural superiority and imperialism. At a

[284] Meskell 2007, 23.
[285] Jones 1997, xiii.

practical level, such a theoretical framework attributed a specific body of evidence to specific cultural groups, thus allowing twentieth-century archaeologists to create a map of various, well-defined cultures, associated to specific manifestations of styles. In addition to this, as Versluys pointed out, post-processualism has attached an ideological component to style, thus becoming a tool to communicate within or among groups.[286]

From the point of view of identity, "methodological nationalism" could result in two main interpretations: approval or rejection. In the context of monumental sanctuaries, therefore, we witness a dichotomous process: on one side, monumental sanctuaries were seen as a reflection of support toward Rome and a celebration of its expansionistic ventures; on the other side of the spectrum, through the civic involvement of the magistrates, the buildings represented a self-reassertion of the community, which was trying to express an ideological opposition to the *Urbs*.

Yet, neither theories are feasible in the context of Fregellae. The first explanation is based on the assumption that local groups adopted certain stylistic features, symbols of *Romanitas*, according to the model of self-romanisation (*autoromanizzazione*).[287] Rous' doctoral thesis, as amply detailed in the introduction, is deeply influenced by this view whereby Hellenistic monumental sanctuaries in Republican Latium were seen as tool through which communities could enter Rome's socio-cultural system and, thus, gain access into its politics.[288] And, as we have already mentioned, the architectural models for the sanctuary of Aesculapius did not come from Rome, but as a result of the interconnections within and throughout the Mediterranean. In addition, this approach would not account for the degree of localised development within the colony, as seen in Chapter One. By postulating a self-romanising explanation, these local interests would be completely supplanted in favour of a homogeneous Roman landscape of practices. As for the second approach, the concept of *Gegenarchitektur*, devised by Ley and Struss, can offer an insight into the employment of monumental sanctuaries as symbols of resistance. Although the two scholars applied the term to the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia in Praeneste,[289] the conception that stylistic forms could convey a specific ideological meaning of

[286] Versluys 2013, 433.
[287] Woolf 1998, 247.
[288] See Rous 2010, Chapter 2.
[289] See Ley & Struss 1982. In addition, a sense of opposition is also seen in Stek 2009 on a different set of sanctuaries.

resistance could also be applied to the other Republican Latin sanctuaries. The scholars connected ideological opposition to Rome to certain architectural features of the sanctuary: the extensive use of *substructiones*, the strict axial symmetry of the complex and the specific use of orders within the complex were all meant to denote a localised reassertion of power in opposition to Rome's imperialistic control.[290] Again, the main issue of such interpretation is that certain ideological meanings, informed also by the scholars' expectations rather than careful analysis, have been attached to stylistic aspects, further promoting the idea of ethno-cultural identity. In the case of Fregellae, this approach would be untenable since, as shown in Chapter One, the colony and the *Urbs* had a relationship of mutual help.

A new paradigm, at least in Anglo-American archaeology, was established with processual or new archaeology, whereby culture was conceptualised as a system, thus focusing on the explanation of social processes and cultural formations.[291] Culture constitutes an integrated system, made up of different functioning sub-systems, and, as a corollary, archaeological remains must be regarded as the product of a variety of past processes, rather than a reflection of ideational norms.[292] This shift involves a reconceptualisation of identity in relation to social organisation, often related to economic and political relationships, and in particular inter-group competition.[293] Within the study of antiquity, recent scholarship has shown that ethnic identity does not respond to well-defined, unitary definitions of culture. As Wallace-Hadrill aptly argued, ethnic identity is detached from any specific ethno-cultural context in order to play a role in diverse social landscapes, along the model of code-switching.[294] Such a theory develops from linguistic analysis of bilingual speakers, who choose to speak a certain language in a specific social context. In transferring this concept to the study of identity in antiquity, Wallace-Hadrill showed that multiple (ethnic) identities could co-exist with one another without necessarily clashing since their social function would come to the fore.

[290] Ley & Struss 1982, 122.
[291] Jones 1997, 26.
[292] Cfr. Binford 1962 and Clarke 1978.
[293] Jones 1997, 28.
[294] Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 63-64.

Style and identity: toward a semantic system of interpretation

Since identity works better as a social concept, rather than an ethno-cultural one, we should devise another way to look at style and, more broadly, material culture in order to ascertain how social dynamics of self-representation might have worked in antiquity. Following a static cultural model, past scholarship had seen each Roman epoch as characterised by a specific style, adopted from the Greek past.[295] More specifically, stylistic phases alternated between Classical and "Hellenistic" Baroque.[296] On closer inspection, there is a plethora of examples where this static stylistic and, by implication, cultural model does not apply. As Hölscher pointed out, not only was there a great variety in art, but every period in Roman history bore witness to the employment of varied phases of Greek art.[297] The range was so extensive that it could not have been determined by a consensus of taste in artistic forms.[298] Such diversity could be expressed even on the same monument. If we take the altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus as an example, we notice two stylistically diverse friezes: one depicts a marine *thiasos* in a typically Hellenistic style, while the other portrays a *lustrum* in a veristic fashion.[299] In this setting, the concomitance of two, divergent, styles cannot be interpreted in light of ethnic or cultural identification. If any given monument, like the altar of Ahenobarbus, contained both Hellenistic and Roman styles, it would represent an ideological, cultural and ethnic contradiction, which scholars have tried, unsuccessfully, to clarify.[300] The same principle could be applied to the Fregellan sanctuary to Aesculapius, in which "global" Hellenistic and localised elements co-existed as seen in the relationship between the *koine porticus* and the cultic *cella*.

