Visualising Glocalization: Villas, Architectural Spaces and Pavements in Hispania Baetica (2nd century AD – 4th century AD)

Archaeopress Roman Archaeology 123

Visualising Glocalization

Villas, Architectural Spaces and Pavements in Hispania Baetica (2nd century AD – 4th century AD)

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Archaeopress Archaeology

Archaeopress Publishing Ltd
Summertown Pavilion
18-24 Middle Way
Summertown
Oxford OX2 7LG

www.archaeopress.com

ISBN 978-1-80327-895-7
ISBN 978-1-80327-896-4 (e-Pdf)

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To Manuel Montoya and Piedad Santiago,

for the life lessons

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List of Abbreviations

AAA	Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía
AAC	Anales de Arqueología Cordobesa
AEspA	Archivo Español de Arqueología
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AHEEHAM	Agustín de Horozco - Estudios Económicos de Historia Antigua y Medieval
AnMurcia	Anales de Prehistoria y Arqueología
AnTard	Antiquité Tardive
ARC	Archaeological Review from Cambridge
BABesch	Bulletin Antieke Beschaving
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BRAH	Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia
BSAA	Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología
CAUN	Cuadernos de Arqueología de la Universidad de Navarra
CHP	Cuadernos de Historia Primitiva
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
CMRE (I-XIV)	Corpus de Mosaicos Romanos de España, volumes I-XIV
CNA	Congreso Nacional de Arqueología
CNRS	*Centre national de la Recherche Scientifique*
CSIC	Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas
CuPAUAM	Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid
DGMCA	Diseños Geométricos en los Mosaicos del Conventus Astigitanus
ETF	*Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*
ICAC	*Institut Català d'Arqueologia Clàssica*
JMA	Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
LAMAS	London & Middlesex Archaeological Society
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LIMC	Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae
MSR	Medieval Settlement Research
NHA	Noticiario Arqueológico Hispánico
PCA	European Journal of Post-Classical Archaeologies
TRAC	Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference
TRAJ	Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal
VRB	Villas romanas de la Bética

Acknowledgements

There are many people who over the last years have played a significant part in helping me to formulate, develop and achieve this book. This volume stems from my Ph.D. thesis, awarded at the University of Leicester in January 2021, funded by the AHRC and the Midlands3Cities DTP. First of all, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Prof. Penelope Allison and Prof. Sarah Scott for their unfaltering, continuous support during my doctoral research. They were exceptional academic mentors and points of reference in difficult times throughout my doctorate. Pim is thanked for her patient guidance in matters of data analyses and for her challenging and constructive criticisms. Sarah has always challenged my views on Roman – provincial – art and since I first attended her lectures back in 2014, she has continuously encouraged me to shape my research projects and has provided insightful comments during and after my doctorate. Both Pim's and Sarah's approaches constitute the basis upon which I developed my thesis and this book, and their patience with my initial struggles with English is invaluable. I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to Prof. Katharina Lorenz (University of Giessen) for her continuous support and availability, insightful comments and, suggestions about German scholarship on Roman art during these last three years of my doctorate and for her continuous advice about different postdoctoral paths to initiate after my stay in Leicester. Above all, thanks to my supervisory team for adapting to changing situations and issues arising during this doctorate and being always available to resolve any doubts when I was away in Spain, encouraging me to pursue this project forward.

Besides my supervisors, I would like to thank Prof. David Mattingly (University of Leicester) for encouraging me to refine the theoretical concepts I use in this book and develop my own methodology. I would not have been able to complete my doctorate without the training and funding received from the AHRC and the Midlands3Cities Doctoral Training Partnership. Part of this book was developed in Rome during my research placement at the Spanish School of History and Archaeology (EEHAR-CSIC). Special thanks are due to the personnel at EEHAR-CSIC, and especially to Beatriz, for always helping me to find copies of all the necessary publications.

This book could not have been completed without the invaluable help of people and institutions that provided access – many times online – to the information I needed. Special thanks are due to Dr. Rafael Hidalgo (Pablo de Olavide University), director of the *Villas Romanas de la Bética* project, for always sharing with me results and information to make this book possible. In addition, for their methodological advice and suggestions on specific aspects of this project, I would like to thank: Prof. Patrizio Pensabene (University of Rome La Sapienza); Prof. José M. Luzón (Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando); Prof. Salvador Ordóñez (University of Seville); Prof. Mario Erasmo (University of Georgia); Dr. José Ramón Carrillo (Pablo de Olavide University); Dr. Oliva Rodríguez (University of Seville); Dr. Pedro Rodgríguez-Oliva (University of Málaga); Dr. Purificación Marín (University of Granada); Dr. Jesús Bermejo (University Carlos III of Madrid); Dr. Javier Andreu (University of Navarra); Dr. Jane Ainsworth (University of Leicester); Dr. Guadalupe López Monteagudo (CSIC); Dr. Fabio Guidetti (University of Pisa); Dr. Irene Mañas (UNED); Dr. Javier Domingo (Pontifical University of the Holy Cross); Dr. Will Wootton (King's College London); Dr. Luz Neira (University Carlos III of Madrid); Dr. José Carvajal (University of Leicester); Dr. Damjan Krsmanovic (University of Leicester); Dr. Manuel Moreno (University of Córdoba); Dr. Elena Castillo (Complutense University of Madrid); Dr. Isabel Rodríguez (Complutense University of Madrid) and Dr. Mario Guitérrez. I would also like to acknowledge the work of the specialists – and contributors in the two volumes of the work *Las villas romanas de la Bética* –, as my research builds on their investigations. The personnel from the following institutions provided continuous access information – sometimes unpublished – via email or through the phone and made it possible to continue my research from the United Kingdom or Italy: Museo Arqueológico de Cádiz; Museo de Antequera; Museo de Cabra; Colección Monográfica del Mosaico Romano de Casariche; Museo Arqueológico de Badajoz; Museo Nacional de Arte Romano de Mérida; Museo de Málaga; Museo de Badajoz; Archivo de la Diputación de Málaga, as well as the team from the archaeological project of the villa of Salar (Granada). In addition, my most sincere gratitude goes to Francisco Montoya, who patiently drew and re-drew all the villa plans contained in this book to provide quality visual materials.

Throughout my doctoral degree, I benefited from the discussion with many people who have encouraged me – academically and personally – to complete this doctorate: especial thanks go to Dr. Pilar Diarte-Blasco (CSIC Spain), Dr. Charlotte Van Regenmortel (University of Liverpool), Cristina Hernández, Alex Locker, Matthew Selheimer, Milena Rizzoti, Mikel Herrán, Margherita Riso, Farooqi, Sagar and Haitham Aldreabi. In addition, my thanks go to my academic fellows in Spain, who I met in Pompeii in 2009, for their unfaltering support

in the difficult – and also good – times I went through in this doctorate, especially to: Jorge, thank you for encouraging me to continue my studies in the UK; Macarena, thank you for all the life lessons beyond your observations about epigraphy; Maria José, thank you for believing in this project even before it was started and for always reminding me there is life outside academia; Sergio, thanks for your professional advice in this field; Estefanía, thanks for your advice to deal with difficulties emerged in this doctorate; and Raquel, thank you for your comments on iconographic aspects of this book.

After I was awarded my doctorate in January 2021, I joined the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome as an associate researcher. This opportunity was possible thanks to Dr. Pilar Diarte-Blasco (CSIC Spain), who generously encouraged me and supervised my postdoctoral project under the Spanish international postdoctoral scheme 'Margarita Salas', funded with European Next Generation funds. Thanks to this stipend I have been able to develop this book and other academic publications. Since the beginning of my postdoctoral path in Rome in January 2022, Prof. Tesse D. Stek, Prof. Eric Moormann, Dr. Miko Flohr, Dr. Emlyn Dodd, and the personnel at the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome have provided full support and encouraged me to convert my thesis into a book and develop other academic endeavors. Upon my arrival to Spain in January 2024, Dr. Manuel Castro Priego was my mentor at the University of Alcalá, where I have been an associate researcher during the last months of my postdoctoral project.

In 2024, I also joined the School of Humanities of IE University, where I am now an Adjunct Professor of Humanities, teaching courses specialized in Roman Archaeology and Research Methodology. This book was finalized while commencing my current position, and I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Miguel Larrañaga, Dr. Catalina Tejero, and Dr. María José Ferrari for encouraging me to publish this book and pursue my academic endeavors.

Finally, I would like to thank the teachers and friends who, since primary school and until nowadays, have encouraged me to pursue my passion in life, especially Rafa, Antonio, Guillermo, Fernando, Isabel, Jordi, Luis Alfonso, Franciscus, Gonzalo, Alberto, Pablo, Kristian, José and Adela. I could not conclude these acknowledgements without thanking mom, dad, my brother Sergio, Martin & Marcos, my family and all my friends – from my hometown, Madrid, Rome and Trapani; thank you for always being supportive in all possible ways and for being so close when we are miles apart.

Foreword

Sin duda las villas constituyen en sí mismas uno de los fenómenos más interesantes de la arqueología romana. Sin embargo, el fenómeno de las villas no es un fenómeno estático, sino que, al contrario, es cambiante. Tanto su amplio desarrollo cronológico como su dispersión geográfica por prácticamente todos los territorios dominados por Roma, lo convierten en el elemento que mejor define la implantación rural romana.

Ahora bien, esos mismos aspectos, su desarrollo en el tiempo y su dispersión geográfica, permiten intuir que no constituye tampoco un fenómeno uniforme. Antes bien al contrario, partiendo de unos principios más o menos generales, las villas presentan una clara evolución a lo largo del tiempo, transformándose a medida que la propia sociedad romana va evolucionando. Del mismo modo, presentan también una lógica adaptación geográfica, en la que esos principios concretos se acomodan a las peculiaridades específicas de la zona en cuestión en la que se instalan, siguiendo la tan conocida capacidad de adaptación de la cultura romana a los distintos territorios que progresivamente se incorporaban al territorio anexionado. Junto a ello, también se debe tener en cuenta que con el término "villa" designamos una amplísima y variada gama de instalaciones, que abarca desde las pequeñas instalaciones agropecuaria distribuidas por el territorio, a las grandes villas imperiales de las que el ejemplo más representativo sin duda es Villa Adriana.

En definitiva, todos estos aspectos provocan que el concepto "villa" alcance una gran complejidad, que trae consigo los consabidos –y ampliamente tratados por la investigación especializada- problemas de definición de qué es una villa romana.

En el caso de Hispania, la importante difusión de las villas romanas, así como los interesantes testimonios arqueológicos que de estas villas han llegado hasta nosotros, han provocado que constituya un fenómeno ampliamente tratado de antiguo por la investigación especializada. En ese sentido, contamos con importantes estudios de conjunto, de los que por su trascendencia en la historiografía y por su propio interés intrínseco cabe mencionar los muy conocidos de J.-G. Gorges (1979) o M.C. Fernández Castro (1982). A ellos cabe sumar una infinidad de trabajos, publicados especialmente en los últimos decenios, que sobre todo tratan aspectos o yacimientos concretos, que han provocado –y provocan- un importante cambio en el panorama actual de la investigación.

Algo similar ocurre en la Bética, donde también contamos con interesantes ejemplos de villas romanas y con un copioso compendio de estudio sobre tales establecimientos. Tras la publicación de los dos volúmenes de la obra "Las villas romanas de la Bética" en 2016, parecía que nada más se podía decir sobre dicho fenómeno. Pero no es así. Como demuestra el libro que el lector tiene entre sus manos, siempre hay algo nuevo que se puede aportar. Nuevos enfoques, nuevos planteamientos, nuevas formas en definitiva de aproximarse al mismo fenómeno, que proporcionan nuevos resultados que sin duda enriquecen el panorama de la investigación.

Junto a la arquitectura, el trabajo de Rubén Montoya se centra especialmente en el estudio de los pavimentos. En ese sentido, si el estudio de las villas cuenta, como ya se ha dicho, con una dilatada tradición, no menos se puede decir de los pavimentos ornamentales que las decoraban, especialmente en lo concerniente a los mosaicos.

No obstante, tradicionalmente los trabajos sobre los mosaicos se han centrado primordialmente en el estudio de los pavimentos en sí mismos, tratados como obras de arte y desgajados del contexto arquitectónico del que formaban parte. En ese sentido, los pavimentos decorados, especialmente en lo que se refiere a los que contaban con decoración figurada, eran objeto de estudios iconográficos, que en la mayoría de los casos apenas se ocupaban de las salas de las que formaban o habían formado parte. De hecho, muchos de estos pavimentos, especialmente los de mayor valor artístico, se extraían de su contexto y se colgaban de los paredes de los museos como si de obras pictóricas se tratase, olvidándose en muchos casos el contexto de su hallazgo. Incluso los mosaicos geométricos, mucho más sencillos en cuanto al mensaje que transmiten, pero con una complejidad importante en relación a la difusión de los motivos representados, la circulación de talleres, su cronología o incluso la complejidad de sus diseños desde el punto de vista geométrico, han sido en muchos casos tratados también por la investigación especializada, descontextualizados del ámbito arquitectónico del que procedían.

En relación a los pavimentos, el trabajo se enmarca en una nueva corriente de la investigación que promueve una renovación de los estudios sobre este tipo de elementos arqueológicos, con nuevos planteamientos epistemológicos y metodología actualizada. En ese sentido, esos pavimentos ya no se estudian como una

“obra de arte”, descontextualizados y apartados del espacio del que formaban parte, sino como elementos que se han de entender en su contexto, en el espacio y edificio del que formaban parte. Ello permite comprender otros aspectos, muy por encima de los estrictamente artísticos tratados tradicionalmente.

Consciente de los riesgos que trae consigo, de los que a menudo se ha hecho eco la investigación especializada, el autor ha intentado huir de la identificación de los espacios siguiendo tipologías que conllevan la combinación de tipos arquitectónicos y adscripciones funcionales con los términos latinos extraídos de las fuentes clásicas y utilizados tradicionalmente para designar espacios domésticos. Ello permite implementar una visión de los espacios más objetiva, en tanto que no arranca como punto de partida de la propia interpretación funcional de los espacios, al mismo tiempo que evita la confusión que puede generar la prurifuncionalidad de los espacios en la arquitectura residencial romana.

En ese sentido, es cierto que habitualmente, en los estudios de arquitectura residencial romana y, en realidad, en los estudios de arquitectura romana en general, se tiende a emplear con demasiada ligereza algunos términos latinos cuya adscripción a un espacio arquitectónico concreto conlleva muchas dudas. Junto a ello, también se debe tener en cuenta que en muchos casos eso produce que se caiga en anacronismos. Esto es, se usan términos documentados en fuentes literarias altoimperiales para designar espacios de edificios bajoimperiales, construidos varios siglos más tarde, dando por hecho que esos términos seguían utilizándose a lo largo del tiempo y con el mismo significado, aunque ello no esté demostrado. Junto a ello, la información con que contamos para adscribir una denominación/función a un espacio concreto de ninguna manera es en todos los casos igual, sino que puede cambiar mucho de unos casos a otros en función de las características específicas de cada tipo de espacio. Del mismo modo, también en algunas ocasiones existen dudas razonables del verdadero contenido de lo que designaba para un romano un determinado término. Todo ello podría en parte corregirse con una necesaria revisión a fondo de los usos de los términos latinos que designan los espacios residenciales, teniendo en cuenta el rico panorama que hoy nos ofrece la arquitectura residencial romana, con el fin de avanzar en la rigurosidad de la aplicación de dichos términos.

Sin embargo, también es cierto que en no pocas ocasiones, tanto gracias a las formas arquitectónicas como a la propias características u ornamentación de los mosaicos, la adscripción de ciertos espacios a los designados por los mencionados términos latinos, al menos en lo concerniente a su momento de construcción, no tiene ninguna duda.

Para evitar todos estos problemas, el autor ha buscado, siguiendo las líneas de investigación más actuales, objetivar la identificación/denominación de los espacios sin asignar a priori una adscripción o función predeterminada. Para ello, utilizando distintas variables tipifica un total de 11 tipos de espacios, en cuya definición se debe tener en cuenta que, como no puede ser de otra forma, están también presentes las características de los espacios domésticos tradicionalmente conocidos. Es cierto que este sistema no es nada fácil, en tanto que la subjetividad inevitable en la elección de los criterios elegidos y la ponderación de la importancia que adquieren a la hora de caracterizar los espacios pueden generar serios problemas de interpretación, lo que obliga a que sean objeto de una reflexión profunda.

A pesar de estos problemas, es importante que la metodología aplicada permite que el análisis de la funcionalidad de los edificios no sea consecuencia de una visión apriorística, sino de la rigurosa aplicación de unos criterios lo más objetivos posibles para alcanzar tal propósito.

Así pues, por ejemplo, cuando se analiza la distribución de mosaicos por estancias según los motivos representados (figurados o geométricos) y las estancias en las que aparece *opus sectile* o placas de mármol, se aprecian resultados que se pueden intuir a partir del conocimiento del fenómeno de las villas romanas, si bien, la metodología aquí aplicada permite demostrarlo con mayor rigurosidad y con un método que puede ser también muy esclarecedor en aquellos casos en los que la adscripción no es del todo clara.

El material del que se parte también es importante en este tipo de estudios. Sin duda la elección de los yacimientos que deben ser objeto de análisis en un territorio complejo, como es el caso de la Bética, no es nada fácil y necesariamente en algunos casos debe estar cargada de obligada subjetividad. La necesaria incorporación de yacimientos excavados de antiguo y otros fruto de excavaciones arqueológicas de urgencia, no siempre efectuadas con la metodología y plazos oportunos, conlleva que en algunos aspectos, en especial en lo que a la cronología se refiere, no siempre la información sea cualitativamente igual. No obstante, en la mayoría de los casos esta información no se puede corregir, por estar los yacimientos desaparecidos o los materiales arqueológicos perdidos, con lo que el autor no ha tenido más remedio que usar las cronologías asignadas a esos yacimientos, con el obligado riesgo que eso lleva consigo.

Como era de esperar, el estudio ha confirmado que las salas más destacadas tanto por los modelos arquitectónicos como por su ubicación o dimensiones son las que incorporan los mosaicos más complejos, con decoración figurada, animales, objetos o decoración arquitectónica, mientras que los decorados con motivos geométricos pavimentan espacios más sencillos. Los motivos son más complejos en las salas de representación que en el resto de las salas. Sin embargo, salvo en casos concretos, el estudio demuestra que el tipo de pavimento no puede considerarse un elemento indicativo de la función del espacio.

En otro orden de cosas, la organización de los capítulos del libro permite apreciar que el trabajo forma parte de la tesis doctoral del autor. Ello suele ser garantía, como también ocurre aquí, de que el estudio se ha llevado a cabo de manera muy concienzuda, con una larga dedicación y esfuerzo, que han llevado a buen puerto.

Encomiable es el trabajo de reelaboración de los planos del catálogo. Un trabajo arduo y a veces difícil, que aporta un importante valor añadido a la obra. Ello sin duda ha supuesto un gran esfuerzo de reinterpretación y elaboración, que como resultado proporciona un amplio compendio de planos tratados con el mismo lenguaje gráfico. De esa manera se facilita enormemente la comprensión de los aspectos temáticos incluidos por el autor en dichos planos. Junto a ello, su realización le ha ayudado a alcanzar un conocimiento profundo de todos y cada uno de los establecimientos estudiados.

En definitiva, el trabajo de Rubén Montoya viene a completar aún más los estudios exhaustivos con que contábamos hasta ahora sobre las villas romanas de la Bética, con nuevos enfoques y planteamientos que enriquecen su conocimiento y que aportan una visión novedosa del problema. Con ello, no sólo se produce una innegable progresión del conocimiento, sino que también se aportan importantes aspectos de reflexión y renovación metodológica, que marcan líneas de investigación susceptibles de ser desarrolladas en estudios ulteriores.

Prof. Dr. Rafael Hidalgo Prieto
(Universidad Pablo de Olavide)

Chapter 1

Introduction

In the late 1980s, George Hayim, a man passionate about art and architecture, decided to renovate a house in Cremorne, Sydney, pursuing a decoration style that would reflect his adventurous personality. As he embarked on this unique and audacious project, George was helped by one of his friends: Ting, a Chinese painter from Borneo he had met in Paris. Curiously, George wanted part of his house to emulate Pompeian wall paintings, as he was amazed by their vibrant red colours and impressive iconographies. To properly capture the essence of Pompeian art, he enlisted the help of Penelope M. Allison, then a young scholar in Pompeian wall painting. Allison had recently conducted a thorough study of the decorative paintings from the House of the Ancient Hunt, where she discovered, among other aspects, the chronology of the paintings due to the imprints of coins in the painted layers when they were still fresh (see Allison 1985: 19-38; Allison and Sear 2002).

George's final home decoration included painted scenes influenced by other styles, corresponding to his taste and personal decisions during the decoration process (see Allison 1991). Notable works of Pompeian paintings reproduced in his house were the famous frieze from the Villa of the Mysteries, which was displayed in the lobby; architectural motifs from room 23 from Villa A at Oplontis were painted in his personal bathroom; and figured scenes from the House of the Vettii in the main corridor (Allison 1991: 79-84). As Allison (1991: 79) later noted, such a modern decoration process provided an easy means for the identification of the artist and other people involved, their participation and interaction, as well as the sources of inspiration. In addition to some guidebooks with paintings from popular Vesuvian residences, a Pompeian scholar was in the group. This experience caused Allison to reflect on 'pattern books' and on the organization of the so-called 'workshops' identified by scholars in the study of art-historical approaches to Roman decoration (see Allison 1991; 1989).

This story makes me reflect on the ways in which globally recognised styles –Pompeian wall paintings – were adapted and combined with other elements, for a very specific local context: George Hayim's house. Furthermore, this artistic feat makes me think of the factors involved and the different levels of agency at play during the process. As noted by Allison (1991: 84, fig. 3), George even personalised some designs and included his portrait as one of the characters in his bedroom. This reminds me of one of the 6th century AD Luxorius' poems (18.12-15), in which he describes a visit to his friend Fridamal's tower house in North Africa. There, he notes the artistry and decoration of its rooms, highlighting the picture of Fridamal himself killing a wild boar. Luxurious' poem described a common practice among the late antique sociocultural elite in the Roman world, as shown by other decorative media that depict villa owners participating in hunting activities. For instance, a mid-4th century AD Hispano-Roman mosaic from the villa of El Ramalete shows a member of the household, *Dulcitius*, hunting from his horse (Blázquez 1982b: 177-182). How did other global phenomena such as the construction of villas and the display of pavements occur locally in *Hispania Baetica* – a provincial territory in the western territories of the Roman world?