Yet, how do we explain the connection between style and identity? It would be useful to determine the meaning and significance behind style along a semantic system. Such a semantic approach finds a parallel in language, where words and syntax originate in the past, without the everyday user being actively aware of the linguistic origin. To give an example, the word "religion" has a meaning which has

[295] Hölscher 2004, 10.
[296] Zanker 1973, 44-46.
[297] Hölscher 2004, 11.
[298] Hölscher 2004, 14.
[299] Versluys 2013, 433.
[300] In approaching the contested topic of the two friezes, various scholars have put forth theories, underpinned by the equivalence between identity and ethnicity. For a more detailed account, see Versluys 2017, 223.

moved away from the meaning of polytheistic *religio* among the Romans.[301] At the same time, it is important to understand that, while the contemporary meaning cannot be employed to build a bridge to earlier periods in an explicit and intentional way, it implicitly includes its genesis in the past. Thus, at a semantic level, our "religion" has been shaped indirectly by *religio* in denoting a series of pious and pleasing acts toward the divine. In a similar way, style represents the core element of a building, which acts as a tool for communication. What transpires from a semantic model is that, although specific stylistic elements could be inspired by foreign sources, they would not directly copy the original meaning. More specifically, the messages they were conveying could be understood independently from the inspirational sources since they were situational.[302] In this sense, the formal resources of visual art and architecture did not represent a return to the past, but rather a more vivid expression of contemporary concepts and values.[303] For instance, within statuary, the style of Pheidias would have been used to express the link between "divinity" and "majesty," rather than a return to fifth-century Athens.[304] If we shift the attention to a more monumental structure, like the Ara Pacis, we would be able to grasp the underlying mechanics of the semantic process. The great frieze with the imposing state ceremony was based on the Parthenon frieze: given its inherent quality of solemnity, the whole composition in the Ara Pacis communicated ideas of *dignitas* and *auctoritas*.[305] If we examine the single figures, we would note that they belong to different traditions: thus, while the *togati* could be approximated to Classical Greek models, the women of the Imperial family are depicted in a more Hellenistic style. As Hölscher put it,[306] convincing models for these women could have not been found in Classical art. Similarly, the *flamines* could have only been portrayed following reality, given the lack of an appropriate model elsewhere. What this attests is that specific themes were subject-based and did not highlight any continuity with previous ethno-cultural uses of that same style. In the case of Fregellae, this means that the commissioners of the sanctuary were not trying to advocate for a return to Hellenistic times. Nevertheless, their choice of style cannot be fully separated from the use of Hellenistic architectural

[301] Hölscher 2006, 245.
[302] Hölscher 2006, 243.
[303] Hölscher 2006, 244.
[304] Hölscher 2004, 97.
[305] Hölscher 2004, 77.
[306] Hölscher 2004, 77.

style in its original setting. In a similar fashion, the interpretation of the sanctuary at Fregellae should be examined against the broader meaning of Hellenistic architecture in the East.

Employing a semantic system: universalisation and the meaning behind Hellenistic monumental architecture

As we have just seen, the meaning behind style is not of an ethno-cultural nature. Instead, it is situational, changing from one setting to another. In this sense, a semantic approach to style highlights a "biography" for objects. In the context of the Mediterranean, this semantic model acquires significance once we see how style is employed from a universal to a particular level. Thus, in order to understand the glocalising bricolage of the Fregellan sanctuary, we must first ask ourselves how the shift from universal to particular could occur and along which dynamics.

A Hellenistic *koine* was the result of a series of ideological reforms, enacted by the Hellenistic kings. Already under Alexander the Great, a universalistic ideology was adopted, promoting an easier transition from one regime to another.[307] This can be evinced from the use of specific titles, such as King of Asia, which reflected the universalised epithet King of Kings.[308] With his successors, the interest in legitimating their rule over such an extended empire became even more visible. Antiochus I Soter, for instance, was referred to as "King of Kings" in a cuneiform inscription.[309] It is not surprising that the term *basileus* became associated to imperial rule under the Ptolemaic, Seleucid and Antigonid kings.[310] The idea of universal rule became also an influential element in court culture, as evinced from poetic works. In Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos,* Ptolemy is depicted as the ruler over the whole land.[311] Similarly, in praising Ptolemy Philadelphus, Theocritus lists a series of lands and ethnicities over which he would reign.[312] Of course, such ideology did not remain visible only in the high echelons of the court. It also reached a public status since it was needed to cement that universalistic monarchy in the minds of the subjects. At a practical level, the universalistic ideology of the Hellenistic monarchy could not just

[307] Strootman 2014, 44.
[308] Arr. *Anab.* 2.14.8-9.
[309] *ANET* 317.
[310] Strootman 2014, 46.
[311] Callim. *Hymn* 4.169-70.
[312] Theoc. *Id*. 17.77-92.

exist on its own accord. Rather, in order to be implemented and acquire a degree of political significance, it needed to become an overarching force, capable of holding together a multiethnic and multicultural empire.[313]

In creating a universal significance for Hellenistic religious monumental architecture, the monarchs performed two actions: firstly, they associated their names with "international" sanctuaries and, secondly, they employed monumentalisation as a tool to control the worshippers' experience. Royal patrons left an imprint on sanctuaries in the eastern Mediterranean, advertising their donations with inscriptions.[314] A case in point is that of Delos, where, throughout the third century BC, the investment of the Hellenistic monarchs, especially the Macedonians and the Ptolemies, was the most conspicuous form of monumentalisation in the sanctuary.[315] Yet, the presence of the monarchs could be felt across the Aegean. Apart from the well-known example of the Koan Asklepieion, monarchic intervention is particularly visible at the sanctuary of the Great Gods in Samothrace. Already in the fourth century BC, such a religious location was chosen by Philip II as a stage on which to practice euergetism.[316] This gave way to a much more intense phenomenon of patronage in the third century BC, which saw the sanctuary be altered by a series of kings, among whom Ptolemy II, Philip III and Alexander IV.[317] At Pergamon, too, the name of royalty became connected to monumental religious architecture. The Hellenistic design of the suburban sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon was realized under the direction of Apollonis, wife of Attalos I, in the third century BC, on a pre-existing implant by Philetairos and Eumenes.[318] Thus, what transpires from this examination is that, during the Hellenistic era, monumental religious architecture was strongly associated to the kings and their euergetic actions.