Research Aim and Objectives

This book aims to investigate how the global phenomenon of the Roman villa, its architectural features, and the display of pavements occurred across a series of excavated sites in *Hispania Baetica*. Recent research on the origin and development of the Roman villa across the different territories of the Mediterranean Basin acknowledges its global dimensions (see Marzano and Métraux 2018). The vast quantity of archaeological evidence from *Hispania Baetica* (see Hidalgo 2016a) provides a unique opportunity to further investigate the ways in which such a phenomenon developed across the different territories of this province. In order to carry out such an investigation, I adopt a quantitative approach that allows me to characterise and quantify the different types of villa spaces, their architectural features and pavements across Baetican villas. By applying the glocalization framework, defined by Roudometof (2016a: 398) as 'globalization refracted through the local', I characterise how the phenomenon of the Roman villa occurred in *Hispania Baetica* in terms of architectural features and pavement display, as well as the regional and local variations of such a model. Where evidence allows, chronological variations of the model are also noted.

This book does not present a holistic study in which other types of material culture found in villa spaces are analysed, nor this book focuses on the socio-economic aspects associated with the phenomenon of the Roman villa in *Hispania Baetica* or the different economic capabilities of villa owners. Instead, the focus of this

book is a contextual study in which I purposely focus on villa pavements and their relationship with the associated architectural and spatial contexts in which they were displayed. This will be achieved through the following objectives:

- To characterise and then quantify the different types of spaces and pavements within the residential areas of these Baetican villas.
- To assess the significance of the display of the different types of pavements identified in certain types of spaces.
- To assess the relationship between the different types of pavements, the types of spaces where they were displayed, and the assumed uses of the different villa spaces, and to investigate whether a hierarchical use of pavements existed within residential areas.
- To investigate the existence of a distribution pattern in regard to the choice of different types of decoration and decorative scenes according to room type.
- To define how the phenomenon of the Roman villa occurred in the *Baetica* province in terms of architecture and pavement display, as well as identify its regional and local variations, and to investigate whether the selection of specific iconographies could have had a regional-based character.

Hispania Baetica: Geography, Economy and Territorial Organisation

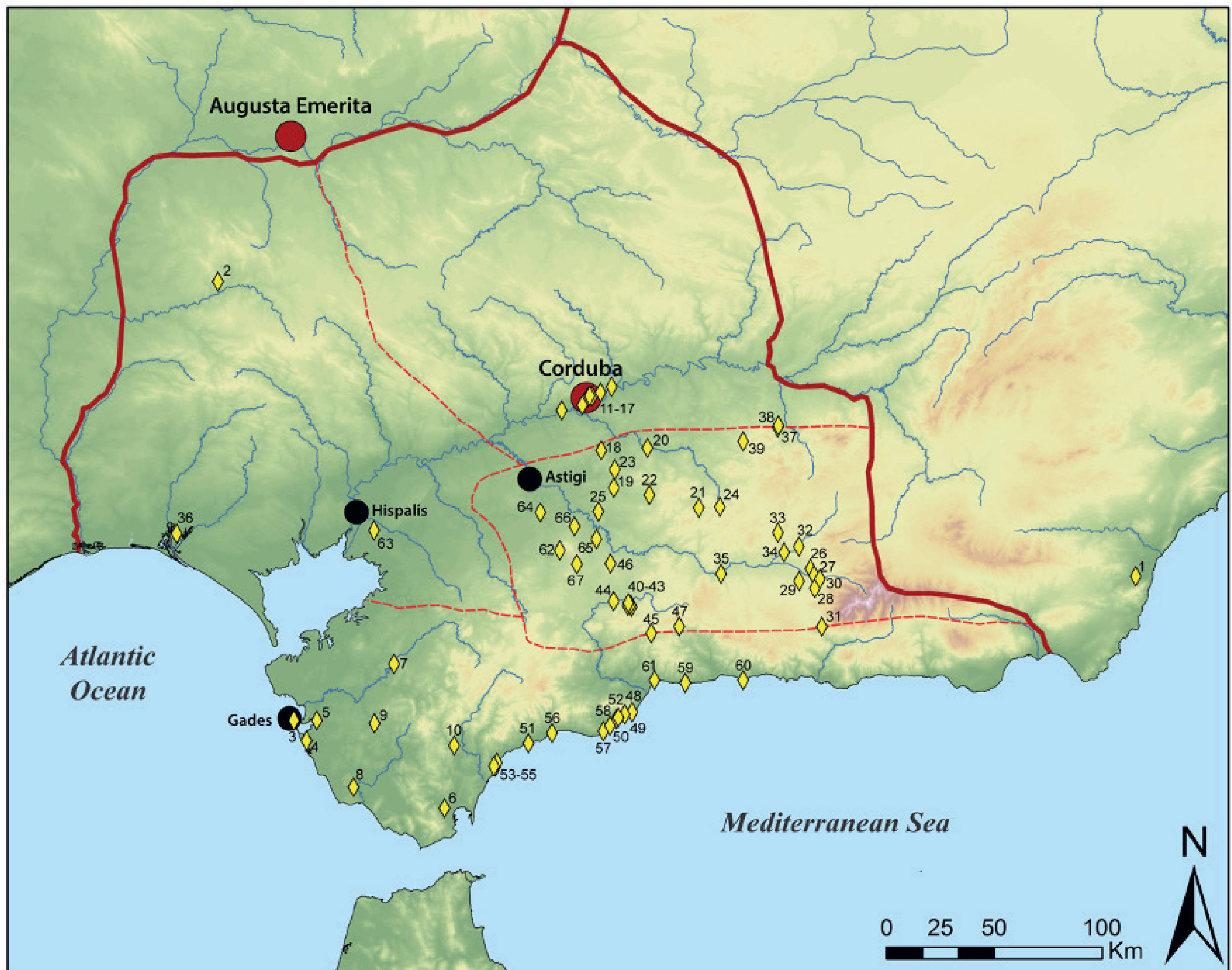
The Hispano-Roman province of *Baetica*, occupying the southern territories of the Iberian Peninsula, has traditionally been considered as having the highest concentration of Roman occupation of all Hispanic provinces (Rodríguez 2011: 132). This is largely assigned to the advanced level of urbanization achieved prior to – and in development after – the official arrival of Rome in these territories and its official configuration as *Hispania Ulterior Baetica*. The Latin term '*ulterior*' attributed to this province was only in use during the first three centuries (Rodríguez 2011: 132).

The final territorial configuration of this province took place under Augustus, circa 13 BC (Cassius Dio, 53.12; Strabo, 3.4.20; Rodríguez 2011: 132). Unlike the other two Hispanic provinces (Lusitania and *Hispania Tarraconensis*), with imperial status, *Hispania Baetica* was a senatorial province, a status granted by Augustus. Imperial status meant that a province directly depended on the emperor, while the senatorial status implied that the province was governed by the Senate (see Ozcáriz 2009, esp. 328). The capital of *Hispania Baetica* was located in *Colonia Patricia Corduba,* now Córdoba. The western boundaries of the *Baetica* province would have been marked by the Guadiana River (see España-Chamorro 2017). By the north-western territories, the limits with *Lusitania* would have passed not far away from *Augusta Emerita*, the provincial capital of the neighbouring province, and *Metellium*, another city in *Lusitania*; (see España-Chamorro 2019).

The eastern limits of the province, still debated, are considered to have passed near *Sisapo*, between *Iliturgi* and *Castulo*, following an ancient route to *Carthago Nova* towards the Magina Mountains. To the south, the limits would have passed between the Sierra Nevada mountains and *Acci* (current Guadix), towards the current region of El Ejido (Almería) (see España-Chamorro 2018; 2017, for a thorough study on the limits of *Hispania Baetica*).

The interior territories of *Hispania Baetica* were crossed, principally, by three important rivers, some of them navigable for long sections, a fact that facilitated trade and communication. The northern territories were crossed by the *Baetis* River (today known as the Guadalquivir). *Colonia Patricia Corduba*, the provincial capital and other important cities (e.g. *Hispalis*) were located along the course of that river (see Campos and Bermejo 2018). The *Anas* River (now the Guadiana) and the *Singilis* River (now the Genil) also served the provincial territories of *Hispania Baetica* were organised (Rodríguez 2011: 140). The coastal areas were separated from the Guadalquivir River and associated territories by the so-called Baetic System, a chain of mountains with associated valleys, and vast, rich agricultural production.

The diverse geographies found in this Hispano-Roman province were connected through a complex net of roads that allowed trade and communication between urban centres and rural areas and with other parts of Hispania and beyond. The most important route, formerly known as the *Heraklea* road before the arrival of the Romans, was the *Via Augusta.* This via commenced south in *Gades* and traversed the *Baetica* province parallel to the *Baetis* River through its major trajectory, connecting the main urban centres: from the provincial capital, to the conventual capitals, to other important cities). Beyond the provincial boundaries of *Hispania Baetica*, the *Via Augusta* continued until *Carthago Nova* (in *Hispania Tarraconensis*) and all the way up the coast of Levant until *Narbo Martius*. The second major route in *Hispania Baetica* was the so-called *Via de la Plata,* a road that connected *Hispalis* to the north through *Augusta Emerita*, the capital of the Lusitania province, up to *Asturica Augusta.* Apart from these two main routes, the vast and geographically diverse territory that comprised *Hispania Baetica* was connected through many other roads crossing the interior territories and delimiting the coast, connecting different urban centres



Villae Baeticae

- Villae
- Provincial capital
- Conventual capital
- Provincial boundaries
- Conventual boundaries
- Rivers

Figure 1.1. Map of *Hispania Baetica* with the provincial boundaries, conventual boundaries, conventual capitals, provincial capital, and the villas analysed in this study (Image by: Rubén Montoya and Mario Gutiérrez)

and regions (e.g. coasts of Cádiz and Málaga with the interior areas). Several secondary roads known in the province included the *via Domitiana Augusta*, which linked *Colonia Patricia Corduba* – the provincial capital – with *Antikaria* and, probably *Malaca* (see Stylow *et al.* 2004: 417-430).

The *Baetica* province was subdivided administratively into four *conventi iridici* (*Figure 1.1*), each with its own capital: (i) *conventus Cordubensis* with *Colonia Patricia Corduba* (Córdoba) as capital and the provincial capital; (ii) *conventus Hispalensis* with its capital in *Hispalis* (Sevilla); (ii) *conventus Astigitanus* with its capital in *Colonia Augusta Firma Astigi* (Écija); and (iv) *conventus Gaditanus* with its capital in *Augusta Urbs Iulia Gaditana* (Cádiz) (see España-Chamorro 2017: 269-271). España-Chamorro has stressed the subdivision of the province into these four *conventi* favoured a more efficient administration of this province with numerous urban centres and an immense network of rural properties, in which economies were inserted at an empire-wide scale with the capital – and other territories – of the Roman world. With Diocletian's administrative and territorial organisation of the provinces, *Hispania* was converted into the *Diocesis Hispaniarum*, with *Augusta Emerita* as the main capital (see Cordero 2010). There are no

precise references as to whether or not the *conventi* of *Hispania Baetica* disappeared, nor to the extension of the new dioceses. However, it has been argued that the diocese of *Baetica* would have maintained a territorial extension, with slight changes, similar to the imperial territorial organisation (Cordero 2010: 150-151; España-Chamorro 2017: 654).