One of the main innovations that allowed the royal presence to be effective and imposing relates to the use of monumentality. While Archaic and Classical sanctuaries focused on singular elements, like the temple, in their Hellenistic counterparts the architects could control space and reach a level of scale and grandeur

[313] Strootman 2014, 54.
[314] Wescoat 2016, 678.
[315] Constantakopoulou 2017, 86. Let us not forget that Delos was not the only case of monarchic investment. The sanctuary of the Great Gods in Samothrace represents another example of royal involvement. For this last one, see Wescoat 2016, 686-88.
[316] Westcoat 2016, 688.
[317] Westcoat 2016, 688.
[318] Westcoat 2016, 691.

that pleased the royal patrons.[319] At a broader level, as said in Chapter Two, the manipulation of space was carried out throughout the eastern Hellenistic Mediterranean according to specific characteristics: the exploitation of the natural landscape in order to achieve monumentally visible effects; a predilection for orthogonality and axiality; an emphasis on creating views and vistas.[320] At a more specific level, these features were implemented through the use of certain architectural elements. For instance, at the sanctuary of Athena Lindia on Rhodes, the Propylaia created a monumental entranceway for the temple, which "physically and visually channeled the visitor's approach."[321] Similarly the Lower Stoa directed the visitors' route toward the central focus, namely the temple.[322] A similar framed environment is present at the Asklepieion on Kos, once again with the purpose of controlling the pilgrims' experiences.[323] A final example for the control of sacred architecture is the aforementioned sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace. If we take the Propylon of Ptolemy II as an example, we would realise just how pervasive monarchic control had become. The employment of Corinthian style on only one of the facades, namely the internal one, has been seen as a way for the monument to indicate the passage from the religious sphere of the sanctuary to that outside the sanctuary.[324] Ptolemy's name on the monument would further heighten that differentiation between the two worlds. By controlling the religious experience of the worshippers/pilgrims, the Hellenistic monarchs would also associate their names to the locations, further strengthening and cementing their socio-political position.

In conclusion, within a semantic understanding of Hellenistic monumental architecture, a first, universal meaning behind monumental religious architecture was determined by the action of the Hellenistic kings, who, for political strategy, associated their names to complex, sensational and monumentally grandiose constructions.

[319] Wescoat 2016, 679.
[320] Westcoat 2016, 679.
[321] Westcoat 2016, 681.
[322] Westcoat 2016, 682.
[323] Westcoat 2016, 684.
[324] Westcoat 2016, 688.

Particularisation at Fregellae: a semantic shift, aesthetics and the fascination of the exotic

When we investigate the meaning behind Hellenistic monumental architecture at Fregellae, how likely is it that the Fregellani had become acquainted with the aforementioned universalistic meaning and applied it to their local reality? Can we say that the political overtone of Hellenistic architecture in the eastern Mediterranean drove the Fregellani to adopt eastern architectural solutions in their own hometown? After all, it is true that, in some instances, Fregellani were deeply involved in the eastern *poleis*, thus justifying an intimate knowledge of socio-cultural practices. In one specific case, Delos bestowed *proxenia* onto M. Sestius for his euergetic actions toward the town, in particular toward the sanctuary.[325] This shows that at least a Fregellanus had acquired some prominence within an eastern community and partook in its social and cultural life.[326] While some Fregellani might have been familiar with the universalised meaning of monumental religious architecture in the East, seeing it as the driving force behind the adoption of these forms points toward an ethno-cultural approach, wherein (architectural) style is characterised by a fixed, unchanging meaning, related to socio-cultural practices (and by implication, to the original meaning) of a specific civilisation. Still within a particularised context, this meaning would have not been perceived at all by those Fregellani who had never had any dealing with Hellenistic architecture. In fact, can we say that an everyday farmer, who had never been to the eastern Mediterranean, could naturally and organically understand the political meaning behind the sanctuary's Hellenistic forms, as set by the Hellenistic monarchs? Such an approach sounds far-fetched. Thus, in order to make sense of the sanctuary's significance at a local level and what it tells us about the commissioners, we should approach the issue from a different perspective, which, along a semantic model, sees style as a situational instrument of communication.

What transpires from the previous paragraph is that, in approaching the issue of particularised meaning, we have to let go of these ethno-cultural constructions and take into consideration style in relation to the particularised society. In this setting, we should examine the relationship between humans and objects, more specifically between the Fregellani and Hellenistic monumental architecture. In order to do so, the

[325] He gave a conspicuous loan to the Delians in dire times.
[326] See Ma 2003.

notion of aesthetics comes to our aid. Initially intended as an indicator of prerational and intuitive judgement, aesthetics has also acquired a much broader dimension, "becoming in effect the collective imagination, worldview, style or sense of form of cultures, peoples and historical periods."[327] In this context, as Versluys pointed out, this definition displays a twofold significance for the understanding of object agency: firstly, aesthetics deals with (emotional) impact; secondly, aesthetics emphasises both the short-term conscious human-object relationship as much as the long-term subconscious human-object encounters.[328] Thus, an aesthetic approach indicates a shift away from a theoretical view of art, artworks and, more generally, things toward a more practical understanding, wherein what is at core is the effect of objects on people/viewers and the reasons behind people's response.

Given that a static ethno-cultural meaning, originating from the East, has its limitation, let us turn our attention toward an affordance which shapes the relationship between human viewers and (architectural) style: the fascination of the exotic. In his analysis of the "Other," the French polymath Segalen has also described and analysed the effects of exotic items on society. More specifically, exoticism creates a "phenomenological rapture, a confrontation resulting in the inability to comprehend."[329] Thus, we can understand that exoticism is not about cultural contact and transmission, as much as sensorial and affective experiences, determined through the contact with the foreign. The tension that these experiences bring about is related to innovativeness, novelty and an increased awareness of opportunities. Within the context of local realities, exoticism creates, as just said, a rupture between the local and the non-local. Through such a rupture, not only is the local made aware of the (exotic) non-local, but it also recognises that accessibility to the non-local indicates the access to an unfamiliar reality and, by implication, the exciting and unfamiliar opportunities that it offers.