The varied geography of *Hispania Baetica* and its rich natural resources facilitated diverse and specialised economies. Metals such as iron, gold, argentiferous lead and copper were extracted in this province (Rodríguez 2011: 143). These southwestern territories in the Iberian Peninsula presented different districts of mines, notably Riotinto (Seville). In addition, quarrying was a key economic activity in *Hispania Baetica*, providing materials, in the case of the marble from the quarries of Almadén de la Plata (Seville), not only for the province, but exporting to other parts of Hispania (e.g. *Segobriga*) or North Africa (e.g. *Thamusida*) (see Rodríguez 2011: 143). Limestone and marbles were extracted from other regional and local quarries, including Alconera (Extremadura), Mijas (Málaga), Cabra (Córdoba) and the so-called 'Losa de Tarifa' stone, in the Gibraltar area. With a different economic geography, the southern coasts of Málaga and Cádiz specialised in marine industries, with the fish sauce – *garum* under Rome – and associated products as one of the main exported goods, dating back as far as the 7th century BC in places such as Cerro del Villar, and progressively developed until witnessing an eclosion from the end of the 1st century BC onwards (García and Bernal 2009: 133-362). The economy of the cities and villas located in these coastal territories was principally based on these industries.

One of the best-investigated aspects of the Baetican economy regards the production and exportation of olive oil and wine. The impact of the Baetican economy in the development of villas and other rural settlements is found in the empire-wide scale of its olive oil trade, exported to much of the Empire and evidenced in vast quantities of amphorae of 2nd and 3rd century AD date in Monte Testaccio in Rome (Rodríguez 2011: 140; see also Remesal 2016: 27-38). The increasing demand and export of the Baetican oil to other territories of the Roman world in the early Empire resulted in an economic specialisation and development of pottery workshops and industries producing amphorae to contain and transport oil. The impact these industries had were initially revealed by Ponsich's surveys in the Guadalquivir valley and later on by other studies along the course of the Genil River. It is worth observing, that this extensive and specialised economic activity is evident in other territories of this province (such as Jaén and Málaga), suggesting this was core to the vitality and wealth of *Hispania Baetica.*

The numerous available resources and the existence of a rich and varied economy resulted in a landscape characterised by a high concentration of urban centres and a net of specialised, varied rural settlements. The latter, dependent upon the former, and dedicated to economic activities specific to that area, among which there were villas and their residential areas. Landowning and the economic exploitation of the Baetican resources were the most common and secure means of wealth through which the elite in this province constantly accumulated wealth and escalated the social strata (see Haley 2003: 69).

Thus, the origins and development of these rural properties were linked to the role of nearby towns and the wider socio-political and cultural development of the province from the arrival of the Romans until Late Antiquity. To note some examples, a particular concentration of rural settlements dated to the Late Iron Age and the Republic in the territories of Jaén, in the upper Guadalquivir valley, was identified by Moreno and Wheatley (2016: 53). An approximation of the evolving settlement articulation in the Guadalquivir Valley was first mapped and offered by Ponisch's (1974; 1979; 1984; 1991) field surveys. Pottery workshops associated with the production and export of oil were found near rivers, such as those of Las Delicias, Malpita and La Catría in Seville. Romero's (2011) field surveys and excavations revealed the layouts of different types of rural settlements in the regions of *Antikaria* and *Singilia Barba* (Málaga).

Apart from being related to urban centres, as recently demonstrated by Moreno and Wheatley (2016: 57), Baetican villas and other rural settlements found were systematically located close to rivers and roads, to ensure access to resources and communication. Durán *et al.* (1990: 124-125) noted that during the 1st century AD, the rural settlements along the Genil river augmented their extension and passed into the hands of fewer, but wealthier landowners. This change was also evidenced in the use of more solid building materials in the structures found there. The appearance of villas and rural settlements from this date in the Genil and the Guadalquivir rivers was linked to the increasing demand for oil export from Rome, as noted by Haley (2003), but also, from the Flavian period onwards to the emperor Vespasian's grant of the Latin rights of citizenship to the whole *Hispania* (Edmondson 2006: 567). Although constantly linked to the wider socioeconomic and political context of urban centres, at the end of the 2nd century AD there was another concentration of properties in fewer – this time also imperial – hands after the confiscation by Severus of properties belonging to Clodius Albinus' supporters (Haley 2003: 185). Archaeology has shown how beyond the empire-wide phenomena and trade (especially the

oil export) in which the *Baetica* province was involved, the production of wine and oil remained active – albeit in the case of the Guadalquivir valley at a more regional, local scale – beyond the mid-3rd century AD, when the axis of oil trade moved towards North Africa and Egypt. These economic activities remained active at a somewhat smaller scale. The production of Dressel 23 amphorae was evidenced in different parts of the *Baetica* provinces, e.g. the lower Genil river (Bourgeon 2017: 517-529), and remains of this ceramic type were found as reused building material in Rome in the 4th century AD, or in Tarragona in the 5th century AD (Remesal 1991: 359). It is worth mentioning, as noted by Rodríguez (2011: 145), that these economic activities would be complemented by other industries – located in the suburbs of cities and in other rural settlements –, such as the *figlinae* dedicated to the production and supply of building and ceramic materials (see Bernal and Lagóstena 2004, for a complete study of these industries in *Hispania Baetica*).

The Baetican group of villa owners was composed of a diverse sociocultural elite who will have held different economic levels and career aspirations.[1] These owners, in many cases identified as active agents in the dynamics of the nearby urban centres, are named in the epigraphic remains found (see examples presented in Haley 2003; see also Melchor 1993-1994: 335-348). Several uncontextualized inscriptions confirm that the patrons and commissioners of public buildings in Baetican cities were indeed the owners of vast rural properties, with villas and other rural settlements specialised in certain economic activities. Melchor (1993-1994: 337-338) revealed how some of these benefactors were buried in their rural villas or properties, where commemorative funerary inscriptions dedicated by the local *ordi* were found, such as: *M. Caecilius Verus* from *Oningi* (see Luzón 1968: 150); *[---] Maxumus* from *Segida Augurina* (see Stylow 1988: 136-138); or the example of the duumvir and priest *Lucius Postumius Superstes*, from *Colonia Patricia Corduba* (Moreno 1988: 349-352). The wealth of some families surely came from the production, packing and trade of oil, such as the *Fulvii* family from Arva (Alcolea del Río, Sevilla) (Remesal 2016: 32-33). Others such as Sextus Marius based his wealth in the ownership of mines of copper and gold (Tacitus, *Ann.* 6.19; see also Rodríuez 2011: 143). The many identities of wealthy Baetican people known through epigraphy – these latter texts sadly lacking associated contexts – (see e.g. Haley 2003) contrast with the absence of epigraphic remains from the actual villas analysed in this study, with one exception: at the villa of Bobadilla (for which no architectural contexts have been preserved) was recovered a herm dedicated by the libertus Arveronus to Gaius Sempronius Pulverinus.

It is outside the scope of this study to carry out an exhaustive analysis of the development of villas and other rural settlements in relation to the landscape in which they were located. However, the residential areas here presented must be understood as one of the many elements composing these diverse landscapes. This study concentrates on examining villa pavements in relation to the architectural contexts of their display, both aspects being materializations of the different levels of wealth of a group Baetican owners, part of an active socioeconomic, political and cultural elite in a Roman province characterised by an unusual concentration of colonies, municipalities, villas and rural settlements.

Contextualising the Study of Villas and Mosaics in *Hispania* and in the *Baetica* province

Early interest in Hispano-Roman villa remains and associated décor dates to the 18th century, within the cultural context of the Enlightenment in Spain. The discovery, study, and remarkable publication of the villa of Rielves (Toledo) during the reign of Charles the III of Spain, between 1759-1788 are considered the origin of approaches to studying Hispano-Roman villas. In *Hispania Baetica*, remains of the villa of Faro de Torrox (Ma-Tor) were described in 1773 by a local priest as part of a provincial questionnaire, who noted remains of sculpted sarcophagi, coins, and houses found in the vicinity (Rodríguez-Oliva 1979: 39-42).

Discoveries of the Roman past of the Iberian Peninsula made by farmers and erudite people with an interest in Antiquity piqued the interest and fascination of foreign travellers. As for *Hispania Baetica*, during his visit to the coast of Málaga, the French traveller F. Carter (1777) described remains of what he suggested to be ancient *Salduba*; such remains were the villa of Río Verde (Ma-Ver) (see Carrillo 1993: 235; see also Posac 1972). Years later, the British traveller J. Townsend visited the coast of Benalmádena and described 'two Roman baths, joined by a mosaic pavement… the lesser furnished with a stove, and both readily supplied with water, either from the sea, or from the rivulet' (1791: 38-39). The discovery of a villa and its associated bath complex in the location he describes led scholars to identify the remains of Benalroma (Ma-Ben) with the complex described by Townsend (Rodríguez-Oliva and Beltrán 2016a: 483-489; 2016b: 490-497).

These approaches were characterised by the application of contemporary aesthetic judgments to the

[1] It is not my aim here to present an exhaustive picture of the Baetican sociocultural elite. For a general overview from Caesar to Septimius Severus, see: Haley 2003. An impressive study of the elites of Western Iberia between the 4th century and the 7th century AD was recently presented by Fernández (2018); see also Chavarría 2007a: 41-50.

archaeological evidence (Carrillo 1993: 234-237; Bermejo 2007a: 41-42; see also Scott 2006). That is, excavations were based on the discovery of mosaics, sculptures, and other precious materials which were understood as works of artistic significance and transferred to private collections. Associated architectural spaces were generally not recorded, nor conserved, and only mosaics were drawn and published (Carrillo 1993: 234-237). In *Hispania Baetica*, this is exemplified, for example, by two mosaics discovered in 1868 in the place where the villa of Fuente Álamo would be later on rediscovered and excavated (Neira 2018: 165-172). Another example is that of the villa of Bobadilla (Ma-Bob), discovered in 1891, with mosaics and other finds taken on to private collections and structures being lots and not recorded (Romero and Vargas 2017: 119-138; Montoya 2021: 101-102). In many cases, illustrative evidence is the only testimony for the study of these villas, since drawings made in these centuries showed mosaics or sculptures within architectural contexts (Scott 1993: 105). A notable example in *Hispania Baetica* is the villa of Daragoleja (Gra-Dar), discovered and excavated in 1870 by Oliver and Gómez (1870).

Investigations of Hispano-Roman Villas and Associated Contexts

Studies of Baetican rural and suburban villas – as well as of Hispano-Roman domestic spaces in general – have been characterised, until the last decade, by a centre-peripheral approach. That is, Romano-Italian evidence has usually been taken as the lens through which Hispano-Roman *domus* and villas have been interpreted. Although the provincial and local character of archaeological evidence has been mentioned, there is much scope for further investigations. In *Hispania Baetica*, and between rural and urban contexts, substantial differences are detectable. For instance, the architectural analysis combined with the study of written sources generally predominates over social approaches to urban households and domestic spaces, whereas much more work on the social, economic, and cultural role of villas has been done in recent decades with regard to the Hispano-Roman evidence.

Within the Iberian Peninsula, an unbalanced perspective has traditionally characterised approaches to urban and rural villas. Firstly, attention has focused on specific regions. For instance, until the 2010s, despite the rich evidence, a holistic study of villas from the *Baetica* province was virtually absent – excepting a few well-excavated villas such as El Ruedo (Co-Rue) – in national congresses and publications (Hidalgo *et al.* 2013-2014: 7-10; see also Carrillo 1993: 240). Only four years ago the first monograph studying the phenomenon of villas in the *Baetica* province covering a wide range of themes and aspects of this phenomenon was published (Hidalgo 2016a; for a detailed analysis of the progression of approaches in *Hispania Baetica*, see Carrillo 1993; Hidalgo *et al.* 2013-2014).