Particularisation at Fregellae: Hellenism and localism

Prior to detailing how the sanctuary at Fregellae reflected the commissioners' self-depictions, we must acknowledge the function of Hellenism and localism. As for the first, Veyne shows that the term indicates the adoption of objects without any

[327] Summers 2010, 11.
[328] Versluys forthcoming, 11.
[329] See Versluys forthcoming.

association with ethnic and cultural ideas.[330] A value judgement is attached to the adoption of "Greek" material culture, according to a model whereby "se civiliser voulait dire s'helléniser."[331] It is this last conception that has led to the use of Hellenism as a way to indicate the conscious adoption of Greek forms in order to indicate an elevated social significance and worth.[332] As a few examples, we could remember: the use of "Greekness" in the Hellenistic world as a tool to overcome the dislocation of a culturally Greek elite; the Roman employment as a way to express vicinity to or distance from the multifaceted cultural concept of Greece; a late-antique definition of new paganism.[333]

At the same time, as previously mentioned, the sanctuary was characterised by localised architectural solutions. These were already applied in the early years of the colonies. As Lackner and Termeer noted, for instance, *comitia* have different capacities and dimensions across various colonies.[334] In this sense, it seems that each colony had a degree of independence in adapting architectural forms. Such independence could also extend to later construction phases.[335] A similar scenario can be envisioned for the holes in the Forum. While past scholarship postulated their use during elections, Sewell pointed out that they presented neither uniform dimensions nor dispositions.[336] He further argued that such differences represented instances in which local realities were allowed to adapt Roman models.[337] Mouritsen, too, suggested that the discrepancies in the numbers, forms and layouts of the pits relates to local situations, noting that the dissimilarities make each colony unique.[338] In this sense, like Hellenism, localism too had a social significance. The local adaptation of architectural forms, as in the sanctuary's *cella*, indicated a reassertion of local decisions and choices. It is precisely in this context, where Hellenism and localism co-exist, that we should see the sanctuary at Fregellae and, more broadly, the phenomenon of civic refurbishment, which took place in the colony during the early second century BC.

[330] Veyne 1979, 6-9.
[331] Veyne 1979, 10.
[332] Versluys 2017, 211.
[333] See Versluys 2017, 212 and footnotes.
[334] Lackner 2008, 265; Termeer 2015, 120. See also Greco 1988, Scott 1988.
[335] See, in particular, Mertens 1969, 101.
[336] Sewell 2010, 77-78.
[337] Sewell 2010, 80-81.
[338] Mouritsen 2004, 64.

Monumentalising at Fregellae: multiple identities in a glocal context

In light of what has been recently said, the monumental sanctuary to Aesculapius reflected a semantic shift in the employment of "Greekness," resulting in a statement of social identity. What is important to notice is that social identity was not a monolithic entity. Rather, it could be adapted to various scenarios, ranging from the local to the regional and even the pan-Mediterranean.

Let us start from a local level. The exoticism behind the sanctuary's Hellenistic forms would have fostered a sense of awe. As previously said, the fascination with the exotic would have made it possible for the local to come in contact with the non-local, further realising the opportunities that the non-local could disclose. In the eyes of an everyday viewer, the sanctuary's foreign forms indicated that the commissioner(s) could also access those foreign lands from which everything exotic came. In turn, this attitude increased their public recognition and prestige within the social system of honours and competition.[339] It is in this scenario that the integration of "global" and local forms becomes significant. For the Fregellan elite, the Hellenistic forms might have been well known through their ventures in the East. Adapting Hellenistic forms to the local reality, with the inclusion of localised architectural solutions, would have indicated a stronger control, on part of the commissioners, of the foreign and exotic elements. It should not come as a surprise, in fact, that, in the second-century construction of the sanctuary, the elements displaying localised solutions were those with preponderant functional use.[340] As we have seen in Chapter Two, the *cella* does not follow the Hellenistic models, but it is dictated by local needs and choices. A similar approach is also present in the contemporary sanctuary at Gabii, where the predilection for a *peripteros sine postico* reveals a detachment from the Hellenistic model and the accentuation of the frontal aspect of the building.[341]

The sanctuary of Aesculapius would not have had a meaning only for the locals. Through monumentalisation, the commissioners could have aimed at increasing the city's prestige before the neighbouring communities at a regional level.[342] In the case of Praeneste, Degrassi stated that "non è da meravigliarsi che

[339] Paterson 2010, 347.
[340] Coarelli 1986, 9.
[341] Gros 1973, 137-161.
[342] Paterson 2016, 491.

Palestrina (…) abbia potuto costruire un santuario tanto ampio che doveva suscitare l'ammirazione generale."[343] Thus, monumental buildings could determine the towns' status, especially in light of interactions and power relations among settlements.[344] In this context, Farney referred to "symbols of parochial pride."[345] Similarly, Wallace-Hadrill argued for the elite's "enormous investment in local religiosity and local pride."[346] As for Fregellae, the monumental and the novelty of the architectural forms would have caused admiration not only in the town's inhabitants, but also in neighbouring settlements. In this sense, the sanctuary's commissioners were trying to assert their own presence, politically and socially, within the elite groups of the wider region (Liri Valley). After all, as mentioned in Chapter One, Fregellae had acquired a prominent status among colonies by the end of the Second Punic War.[347] Apart from the embassies, in which Fregellani acted on behalf of a wide group of colonies, Fregellae was also made responsible for a series of settlements on the Via Latina. If we pair this with the colony's important economic position on transhumance routes, we would see that the sanctuary's role could have acted as a reminder of its political and administrative superiority. The semantic shift in meaning behind the architecture would have driven the commissioners to pursue this architectural choice. In the eyes of the neighbours and the regional visitors, the sanctuary would have appeared in novel forms, attesting the economic means of the commissioners, who had actively sought to assert their own prestige in the local reality using foreign forms.