Although in 1950 attempts to scientifically study villas had already begun in Spain (Taracena, 1944), excavations carried out in previous years did not record stratigraphy or were not published in detail (e.g. villa *Fortunatus* in Fraga, Huesca [Serra-Ràfols 1943: 1-48]). The second half of the 20th century witnessed an increasing interest in Hispano-Roman villas and rural settlements due to discoveries made as a result of the mechanization of agriculture and rural development. This led to the publication of some works cataloguing villas (e.g. Atrián *et al.* 1980; Domínguez *et al.* 1983) and studies of rural settlements in different regions of the Iberian Peninsula (e.g. Catalonia [Ribas 1952; Taradell 1968: 164-169]; Levant [Balil 1964: 217-228]; Castilian plateau [Palol 1977: 297-308]; and the Ebro Valley [Pita 1959: 229-248; 1967: 157-177]). In general, the understanding of rural settlements in Hispania remained restricted due to the fragmented, limited, and non-rigorous methodologies applied to the archaeological evidence, rarely considering associated architectural information (Prevosti 1984: 162-163).

The last third of the 20th century witnessed a double specialization in villa and rural settlement studies from *Hispania Baetica*: (i) studies on the different types and parts of rural settlements and their layout at a regional level; and (ii) holistic studies or catalogues with individual examples, investigating different thematic aspects of villas. Although these two trends are presented below, I shall note that in many studies they appear intertwined. Such integrated approaches can be seen as a response to scholars' arguments for a more exhaustive investigation of Hispano-Roman villas and associated contextas (Carrillo 1993: 239; Chavarría 2007a: 34).

From regional studies on villas and rural settlements' layout to landscapes of change and continuity

The modern mechanization of agricultural works and the spread of urban sites experienced in the Iberian Peninsula in the 1980s led to a notable increase in archaeological excavations, regulations to protect archaeological sites, and a more accurate methodology. In the case of Andalucía, the modern Spanish territorial demarcation that covers the majority of the ancient *Baetica* province, archaeological activities were legally regulated in 1984 (Carrillo 1993: 244). The growing body of data and archaeological evidence gave rise to the debate on the Roman villa, its definition and identification, as well as the organisation of the different types of rural settlements at a regional level (e.g. villas, farmsteads, villages, towns, etc.) – these

all topics of ongoing research (e.g. Hidalgo 2019: 497). However, data had already started to grow in the 1970s with Ponsich's archaeological surveys and studies of settlements along the Guadalquivir Valley constituted the starting point of a continuous body of publications surveying the *Baetica* province (1974; 1979; 1987; 1991).

Due to the regular damage or destruction of sites by rural/urban developments, Ponsich's work constitutes an invaluable record of the valley, upon which substantial scholarship has been built (see, for example, Mattingly 1988). Ponsich's methodologies originated the development of regional surveys and other studies in different parts of the *Baetica* province (e.g. that of Fuentes de Andalucía [Fernández 1992: 184], or Antequera [Atencia 1986]). The last two decades resulted in new surveys of regions previously not researched, or the review and update of previous studies. Data from these surveys has also been used to investigate the wider socio-economic contexts of these settlements in *Hispania Baetica*. An example of this is represented by Haley's (2003) work, which combined this survey data to portray an overview of the socio-economic aspects of the Baetica. Although it does not fall within the scope of this work, I should briefly mention regional and spatial analyses of settlements not only during the Roman period, but also in the transition towards from the Pre-Roman to the Roman occupation and from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages. These works have allowed further research on changes in habitation patterns and landscape occupation that are strickly related to villas (see e.g. Keay 1992; Christie and Loseby 1996; Christie 2004; Diarte-Blasco 2016; 2017; Diarte-Blasco and Christe 2018).

On villa complexes, associated spaces and architecture

The last third of the 20th century was characterised by approaches that investigated either specific material remains of Hispano-Roman villas or individual, well-excavated villas. The basis upon which the last four decades of scholarship has been shaped in Hispania is represented by Gorges' (1979) and Fernández-Castro's (1982) works on villas – now considered as overcome in methodological terms. In Gorges' work, the historical development of villas and associated physical environments were studied methodologically, but chronological data appear less clear due to Gorges' reliance on primary literature and field surveys. Fernandez-Castro's (1982) work, instead, focused on the architectural and decorative aspects of excavated villas (Teichner 2018: 237). Both works proposed different typological classifications for the spatial organization of villas based on the partial villa plans conserved. In recent decades, emphasis has been placed on the monumental and social representation aspects of villa architecture, further investigating the introduction of architectural concepts and their diversity in *Hispania* as part of domestic trends (see Teichner 2018; Ripoll 2018; Mar and Verde 2008; Chavarría 2005: 535; 2006a: 22; Bowes 2010)

In general, a traditional trend appears to be dominant nowadays in approaches to the function of spaces of Hispano-Roman villas. Although in some studies a predominant spatial function is implicit (see e.g. Hidalgo 2016b), only Bermejo's work on household archaeology has investigated the different functionalities played in and activities carried out in different villa spaces, therefore moving the discourse forward towards a more multifunctional understanding of certain villa spaces (2014b; 2014-2015: 154; 2019: 239-278). Regarding functional changes, in the last two decades, some studies on Hispano-Roman villas have focused on investigating the different functional changes observed in villa buildings and their spaces from the 3rd century AD onwards. Traditionally, such changes were interpreted in relation to urban changes and the development of Roman houses as a place where the public role played by owners acquired more relevance (Arce *et al.* 2007: 303-336; see also Ellis 2007: 4). Chavarría's investigations are worth noting regarding the functionality of villa spaces. She identified the existence (uniquely or combined) of productive/habitational/funerary and cultic reuse of residential spaces from the 3rd century AD onwards, associated with a phenomenon consisting of the concentration of the rural properties in the hands of a smaller group of landowners (Chavarría, 2004: 67-102, esp. 87; 2005: 76-102; 2006a: 25-35; 2006b: 27; 2007a). Her work opened a new avenue of research in Hispano-Roman villas toward a more dynamic conception of the functionalities and occupations of Hispano-Roman villas.

In this context, I wish to highlight several edited volumes focused on different aspects associated with the phenomenon of Hispano-Roman villas in Late Antiquity contributing to scholarship in the quantity of data they provide and the up-to-date quality of the contributions they contain. First, Chavarría, Arce and Brogiolo edited a magisterial work that contained studies analysing changes in villas in Late Antiquity (see Chavarría *et al.* 2006) at different scales (e.g. local, regional). With a special focus on villa architecture and its functionality, other scholars further researched such changes in Fernández-Ochoa and García-Entero's (2008) edited volume. Recently, other studies have covered the regional gaps evidenced in the rest of the Iberian Peninsula, such as: the territory of Tarraco (Remolà 2006); region of Madrid (García-Entero *et al.* 2017); or the south-eastern territories of the Iberian Peninsula (Noguera 2019). Within this growing body of studies, the most recent and complete work on villas from *Hispania Baetica* published to date, edited by Hidalgo (2016a),

presents the first, most complete, and updated set of information, in some cases previously unpublished, upon I build this study.

The types of studies on the phenomenon of the Roman villa in Hispania – and particularly in the province of *Baetica* – have been presented as part of an empire-wide phenomenon, but these studies have not theoretically addressed in detail the extent to which the provincial character of evidence can be investigated. The global aspects of the phenomenon of the Roman villa in the Mediterranean basin were recently stressed in the different studies composing Marzano and Métraux's (2018a) edited work, within which Teichner (2018) and Ripoll (2018) provided an updated overview of how this phenomenon occurred in the Iberian Peninsula across time. The types of approaches presented above are of key importance in this study because of the quantity of data and information they provide. Indeed, these studies show that a quantitative approach to villas – and, as I will demonstrate throughout this book, to pavements – from the Iberian Peninsula constitutes a potential avenue of research.

Investigations of Hispano-Roman Mosaics

The origin and development of a systematic approach to the study of Hispano-Roman mosaics took place during the second half of the 20th century (Marín 2016a: 9). Initial studies focused: (i) on specific aspects (e.g. Palol [1961] on sepulchral mosaics from Spain; Balil [1962] on circus mosaics from Barcelona and Gerona); or (ii) on the regional distribution of mosaics and mosaic 'schools' (e.g. Balil [1965] on the *Conuentus Tarraconensis*). First attempts to create a *corpus* of mosaics from specific sites were carried out at the beginning of the 1970s by García y Bellido with his work on Córdoba, Cártama and Itálica (1970; 1971a; 1971b). However, it was with Blanco when an official corpus of Spanish mosaics, the *Corpus de Mosaicos Romanos de España*[2] was initiated at a national level, with a first issue on the mosaics from Mérida (*CMRE* I; see also: Montoya 2019). In 42 years, fourteen issues have been published covering only some Spanish provinces (see e.g. *CMRE* III and IV). Since the publication of the first volume of the *CMRE,* numerous scholars have separately published regional studies or individual ones, presenting new discoveries and interpretations as part of the *CMRE* or in separate studies. The result is a copious amount of catalogues and studies principally characterised by iconographic descriptions that have covered many parts of the Spanish national territory (see e.g. Ramallo 1984; 1985; Álvarez 1990a; Fernández-Galiano 1984b; 1987; Regueras and Pérez 1998; Torres 1990).

Although *sectilia* pavements were initially included in the publications of the *CMRE,* the investigation of these pavements has been carried out in separate publications different to the *CMRE* by marble specialists: thus, another specialization in scholarship was created. In addition, Gómez Pallarés' (1997) catalogue and analysis of Hispano-Roman mosaics with inscriptions are worth noting. In general, a strong bias on figured mosaics is evident among studies carried out in the Iberian Peninsula, with approaches principally related to the initial aesthetic interest of early studies. Because of this, Vargas' (2009; 2011; 2014; 2016a) studies on the geometric mosaics from Écija and the *conventus Astigitanus* must be highlighted, as they open a new area of research within the field, as they unveil the regional or local occurrence of the layout of designs and the use of specific motifs (see Montoya 2017).

The copious amount of data collected and collated into different works from the second half of the 20th century allowed scholars to establish decorative typologies in which villa mosaics and other types of pavements – usually found in the same villa – were not studied in relation to each other. Thus, the fragmented nature of approaches to Hispano-Roman mosaics has led to different sub-specialisations: (i) the investigation of teams of decorators and craftsmen and (ii) the sociocultural meaning of iconographies. These fragmented approaches have made it difficult to carry out a systematic analysis of the types of pavements in relation to the architectural contexts in which they were displayed.

Decorators' teams and craftspeople

The study of decorators' teams and craftspeople continues to be a focus among scholars investigating Hispano-Roman mosaics, who focus on the identification of patterns in motifs and schemes to further investigate: (i) the definition and identification of groups of decorator teams; (ii) the socio-economic status of craftspeople; (iii) the regional influence – and movement – of groups of craftspeople; and (iv) the different aspects involved in the production, creation, and display of mosaic pavements (see Kristiensen and Poulsen 2012; for *Hispania*, see Bustamante and Bernal 2014).