Within the reassertion of social identity at a regional level, let us not forget Rome's presence and, more specifically, Rome's employment of Hellenistic monumental architecture. While I have already addressed this topic in Chapter Two in order to show that the models for the Fregellan sanctuary are not the result of Romanisation, understanding the cityscape of the *Urbs* might shed further light on the relationships between the central authority and peripheral settlements. In particular, we should remind ourselves that, although Rome had experienced Greek art since the late third century BC with the conquest of Syracuse, the financial strain of the Second Punic War caused a major halt in public construction works.[348] This resulted in Rome

[343] Degrassi 1969, 127.
[344] Lomas 2003, 30.
[345] Farney 2007, 72.
[346] Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 115.
[347] See Chapter One and also Strabo 5.3.10.
[348] Davies 2014, 32.

not having a well-developed infrastructure of civic buildings: as Livy noted, a group of Macedonians visiting Rome in 182 "scoffed at the appearance of the City, its lack of adornment in both private and public buildings."[349] While Livy's recount of the Macedonians might have been hyperbolic, monumental civic decorations in Hellenistic fashion started only after the beginning of the second century BC. The porticoes, built by L. Aemilius Paullus and M. Aemilius Lepidus, are dated, following once again Livy, to 196 BC.[350] Other monumental works, inspired by the Hellenistic East, date to 179 BC, when the censors M. Fulvius Nobilior and Aemilius Lepidus resulted in both a portico and a basilica, known as Fulvia.[351] Ten years later, this was followed by another basilica, the Basilica Sempronia.[352] With this brief account, I hope to show that, in welcoming Hellenistic monumental architecture, Rome did not bear witness to the phenomenon any earlier than Fregellae, but, rather, at the same time as the Latin colony and, I should add, other Italic centres. In the context of social identity, therefore, we should not see the sanctuary's commissioners as trying to assert their position in light of Roman social practices. Rather, the way Fregellae and Rome employed Hellenistic architecture should be seen as developing concurrently within a much wider phenomenon of architectural transformation.

Although the sanctuary's construction had a strong localised and regional significance, as seen above, we must also take into consideration the commissioner(s)' self-portrayal from a broader perspective: namely, they were trying to show that they mattered at a pan-Mediterranean level and that they could belong to the Mediterranean Hellenistic *oikoumene*. The construction of the sanctuary along with the refurbishment of the main civic spaces in a Hellenistic light should be taken as evidence for the various commissioners to appear as Hellenistic as possible. Once we understand, as previously mentioned, that the Fregellani had also become active players within the *poleis* of the eastern Mediterranean, we could also become aware that there was an interest in displaying a connection with those communities. In detailing the concept of "Peer Polity Interaction," whereby the Hellenistic age bore witness to an intense interconnectivity among eastern *poleis*, Ma recognised Rome's presence within this landscape.[353] Yet, he did not postulate the presence of smaller

[349] Livy 40.5.7.
[350] Livy 35.10.11-12.
[351] Livy 40.51.3-9.
[352] Davies 2014, 33.
[353] Ma 2003, 25.

settlements or colonies, like Fregellae. At the basic core of "Peer Polity Interaction" lays the concept of parity. Relations between and among *poleis* were based on the interplay of sameness and specificity.[354] This means that they could have displayed localised identities and interest, yet within a common landscape of socio-cultural practices. One way to emphasise and encourage the connection was through a system of honours, whereby a *polis* could bestow several honorific titles to an individual. What this implies is a stronger connection between the two *poleis* through the creation of a common communicative tool. In the context of Fregellae, such a networking theory could be translated as follows: since the Fregellani had some interests in the eastern Mediterranean (as we saw in Chapter One, the East would have provided them with conspicuous incomes), they had it in their best interest to foster strong relationships with the eastern *poleis* and to appear as belonging to the same socio-cultural milieu. One way to do so is by displaying a similar cityscape. While we do not have any certain evidence that there were Greeks in Fregellae, the interconnection with the Greek communities in the East has been assessed extensively. The attested presence of a Fregellanus, honoured on Delos with *proxenia* for his euergetic act, shows that the local community was interest in establishing a social connection with a foreigner and, broadly speaking, its town of provenance. In this pan-Mediterranean context, therefore, we see, once again, how the sanctuary at Fregellae represents an example of Hellenism wherein certain stylistic choices communicated more than ethno-cultural belonging, and focused instead on social self-representation. By showing a Hellenistic façade, one could become cosmopolitan and demonstrate that he (most likely a he) had every right to take part on the pan-Mediterranean stage.

***Style and social identity across the Mediterranean* oikoumene**

Is the case of Fregellae unique? The answer is certainly negative. Throughout the late Hellenistic era, thus in the last two centuries of the first millennium BC, the Mediterranean witnessed various processes of ethnic maneuvering whereby certain stylistic elements allowed reassertions of social identities. As the following examples will show, Hellenistic style, both in the eastern and the western Mediterranean, incarnated Hellenism, rather than Hellenisation as an acculturation phenomenon. In

[354] Ma 2003, 21.

particular, I will bestow attention on three case studies: the second-century Hashmonean kingship, second-century Pompeii and first-century Commagene.

With the disintegration of the Seleucid Empire, Simon, a Hasmonean king, employed certain styles in order to ascertain Judaea's autonomy. Hence, he emphasised local socio-cultural practices. For instance, not only was the role of the high priest given increased prestige but tradition was also incentivised through the approval and performance of new festivals and rituals.[355] At the same time, he adopted Greek elements in the public setting in order to foster a specific image of himself: Simon's tomb, for example, was replete with features from the Hellenic cultural sphere. Such a use of these forms continued even with his successors who styled themselves as kings and as *philellen*.[356] The cityscape, furthermore, was reshaped, including numerous features of the contemporary Hellenistic towns: a gymnasium was installed in Jerusalem, while Hashmonean public architecture closely resembled that of Hellenistic *basileia*.[357] In this context, it is important to note that the actions performed by the Hashmoneans do not indicate any acculturation. These stylistic elements cannot be employed in order to ascertain the degree of Greekness or localness. Rather, along a semantic model, these styles had situational meaning, as we have just shown for Fregellae. In second-century Judaea, therefore, an everyday person would have seen localised elements, typical of Judaic tradition, alongside other features from the Hellenistic *koine*. The employment and invention of tradition can be seen as a way for these monarchs to anchor their political presence in the past, thus legitimating their rule. Similarly, along the lines of Hellenism, the Greek elements would have conveyed ideas of "international" participation into a broader socio-cultural milieu.[358]

If we shift the attention to the western Mediterranean, more specifically to Pompeii, we notice a very similar phenomenon whereby material culture is employed as a tool to indicate social connections and identity. In examining Pompeii, Zanker and Wallace-Hadrill have both agreed on the presence of non-local material culture: the former advocated a more preponderant role for the eastern Mediterranean, while the latter saw the western Mediterranean, with its Punic and southern Italian Greek

[355] Versluys 2017, 148.
[356] Versluys 2017, 148.
[357] Gruen 2003, 264; Kropp 2013, 110-115.
[358] Versluys 2017, 150.

components, as inspirational sources.[359] The issue with both scholars resides in the "Christopher Columbus scenario" approach wherein Pompeii's connections with the rest of the Mediterranean were clear-cut. It is clear from a study by Stannard that Pompeii had economic connections with both eastern and western locations.[360] Moreover, from an examination of material culture, Punic and Greek elements co-existed with one another: thus, *opus africanum* is found together with expressions of Hellenistic art and architecture.[361] Just like Fregellae, Pompeii could display various stylistic choices which reflected the web of connections in which it was inserted. Yet, these artistic solutions did not indicate a process of acculturation as both Zanker and Wallace-Hadrill want us to believe. These forms, after all, could not tell us how Greek or Punic the Pompeians were. They tell us, however, that, in second-century Pompeii, as in second-century Fregellae, there was a conscious choice to show participation into a wider context and the possibilities that such a context could offer.

That the case of Fregellae was not isolated in time is shown by the case of first-century Commagene where Antiochus I brought about a process of building activity in order to cement his rule. The Antiochan program employed Greek and Persian elements, which, as for the previous cases, did not indicate ethnic or cultural belonging.[362] A monumental hilltop sanctuary, for instance, followed the scheme found throughout the East and was meant to fixate Antiochus' presence in Commagene.[363] Similarly, a temple-tomb in Nemrud Dag contained both Hellenistic and Persian tendencies, based on pre-existing parallels, such as that of Mausollos.[364] Still following eastern trends, so-called "colossi," monumental statues, and *dexiosis* reliefs were often associated to the Hellenistic concept of monarchy.[365] In structuring his presence, his rule and his identity within the context of Commagene, Antiochus' building activity exuded a certain ideology which aimed both at a local and at a pan-Mediterranean audience.[366] The co-existence of Greek and Persian features present on his building program served the purpose to impress. From a wider Mediterranean perspective, it would have been perceived as a showcase of modernity and novelty

[359] Zanker 1998, 75; Wallace-Hadrill 2013.
[360] Stannard 2005; Wallace-Hadrill 2013, 39.
[361] Wallace-Hadrill 2013, 41.
[362] Versluys 2017, 156.
[363] Versluys 2017, 111-115.
[364] Versluys 2017, 115-120.
[365] Versluys 2017, 120-122, 127-130.
[366] Versluys 2017, 168.

(especially in the eyes of his royal peers), while, by the locals, it would have caused admiration in its amalgamation of different foreign elements.[367]

Summary: an interconnected local and a plurality of social identities

Taking into consideration the development of stylistic meaning behind architectural forms allows us to move away from old, static models of cultural interaction and exchange, like Romanisation. Usually thought to be a symbol of Roman imperialism, I have showed that the sanctuary to Aesculapius at Fregellae reflected social identities both at a local and at a supralocal level. Since people are the primary motors of social identity, it was paramount to determine who might have commissioned the building's construction. Rather than a Roman general, I have shown that the evidence points toward a civic interest on part of the magistrates. As for the reasons behind the adoption of these forms, I have postulated that a semantic model could shed light on how the meaning behind style develops and, thus, prove why acculturation models should be supplanted. According to such a model, in fact, meaning is not directly shaped by the original setting in which style is found. In this sense, it highlights a "biography" for objects. In detailing how the shift occurred, I have showed that, although Hellenistic sanctuaries in the eastern Mediterranean had a strong political undertone, in Fregellae we cannot account for the same motivation. After all, how would the locals, who had no familiarity with the eastern Mediterranean, know the original meaning behind the style? In particularising the meaning, therefore, I have taken into account another affordance: namely, the fascination of the exotic. In creating a rupture between local and non-local, Hellenistic architectural models made people aware of the exciting possibilities that the non-local offered. Thus, the commissioners behind the style would be seen as having a direct access into the exotic. What this implies, at a local level, is an increase of prestige. At the same time, we must also take into consideration that, at a regional level, the sanctuary and the other Hellenistic civic monuments sent messages. In particular, since Rome was developing the same architectural solutions concurrently, we should see Fregellae as trying to assert its relationship with the non-local as much as the *Urbs* was. Finally, the employment of Hellenistic architecture not as Hellenisation (read: acculturation),

[367] Versluys 2017, 162.

but as Hellenism should also allow us to see these forms as tools to assert one's presence in the Hellenistic Mediterranean *koine*.

CONCLUSIONS

While scholarship has not given enough attention to the Fregellan sanctuary to Aesculapius, perhaps due to the scantiness of the evidence, I have decided to reconsider the topic according to the interplay between local and "global" dynamics. As I will conclude here, this approach can inform our understanding of the ancient world and, with some adjustments, of the modern world too. Three observations should be addressed: the function of the local; the exchange of (material) culture and the formation of glocalising forms; the meaning behind style and its impact on self-representation. Subsequently, I will also propose avenues for future research. Finally, I will shed some light on how the case study of Fregellae is still relevant for us in the modern world.