In recent decades, the risks of using the modern term 'workshop' and applying this term to ancient evidence due to the bias it implies have been highlighted by some scholars principally in mosaic and painting studies (see e.g. Allison 1991; 1995; Guardia 1992: 431; Mañas 2010: 120, n. 681; Scott 2000: 7). However, in continuing to identify such teams and craftspeople, some scholars have disregarded these risks and have continued applying the concept of 'taller' (the Spanish word for

[2] *CMRE* from this point onwards.

'workshop') (see e.g. Vargas and López 2014; Vargas 2016a; for a critique, see Montoya 2017: 129). It is widely accepted among Spanish scholars that there existed an initial phase of Italic influences in the Hispano-Roman mosaics, perhaps with the presence of Italic craftspeople in Hispania, after which different local groups of craftspeople emerged and the incorporated models were adapted (Mañas 2010; 2011; 2013: 358-360; Vargas ad López 2014). Vargas and López's (2014) study on craftspeople in *Hispania Baetica* recently presented a shift from an initial diffusionist or centre-periphery approach towards a diversified one, paying more attention to regional and local contexts. Scholars have also identified different decorators' teams.

Initially, Mañas (2010; 2011) iconographic and stylistic studies identified three teams of decorators in Itálica and suggested the existence of a 'school of Guadalquivir'. Subsequently, Vargas and López's (2014: 135) iconographic and stylistic analyses challenged Mañas' argument arguing that such a general school did not exist, proposing instead the existence of different teams in urban centres such as Itálica, Córdoba, and Écija and their spread into adjacent territories. To date, Baetican villa mosaics containing inscriptions referring to the name of mosaicists and decorator teams have not been identified. The identification of such teams is only possible through the stylistic analysis of similarities in designs and schemes. In addition, how *tesserae* were laid can serve to identify different groups of craftspeople or individuals within a team in the same or in different villa(s) (see Vargas 2016a: 294-304; Marín 2016a: 124, 128). Of particular relevance to this study is that such studies have emphasised the local character of some mosaics and the local supply of materials from pottery workshops (see Marín and Dorado 2014: 227-234; Marín 2016a: 396-399; 2016b; Vargas, 2016a: 304). Although in this book I do not investigate any aspect associated with the production and manufacture of mosaics, nor the local provenance of their materials, further notes on the local and regional display of certain pavements are provided.

Subject-matter and wider social, economic, and cultural contexts

Decoding the social meaning of iconographies and motifs has been at the core of scholarship on Hispano-Roman mosaics since the last third of the 20th century. In general, studies have used a selection of examples, and not a systematic investigation of a complete sample, to draw some conclusions. This is exemplified by López's (2002: 251-258) study of local elites from Southern Spain and Northern Africa, where she associated some images represented with the economic activities and industrial production locally evidenced. Similarly, Neira selectively investigated (i) epigraphy within mosaics, (ii) some figurative scenes interpreted as portraits of the commitments, (iii) mythological representations and (iv) specific iconographies, to understand them not only as means of diffusion and transmission of specific ideas, but also as reflecting the *dominus*'s sphere (Neira 2003-2004: 92-99; 2007: 270-286; 2009: 17-48). Specific thematic volumes and studies on mythological representations (Neira 2010a), religious/social aspects (Neira 2014a; Bermejo 2011), and naked bodies (Neira 2014b) have been published in the last decade; images analysed have been understood as meaningful components of a complex communication process. However, these studies have been based on continuous comparisons with other examples from other territories in the Roman world, emphasising the global character of a visual koine and the Roman elite, and disregarding the local, regional, and provincial character of iconographies.

Traditionally, figured scenes have been understood as a hierarchical and vertical means of self-representation through which the elite transmitted its power and status to dependants (e.g. Marín 2013: 1033-1038) and as a symmetrical way to assert integration within the cultural elite These interpretations, for the case of the boom of villas from mid-3rd century AD and the development of architectural monumentality, stem from the wider discourse on changes experienced in relation to urban centres. As a result of such changes, scholars have argued that the public role of civic areas moved on to villa representational spaces (Wallace-Hadrill 1994: 17; Hales 2003: 127-128; Scott 1997: 54, 191; Scheibelreiter-Gail 2012: 138). In general, the display of Hispano-Roman mosaics has been understood as a 'status symbol' (Smith 1969), as 'prestige' (Dark and Dark 1997: 43), or as a carrier of Romanization and Romanness (Millet 1990: 113; Caetano 2007: 62; Marín 2013: 1034-1035; Neira 2009). In doing so, more attention has been paid to the global aspects shared by mosaics than to the local, regional and provincial significance their display had.

Four works reflect the focus on the wider sociocultural contexts of iconographic displays of mosaics. Guardia (1992) initially took a noteworthy step, with a detailed iconographic study of late antique mosaics from *Hispania* that threw new interpretations on the socioeconomic and cultural contexts of their production. Two years later, Morand's (1994) study on ideology, culture, and spirituality investigated different aspects of patrons from Hispania through the study of over 130 figured mosaics. With a similar approach, Lancha's (1997) work researched the sociocultural elite in the Western provinces of the Roman world, including some examples from Hispania and Baetican villas (see also Lancha 2003: 197-214). More recently, the Baetican visual tessellated repertoire was magisterially approached highlighting

the social, cultural, and economic significance of their iconographies (see López 2010a: 62-66; 2010b: 67-93; 2010c: 120-143; 2010d: 162-185; 2010e: 187-189; Neria 2010b: 94-119; 2010c: 144-161). Although these studies, part of a more complete work consisting on different volumes on the art and architecture from *Hispania Baetica* (León 2010), provide a complete assessment of the visual repertoire of themes chosen by Baetican owners in their residences, evidence was only analysed from an art-historical perspective. In general, these previous approaches interpreted images through the lens of the myth – the so-called philological approach by Ling (2001: 328) – or decoded the symbols and images in mosaics from a political, allegorical, or philosophical perspective (Ling 2001: 328). Only recently, these traditional interpretations were challenged in the context of the Iberian Peninsula through the application of theoretical concepts to further unveil social contexts (e.g. Bermejo 2014a), such as the gender study of mosaics from *Hispania* carried out by Elkerton (2019).

Investigations of Hispano-Roman Mosaics in Context

The influence of post-processual archaeological theories, especially in connection with domestic spaces (e.g. Samson 1990; Hiller and Hanson 1983), has encouraged scholars to analyse mosaics and other decorative media within the contexts where they were displayed (see e.g. Scott 2003: 4; 2000; 2004; 2006; Dunbabin 1999: 304-305; Swift 2009). Because of their contributions to the study of Hispano-Roman mosaics in contexts, the two scholars' works deserve further attention. First, Mañas' (2007-2008) study on the role played by mosaics in the construction of domestic space is worth noting. Her contextual studies also tackled the private/public debate and identified 'residential' areas within buildings; patron's personal choices in domestic decorative programs, or patterns of display of mosaics across domestic spaces (Mañas 2007-2008: 95, n. 28, 109; 2010). As for Bermejo (2007b: 170), he stressed the importance of associated architectural contexts to better understand the individualism inherent in decorated spaces, acknowledging the diverse functionalities of spaces or even applying syntax theory to identify representational areas (Bermejo 2007b: 134).

For *Hispania Baetica*, San Nicolás' (1994: 1289-1304) observations on the relationships between mosaics and space at the villa of Fuente Álamo (Co-Fue) are relevant to further understand the role of these images in the context of the spaces where they were displayed. A more detailed work is that of Muth (1998) on the mosaics from Spain and North Africa, through which the author investigated what it meant to the person who commissioned the mosaics and who experienced them differentiating between more public and private areas. Studies of this king were followed in the Iberian Peninsula by Peñalver (2018b) in domestic spaces from the Valencia region, Marín (2016a) for villas in the territory of Granada, and Limão (2015a; 2015b) in domestic spaces from Lusitania. This study builds on these studies and assesses villa mosaics and other types of pavements in relation to the spaces and associated architectural features in which they were displayed, an aspect not investigated in a systematic way in *Hispania Baetica*.

Contextual approaches have led scholars to further investigate aspects of functionality and to carry out quantitative approaches to assess mosaic display across domestic spaces or associated aspects. These studies fall within a trend among scholars assessing Roman art in context. Because of the relevance in the type of approach, I adopt in this study, I further comment on these works – and appraise them critically – when assessing Baetican evidence in Chapter 5.

Hispano-Roman Mosaics as Provincial Art

The art-historical approach that has traditionally characterised studies on mosaics from the Iberian Peninsula was anchored in a Romano-centric understanding of provincial evidence as a mere copy. At the core of this reasoning was the perspective of Roman provincial art as lacking in taste (Scott 2003: 1; Stewart 2010: 3) compared with the high-quality examples from the centre of the Roman world. In *Hispania*, these studies on mosaics have attributed the quality of certain designs to the hands of foreign influences or even acknowledged the presence of foreign teams and skilled craftspeople in the Iberian Peninsula.

In recent decades, there has been a shift in the discourse towards acknowledging the more complex character of evidence resulting from cultural contact and change. Theoretical studies of provincial art made by Anglo-American scholars have contributed substantially to such a shift. Here, Millett's (1990) emphasis on choices in artistic expressions in the contact between Romans and indigenous constituted a starting point to further investigating the art from the Roman provinces in their own contexts, and not through the lens of 'Roman' or 'Italic' examples. Subsequently, Henig (1995) highlighted the unique features of Romano-British art.

For the Iberian Peninsula, Álvarez (1997) critiqued the view of the dependence of Hispano-Roman mosaics on foreign artistic (e.g. stylistic, iconograhic, etc.) influences, especially African ones. As noted by Fernández-Galiano (1984a: 111-120), such associations with foreign examples and influences obscured the singular character of Hispano-Roman mosaics. Álvarez (1997: 50) argued for moving the discourse towards

acknowledging the existence of 'mutual relationships, of an interdependency of a common archetype in (...) iconographic models' (Álvarez 1997: 50). Since Álvarez's (1997) article, there has been a growth in the number of publications analysing provincial art in the Roman world in its own local and regional context(s) (see e.g. Scott and Webster 2000; Vaquerizo and Murillo 2006; Alcock *et al.* 2o16). Regarding Baetican mosaics, López (2006: 271-292) identified some provincial particularities in the Baetican visual repertoire, such as stylistic differences in the representation of centaurs, instead of felines, leading the chariot in mosaics depicting the Triumph of Bacchus.

These studies have tried to unveil particular characteristics by identifying aspects of material evidence differing from what could be understood as 'Roman'. In this regard, the concepts of local or provincial have been used to describe a distinctive aspect of the material culture analysed in the Roman provinces. This study ultimately builds on the concepts of the local, regional, provincial, and empire-wide – or global – context(s) highlighted by these studies. More than concepts regarding stylistic or material aspects marking the difference between 'Roman' and 'non-Roman' or 'provincial', my concepts concern the diverse geographical scales within an empire-wide reality, where beyond shared seemingly similarities, differences occurred. These concepts will be first introduced theoretically in the next chapter, to be, applied to material evidence at the end of this book.