Reasserting the local in a glocalising framework

In order to avoid using glocalisation as a "buzzword," the starting point for my analysis dealt with defining the local in its historical context. As mentioned in the introduction, the advantage of glocalisation over globalisation can be found in its emphasis on the local as an active agent within wider social, cultural, economic and political dynamics. And this is precisely what we see at Fregellae where the influence of Rome waned down and left place for a reassertion of localised interests. Initially founded by the *Urbs* as an important military centre in the late fourth century BC, a century later the colony could reassert its localised interests. Previously thought to be total devotion to the founder, Fregellae's loyalty to the *Urbs* should be recast in a new light whereby the colony's relationship with Rome was underpinned by mutual help: namely, military aid was reciprocated with access to a plethora of economic opportunities that materialised in the eastern Mediterranean. The monumentalisation of the sanctuary and many civic buildings at Fregellae should be inserted in this socio-cultural dynamic where the colony, as a local entity, could exert its own interests and, through the support of Rome, enter the Mediterranean.

The dynamics of cultural adoption: an intra-cultural interplay between local and "global"

From an architectural point of view, the sanctuary of Aesculapius reveals a glocal composition whereby "global" elements interacted with local solutions. Starting from

the "global" category, as I have shown, the inspirational model derived from a pan-Mediterranean *koine* and was not intermediated by any Roman examples. Certain architectural elements, like porticoes, and elevated positions so as to foster an increased visibility occurred throughout the eastern Mediterranean. In addition, more detailed features, like mural paintings and architectural decorations in terracotta, point toward other areas of the Mediterranean, rather than a Roman imposition of material culture. Of course, such an adoption would make sense since, as we have previously mentioned, the Fregellani had intense dealings, whether military or mercantile, in that region of the Mediterranean. It would not have been hard for them to come into direct contact with these "global" forms in the eastern Mediterranean.

What must be stressed, though, is that, although interconnectivity allows us to move away from Romanisation, we must also recognise that the contact between cultures should not treat cultures as separate entities. The Mediterranean was a melting pot of cultures and cultural variability was not determined by "Christopher Columbus encounters." It is true that, in the case of Fregellae, we know that the Fregellani were actively involved in the eastern communities. Yet, that does not necessarily mean that they had to be involved in every community with which the Fregellan sanctuary shared some similarity. The concept of *koine*, in fact, helps us to overcome this issue. By postulating a body of stylistic, artistic and architectural choices at a pan-Mediterranean level, we can begin to move away from the "nationalistic" approach to culture and cultural exchange whereby a specific form should be associated with a specific geographical and ethnic landscape.

At the same time, can we say that the Fregellan sanctuary was a copy of the eastern stylistic prototypes? The answer is unequivocally negative. An important element which transpires from the construction's architectural analysis is its degree of locality. In such a glocal context, the example of Fregellae tells us that material culture is constantly being (re)invented and that this (re)invention does not follow clear-cut directions, as advocated by acculturation. Rather, due to increased interconnectivity, the ancient world would have been constantly exposed to a plethora of stylistic, artistic, architectural elements, mixing them together and adapting them according to local solutions and/or tastes. At the same time, it is paramount to emphasise that, from the point of view of materiality, the formation of new material culture is not an end in itself. Instead, it is part of the development of the *koine*, wherein new forms could become standardised.

Style and self-representation: asserting social links in a glocal setting

An aspect which transpired from this thesis relates to the function of material culture (in this specific context, a sanctuary) within society. Rather than carriers of static meaning, often determined through ethnic or cultural associations, elements of material culture should be seen as part of a relationship with their human viewers/users. In this sense, given that their meaning would heavily depend on said relationship, it is paramount to determine who these humans might be. More specifically, it is important to assess who was involved behind the construction of the sanctuary since it would be them whom the sanctuary communicated about. From the analysis, we have seen that the dedication of a single Roman individual should be discarded and replaced by the emphasis on the public magistrates of the settlement.

But why would they do so? Why would officials at Fregellae decide to build a monumental sanctuary with local and foreign features? If we see (architectural) style as a way to send a message about oneself, we are inevitably going to address the question of identity. Scholarship has always highlighted an ethno-cultural equivalence between style and identity. Simply put, certain styles or items were associated with certain ethnicities and cultures. And the presence of those styles or objects in a different socio-cultural context would inevitably indicate an ethnic or cultural change. Consequently, this view also led to a twofold explanation, which, on one side, postulated approval and, on the other side, rejection. Hence, according to this framework, the Fregellan sanctuary could indicate support to Rome's imperialistic policy or subversion toward it. Both cases, I have argued, are untenable. In the first instance, we would need to see Rome as an overarching and ever-present power, thus falling into the traps of Romanisation and somehow contradicting the conclusions reached in Chapter One; in the second case, we would not sufficiently consider the relationship between Fregellae and Rome, which, as previously said, was characterised by mutual support rather than by antagonism. It is only much later, toward the end of the century, that Fregellae, for reasons that do not fall within the scope of this thesis, defies Rome, causing the *Urbs*' wrath which brings about the colony's demise.

In this context, how do we explain style? Moving away from an acculturation standpoint, stylistic choices in the ancient world were situational. That means that, rather than indicating the degree of ethnic presence, styles could be employed to convey ideas which depended on a social use of style. In the case of Hellenistic

tradition, we have seen how monarchic will had impacted on the formation of a political significance behind Hellenistic monumental architecture. In a glocal scenario, a change from the universal into the particular must also take into account a shift in motivation. Hence, we cannot suppose a static meaning behind material culture. What we should reflect upon is how (architectural and visual) style might have impacted not only on the commissioners but also on the viewers who might have had no knowledge of the style and its original meaning(s). As I have shown in my analysis, one explanatory category could be exoticism, whereby the local and the non-local could provoke certain emotional and cognitive responses in the viewers. The unfamiliarity and the fascination with the exotic could also be reflected on the self-representation of the commissioners. At the same time, the importance of a glocal approach resides in the multi-layered meaning behind material culture. Exoticism, in fact, would have played a role not only at the local, but also at the regional level. Concurrently, a glocal product must address the "global" context. And Fregellae's sanctuary does precisely so. Since Hellenistic style acquired a situational meaning, thus propounding an idea of Hellenism, it became an indicator of fitness to enter the pan-Mediterranean world. Once again, the interconnectivity of the Fregellani might have played a role not only in becoming acquainted with the forms, but also with fostering an idea of Hellenistic Mediterranean society in which, for whatever reason, they wanted to play some role.

Further research: monumental sanctuaries in Latium in the late-republican period

The second-century reconstruction at Fregellae does not stand in a vacuum. As I have shown in the thesis, it follows broad trends of Hellenism throughout the Mediterranean. At the same time, within Latium, the case of Fregellae represents the beginning of a monumentalisation process which invested several sanctuaries. While some of them have been mentioned as parallels in this thesis, let us list them here: apart from Fregellae, monumental sanctuaries were built at Gabii, Praeneste, Tibur, Tarracina, Lanuvium and in the *Nemus Aricinum*.

Traditionally approached in light of acculturation theory, the understanding of Hellenistic monumental sanctuaries in Latium would benefit from a glocalising approach. In such a theoretical landscape, one must take into consideration two factors: interconnectivity and diachronicity. As I hope to have made clear in this thesis, the communities of Latium should not be seen as completely subjugated by

Rome. Rather, they could become part of a pan-Mediterranean social and economic network. Hence, the abovementioned sanctuaries should be inserted in the broader Mediterranean. Still related to interconnectivity, we must examine the meaning behind Hellenistic architecture *suo iure*. As in this thesis, a semantic approach could be employed to assess how the meaning shifts from the pan-Mediterranean to the local Latin scenario. This would allow a more holistic understanding of monumental structure, viewing them as part of a relationship in which object and viewer determine meaning.

At the same time, we must also remind ourselves that the phenomenon of monumentalisation spanned more than a century. It is plausible that the meaning behind monumentalisation acquired different traits and features, especially in the later examples. In this setting, I believe that the increased employment of Hellenism by Rome would have played a role in determining such developments. Thus, by examining the broader phenomenon of monumentalisation, we could achieve a twofold conclusion: first of all, the adoption of foreign forms develops along complex dynamics of social connections, thus moving away from simpler explanations of linear cultural contact; secondly, although the phenomenon might have had very similar characteristics, its historical significance must take into consideration the temporal extension and a possible change in meaning. This means that, in examining the formation of a specific category of material culture (as in the abovementioned sanctuaries), we need to account for a shift in the relationship between object and viewers and how that might determine a subsequent shift in the meaning/function of material culture.

A word of caution: Fregellae and the modern world

Now more than ever, scholars of the ancient world are asked to relate their research to the modern world. Usually underpinned by a justification for usefulness, the central question which scholars face is the same: how can we employ the knowledge of the ancient world to improve our contemporary society? In the case of this thesis, does the case of Fregellae and its sanctuary tell us something about us? At first sight, it would not seem so. After all, the differences are staggering and, it would appear, unsurmountable. Yet, I believe the dynamics underpinning the construction of the Fregellan sanctuary are valid even nowadays.

In a society, like ours, where interconnectivity is heightened not only by physical movements and migratory phenomena, but also by technological advancement, the local is increasingly being put in contact with the global. Globalisation theory, in fact, has been mainly associated to this era as a way to reflect this interconnectedness. In many instances, such a level of global contact has been seen in a negative light as foreshadowing the end of specific, local cultures. Politicians have embraced this discourse as a tool to reassert nationalisms, depicting anything that does not adhere to the idea of the "nation" as a potential threat. As I hope to have shown in this thesis, given the lack of an intentional, top-to-bottom approach of acculturation, the local can come in contact with the global and still preserve its sense of localism. In being part of a Hellenistic *oikoumene*, the Fregellani would have still felt Fregellani, yet conscious of their participation in a broader network. In thinking about an example in our modern world, I do not have to go too far from the desk from which I am writing, for Dutch society provides an interesting insight. During my stay here, I have heard the aforementioned argument on several occasions: namely, the Netherlands' open policy toward the world, more specifically toward the Anglo-Saxon world, will inevitably cause the demise of Dutch culture and language. It only takes a walk in any neighbourhood to see how faulty that argument is: Dutch language and socio-cultural practices are still practices and, one could assume, that they will be practiced for a very long time to come. Taking into consideration interconnectivity, the Netherlands has heightened and intensified its position, as a local entity, into the global, still retaining its local core.

Following from this, the case of the Fregellan sanctuary has shed light on the adoption of foreign material culture and, more specifically, the meaning behind such material forms. As it has become apparent, material culture does not have a fixed meaning related to ethnic or cultural underpinnings. Instead, it acquires different meanings according to the situation in which it is employed. In this context, we should not see material culture as a tool for acculturation. Thus, in a modern society, the presence of foreign elements tells us nothing about the overall degree of ethnic or cultural change. It is typical of Western houses to contain decorative features typical of Oriental traditions, ranging from statuettes of Buddha, depictions of Indian divinities to Confucian maxims. Would we say that people living in those households have become more Chinese, Indian or Japanese? That would sound rather comic. The presence of these objects should be analysed from a situational point of view whereby

their meaning moves away from the original context and acquires a different sense, based on the relationship between viewers/users and the object itself in the new context. Approaching material culture from this perspective, whether in the ancient or modern world, would prompt us to see items as significant elements embedded in a social context. More specifically, the display and/or the employment of foreign object aims at determining the owner's/user's social identity. Hence, the aforementioned Oriental items would be underpinned by a desire to show a connection with the exotic ideas and features of the Far East. At the same time, this same process could contribute to the creation of a modern-day *oikoumene*, wherein certain objects could be associated to worldliness and modernity. A modern example can be found in the intensive consumption of Apple products. No user would be employing such objects as an indicator of Americanisation. Rather, they would be employed because they are connected to ideas of innovation and fast technological improvement, which, now more than ever, represent two powerful categories which social agents, that is us, would strive to display within this wide, interconnected world.

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