Data Collection, Collation, and Analytical Methods

Selection and Collection of the Dataset

There is no single or unique definition of the word 'villa', as the term has multiple meanings and has been used differently depending on the authors and the type of building to which they refer, from antiquity to the present (Rothe 2018: 42; Hidalgo 2016b: 20-23). Among the three types of definitions of the term villa established by Rothe (2018), economic, morphological and topographic, the one adopted in this study is morphological. My definition of 'villa' comprises any residential unit organised around a main, central distribution space, located in suburban, rural, or coastal contexts, and presenting at least three of the following features associated by Mattingly (2006: 370) with Roman influence: 'the use of stone/brick tile, rectilinear plan, tessellated pavements or mosaics, and bath facilities'. By focusing exclusively on the residential areas, I do not tackle the debate on the identification of other parts and on the different Latin terms attributed to settlements according to their size and nature of evidence, evidence that in *Hispania Baetica* is always partial due to the nature of excavations

My dataset comprises villas presenting the characteristics outlined above. I have collected data mainly from published and archival sources on buildings from *Hispania Baetica*, I principally focus on decorative and other types of pavements for which there is information on their associated architectural contexts. I have excluded suburban, rural and maritime villas where only painted or sculptural decorative evidence was referenced, with no more information about their contexts of display. The reason behind this is the focus of this study, for which the associated architectural contexts are needed.

The time frame covered by this study goes from the 2nd century AD to the 4th century AD. However, in order to obtain a wider contextualisation and assess the diachrony of the phenomenon of the Roman villa in this province, I have included villas with a wider chronology. The earliest date proposed for the construction of some of the villas collated in this study is the 1st century BC: Cuarteles de Varela (Ca-Val)[3] and Gallineras (Ca-Gal). The latest date proposed for their construction is the end of the 4th century AD. The villa of Las Mezquitillas (Se-Mez), which has three apses in the main representational room, could have developed during the 4th century AD. This suggestion is based on the comparable development of similar rooms with three apses in other complexes from *Hispania Baetica* (e.g. Cercadilla [see Hidalgo 2011-2012: 655-670]). Many of the excavations carried out in villas confirm phases of occupation dated in the 5th century AD (e.g. Salar [Gra-Sal] or Fuente Álamo [Co-Fue]).

Sources consulted

The main published sources I used to collect data for this study were Hidalgo's (2016a) edited work *Las Villas Romanas de la Bética* (*VRB,* volumes I-II) and the *Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía* (*AAA*). The special issue no. 12-13 of the journal *Romvla* (2013-2014) was also relevant to this research project since it presented novel data prior to the publication of the *VRB.*

The *VRB* (Hidalgo 2016a) documents and thematically investigates Baetican villas from suburban, rural and maritime/coastal contexts from the Late Republic to Late Antiquity; that is, the different studies cover different aspects such as the industrial character, the residential character, the economic role of villas, etc. While the first volume presents a compilation of thematic papers, the second one consists of a catalogue with a selection of 104 'villas' and rural settlements. A noteworthy aspect of this catalogue is its thorough

[3] In this study, every mention made of a villa included in my Gazetteer is followed with a villa code between parentheses or brackets that indicates the code the villa has in the Gazetteer.

presentation of the better-excavated villas from *Hispania Baetica* with better associated architectural contexts and the quantity of previously unpublished information it provides. This work constitutes the most up-to-date catalogue with information on Baetican villas; in some cases, the catalogue entries include data previously unpublished and only accessible by consulting the original excavation reports held in the cultural sections of the provincial government's offices.

Among the main sources of information were also some of the volumes from the *Corpus de Mosaicos Romanos de España* (*CMRE*), containing data from the *Baetica* province. In this regard, although the *CMRE* served sometimes to provide specific details, not included in the *VRB*, the latter work and the *AAA* served to contrast the dates attributed to mosaics in the *CMRE*, usually based on stylistic analyses. Additionally, I consulted the work *Diseños Geométricos de los Mosaicos del Conventus Astigitanus* (*DGMCA*) (Vargas 2016a), since it contained a catalogue with geometric villa mosaics that fell within one of the *conuentus* forming *Hispania Baetica*. For a specific region, I used data from Marín's (2016a) Ph.D. dissertation, which contained catalogue on villa mosaics and paintings from the territory of Granada. Finally, I consulted specific publications from the periodicals *Noticiario Arqueológico Hispánico* (*NHA*) and *Congreso Nacional de Arqueología* (*CNA*), where the initial excavations of some of the discoveries of mosaics and villas were published.

The *AAA*, issued from 1985 to 2008, constituted the main, though not unique, source to compare my data from the *VRB*, the *CMRE*, the *DGMCA*, and Marín's catalogue (2016a). The periodical, published annually, contains a compilation of articles that summarize archaeological activities carried out within a year. The authors of the entries were the archaeologists who excavated the site and such a summary usually contained data from the original archaeological report. In many cases, these reports are the earliest reliable published information available, apart from the original unpublished excavation reports held in the cultural section of the provincial government's offices. In this study, I have consulted the original excavation reports only in a few cases (e.g. the villa of Huerta de Vila [Ma-Vil]), since the majority of published studies contained references to the types of mosaics and types of pavements, as well as the types of spaces where they were displayed, relevant to this research. Additionally, I have also consulted the online general archive of Málaga's provincial government which contained information that had not been previously used by scholars. Visits to villas and museums also helped me to collect information needed for the purposes of this research.

A Gazetteer for the Study of Baetican Villa Pavements

I used the data collected from different sources to create a Gazetteer that is held at the University of Leicester's research archive. In this book, Appendix A contains the villa plans considered in this study, as well as other relevant information needed to understand archaeological data presented in this book. The need for this Gazetteer of Baetican villa décor – with a special focus on pavements – is evident for the following reasons. First, despite the value of the *VRB* volumes, the catalogue presented by *VRB* falls within part of the limits of the current autonomous community of Andalusia and not the ancient boundaries of *Hispania Baetica* (Montoya 2018: 248). For instance, it included the villas of Bruñel in Quesada (Jaén) and El Villar in Chivriel (Almería), from Hispania Tarraconensis. It also included a site that is no longer considered a villa by current scholars: the so-called palatial complex of Cercadilla in the suburbs of Córdoba (see Hidalgo 2014, esp. 237). In order to overcome bias, my Gazetteer excludes examples that are located outside the territorial limits of the *Baetica* province (see España-Chamorro 2017), adding in other villas from *Hispania Baetica* previously disregarded. These latter villas are: El Pomar (Ba-Pom); El Santiscal (Ca-San); Libreros (Ca-Lib); El Chorreadero (Ca-Cho); "Marchenilla" (Ca-Mar); Cortijo del Alcaide (Co-Alc); Fernán Núñez (Co-Fe); Huétor Vega (Gra-Hue); Cubillas (Gra-Cub); El Tesorillo (Gra-Tes); La Almagra (Hue-Alm); Marroquíes Altos (Ja-Alt); Jardines de Puerta Oscura (Ma-Pue); Bobadilla (Ma-Bob); and Matacarrillo (Se-Est). Not included in my Gazetteer is the villa Cortijo Caño Bajo at Córdoba, which is included in the *VRB* catalogue but excluded here because the absence of information on chronological phases and types of spaces, and the scarcity of remains excavated do not allow any type of analysis (see Carrillo 2016b: 256-260). The villa of Cadima (Al-Cad), although physically located in Hispania Tarraconensis, was dependant on *Hispania Baetica* administratively, as mentioned by Pliny (*Nat. His*, III, 19) and clearly argued by authors such as España-Chamorro (2017: 466-467), and has therefore been included.

My Gazetteer is organised by counties[4] in alphabetical order. It includes 67 sites and focuses on their residential areas. As stated above, the buildings I identify as villas and selected for this study were located in either

[4] In the next order: Almería (Autonomous Community of Andalucía), Badajoz (Autonomous Community of Extremadura), Cádiz (Autonomous Community of Andalucía), Córdoba (Autonomous Community of Andalucía), Granada (Autonomous Community of Andalucía), Huelva (Autonomous Community of Andalucía), Jaén (Autonomous Community of Andalucía), Málaga (Autonomous Community of Andalucía) and Sevilla (Autonomous Community of Andalucía)

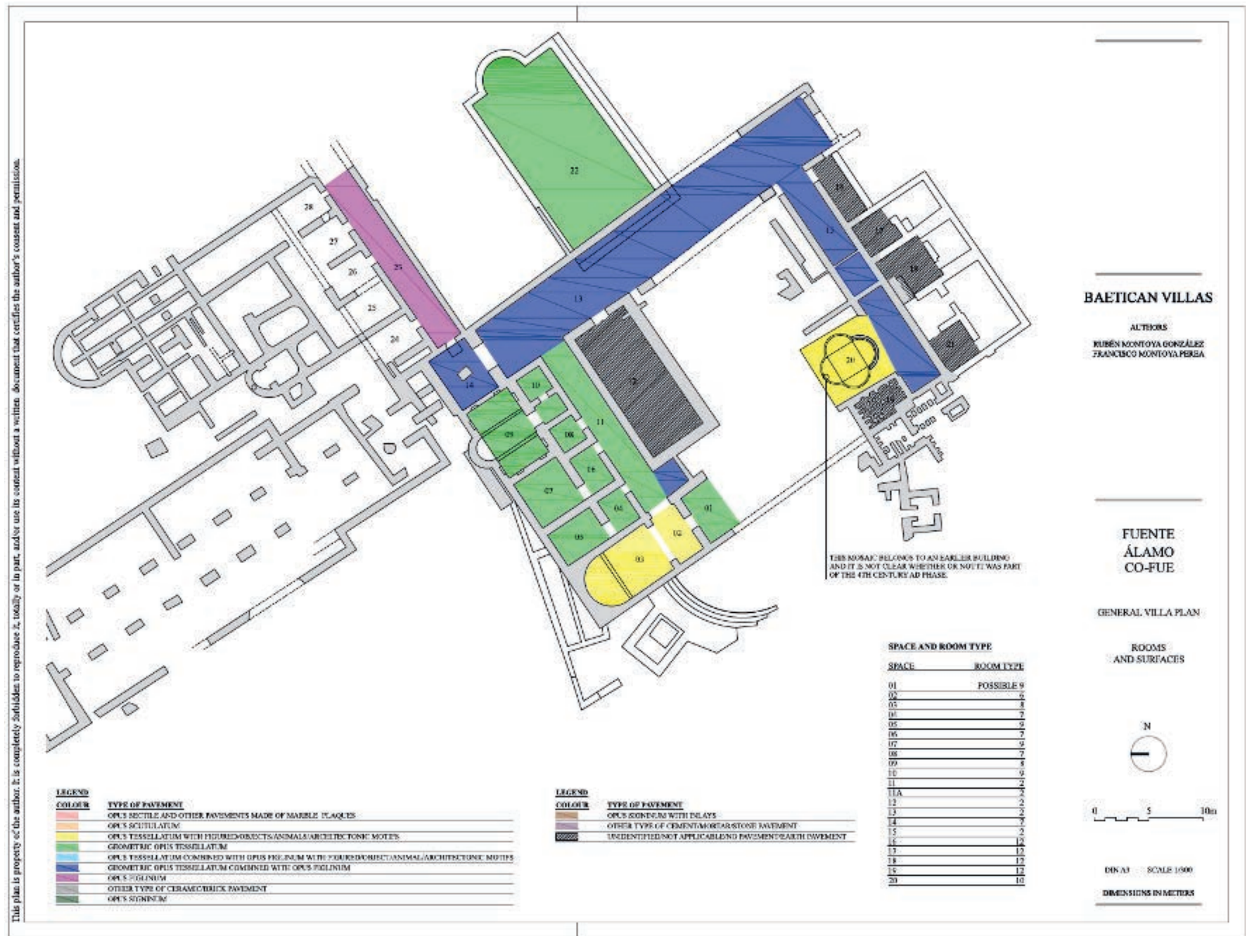


Figure 1.2. Plan of the villa of Fuente Álamo (Co-Fue) with the number of spaces, types of rooms and types of pavements included as presented in the Gazetteer (Image by Francico Montoya and Rubén Montoya)

suburban, rural and maritime environments (or a combination of them). Each entry is named with a code that consists of the first two or three letters of the current province where the site is located and the first three letters of the site name (e.g. Se-Her). In order to avoid repetitions with previous villa entries, a combination of the letters from the site name was selected in some cases. Initially, each entry provides geographic references, where known, and general information about the site, chronology, Roman conventus, nearby *civitates*, and status of excavation. Then, the different types of pavements are described by room types; in addition, references to paintings, sculptural marble/remains, and other types of décor/monumentalisation are also provided. A list of bibliographical references used to elaborate such an entry is provided at the end of each entry. I have included photographs or relevant pictures of pavements with figured and objects/animals/architectonic motifs. Due to the vast amount of geometric mosaics and other types of pavements, I have not included photographs of them.

Finally, each Gazetteer entry contains a re-drawn plan of each residential area where they were available (*Figure 1.2*). Within each plan, rooms contain an identifying number. Accompanying the plan is a table that indicates the correspondence between the identifying number in the plan and the room type of such a space, according to my architectural typology presented in Chapter 3. In addition, each space appears coloured differently according to the type of pavement evidenced, following the colour scale displayed at the bottom of the plan for the different types of pavements outlined in Chapter 4. In the villas where other types of pavements were evidenced but no references to the associated architectural context exist (e.g. El Santiscal [Ca-San]), these pavements appear listed in a subsection called 'pavements without associated context'. The rest of the plan contains relevant information about the villa, the design of the plan, the north arrow, and the scale. The University of Leicester holds the complete Gazetteer, that can be consulted for further information, while Appendix A contains relevant details for this book.

Table 1.1. Types of information collated for each room type in spreadsheets from Appendix B

Room type 1	**Room type 2**
-Villa code -Chronological group -Space number in gazetteer -Room type -Monumental/Not monumental -Adjacent Space/Exterior	-Villa code -Chronological group -Space number in gazetteer -Room type -Shape -Presence/Absence of wall between central area and ambulatories -Presence and types of associated structural features within/ nearby open court -Number of ambulatories -Type of pavement
Room type 4	**Room type 5**
-Villa code -Chronological group -Space number in gazetteer -Room type -Number and position of entrances -Presence of apses and niches -Presence and types of associated structures -Type of pavement -Layout of the design of the pavement (if applicable)	-Villa code -Chronological group -Space number in gazetteer -Room type -Number and position of entrances -Presence & type of additional structural features -Type of pavement - Presence/Absence of bipartitions
Room type 6	**Room type 7**
-Villa code -Chronological group -Space number in gazetteer -Room type -Presence & type of additional Structural features -Type of pavement	-Villa code -Chronological group -Space number in gazetteer -Room type -Number and position of entrances -Presence & type of associated structural features -Type of pavement
Room type 8	**Room type 9**
-Villa code -Chronological group -Space number in gazetteer -Room type -Number and position of entrances -Presence of apses and niches -Presence & types of associated structural features -Type of pavement -Layout of the design of the pavement (if applicable)	-Villa code -Chronological group -Space number in gazetteer -Room type -Number and position of entrances -Presence & type of additional structural features -Type of pavement - Presence/Absence of bipartitions
Room type 11	**Room type 3***
-Villa code -Chronological group -Space number in gazetteer -Room type -Type of space -Type of pavement	Some information about this room type **Room type 10*** Only a list of bath complexes and whether or not their plans include variations from the standard bath complex plan, through the inclusion of geometric plans or niches/apses as structural features

The difficulty in accessing and consulting unpublished excavation reports and other studies has also limited the number of sites to which I could have access. Apart from the uncertainty of specific pavements across villas due to the omissions of information in sources consulted or their bad state of preservation, I wish to note that four villas in my Gazetteer lack a complete updated description of their pavements. This is because

of the ongoing state of excavations and such spaces being investigated by other scholars: Fuente Álamo (Co-Fue), Salar (Gra-Sal), Los Vergeles (Gra-Ver) and Las Gabias (Gra-Gab). In this regard, spaces found and published after June 2020 have been excluded from this study. Additionally, the reliance on secondary sources has presented some limitations, since in some cases the type of pavement is not clearly presented in them. For instance, in the villa of El Ruedo [Co-Rue], Hidalgo (1990: 95, n. 12) mentions the presence of ceramic materials in the pavement, naming them as *opus signinum*, and interpreting them as the preparation layers of a tessellated pavement that would have been displayed on top, nowadays lost; he affirmed that "the richness of (...) a painted decoration [within the room] (...) does not correspond to a simple mortar pavement".[5] Since no remains of tesserae are referenced and no other archaeological evidence to sustain the existence of a mosaic in that space was provided, in my analysis I have considered such a pavement as an *opus signinum* one.

Data Collation and Presentation

I have collated the data from my Gazetteer into Excel spreadsheets and Tables each of which contains information on the various types of spaces and pavements in the various villas. The Excel spreadsheets are named according to the architectural typology I created for this study (Appendix B.1-B.8), presented in Chapter 3. These spreadsheets also contain data regarding the type of pavements, identified according to the decorative typology presented in Chapter 4. Each of the Excel Spreadsheets (B.1-B.8) corresponds to a different room type and contains the following categories, as illustrated in *Table 1.1.*

The room type and type of pavements collated in the different Excel spreadsheets are numbered; these numbers correspond to those of the respective architectural and decorative typologies from chapters 3 and 4. As observed in *Table 1.1*, room types 3 and 10 do not include a lot of information regarding the architectural features of villa spaces and the types of pavements. This is because the nature of evidence has shaped the types of analyses I have conducted in every chapter. For instance, I do not analyse pavements in room types 1, 3 and 10 because of the scarce quantity of spaces collated (room type 1 and 3 spaces) or the absence of information with regard to the type of pavement (room type 1, 3, and 10 spaces). For room type 3, I only provide some notes. Finally, rooms of type 10 are only analysed as architectural units, that is, by bath complexes and not room by room, and only the inclusion of apses or certain architectural shapes in their spaces is analysed.

When analysing pavements with figured and objects/animals/architectonic motifs across room types, as well as the regional and provincial contexts for certain types of iconographies, I provide tables containing the information needed.

Collation of chronologies

One of the challenges faced in this study concerns the different ways building and decorative phases have been attributed to the villas analysed. Although the majority of villas in this study were inhabited in different phases throughout these centuries, my analyses only concern phases when pavements were installed (either construction *ex novo* or redevelopments). In general, in my analyses I have excluded earlier phases when pavements were also displayed because of the inaccuracy of dates provided for those phases, except for specific examples where the chronological phases have been accurately dated, such as room no. 1 from the villa of El Ruedo (Co-Rue). The inclusion of different phases in specific spaces has been indicated at the beginning of the pertinent analytical sections in Chapters 3 and 4.

During the collation of the villa chronologies, I found different degrees of reliability in the dates provided in archaeological reports, as shown in *Table 1.2.* As evidenced in the first part of this table, only nine villas can be considered to have been reliably dated through the discovery of coins or specific ceramic materials under the pavements or within the construction levels – at least as stated in the excavation reports. The second part of *Table 1.2* shows the villas where, although the discovery of a specific type of coin or ceramic fragment has not been stated as the chronological indicator for a construction/redevelopment phase in the excavation reports, studies on material evidence, architectural and decorative remains have provided reliable dates and chronological phases. The third and last parts of the table show those villas excavated during the 19th and 20th centuries in which mosaics were mainly dated through stylistic analyses or where there has been/is debate with regard to the dates of the display of mosaics and chronological phases of the villas. In some villas, archaeologists only provided some notes on the periods of occupation and no accurate chronological phases were attributed, making it impossible for me to identify the dates of construction and redevelopments of those villas. For some of those villas, later studies have confirmed the chronologies initially attributed to their monumentalisation phases (e.g. for Las Gabias [Gra-Gab] or Daragoleja [Gra-Dar] [see Marín 2016a]). In other cases, there is no consensus among scholars on a specific date for a villa, as stated by Hidalgo and Vargas (2016: 684-692) for the villa of El Alcaparral (Se-Alc).

[5] 'la riqueza de la decoración pictórica (...) no se corresponde con un simple pavimento de cal' (Hidalgo 1990: 95, n. 12).

Table 1.2. Relative reliability of dates for the Baetican villas used in this study. Villas marked with a '*' are the ones completely excluded from my analytical Chapters 5 and 6 because of the lack of associated contexts, excepting one figured pavement from Bobadilla (Ma-Bob), analysed in Chapter 6. Bath complexes from García-Entero's (2005; 2016) study not included in my Gazetteer have not been included in this list, since I briefly consider them in Chapter 3.

1. Villas with reliable dates for their decoration phases because of the discovery of associated coins or ceramic remains (described in reports)	
-Mitra (Co-Mit) -Mondragones (Gra-Mon) -El Ruedo (Co-Rue) -Fuente Álamo (Co-Fue) -Cercadilla (Co-Cer)	-Santa Rosa (Co-San) -Cadima (Al-Cad) -El Pomar (Ba-Pom) - Salar (Gra-Sal)
2. Villas with likely reliable dates/chronological phasing (accepted by scholars) by considering associated material culture	
-Cadima (Al-Cad) -La Estación (Ma-Est) -Torre de Benagalbón (Ma-Tbe) -Laurel (Gra-Lau) -Tesorrillo (Gra-Tes) -Los Vergeles (Gra-Ver) -Finca del Secretario (Ma-Sec) -Herrera (Se-Her) -Antiguos Cuarteles de Varela (Ca-Val) - Sabinillas (Ma-Sab) -Cortijo Acevedo (Ma-Ace)* -Matacarrillo (Se-Est)*	-El Arca (Co-Arc) -Priego de Córdoba (Co-Pri) -Lecrín (Gra-Tal) -Auta (Ma-Aut) -Castillo de la Duquesa (Ma-Duq) -La Butibamba (Ma-But) -Caserío Silverio (Ma-Cas) -Faro de Torrox (Ma-Far) -Benalroma (Ma-Ben) -Terán II (Ma-Ter)* -Pozo de la Culebra (Se-Cul)* -Cortijo Robledo (Ma-Rob)*
3. (i) Villas dated through debated/stylistic chronologies or (ii) with no accurate references to the chronology of material culture in the excavation reports	
-El Santiscal (Ca-San) -Torres de Guadalmansa (Ma-Gua)* -Mezquitillas (Se-Mez) -La Valenzoneja (Co-Val) -Ronda del Marrubial (Co-Ron) -Bobadilla (Ma-Bob)* -El Chorreadero (Ca-Cho) -Gallineras (Ca-Gal)* -Torreblanca del Sol (Ma-Sol) - Torremuelle (Ma-Tor)* - Fernán Núñez (Co-Fer)* -Casilla de la Lámpara (Co-Cas)* -Marroquíes Altos (Ja-Alt)* -Puente Melchor (Ca-Pum) -Llano de los Panaderos (Co-Lla)* -Cubillas (Gra-Cub)* -Puerta Oscura (Ma-Osc)*	-Alcaparral (Se-Alc) -Las Gabias (Gra-Gab) -Daragoleja (Gra-Dar) -Carnicería de los Moros (Ma-Car) -Río Verde (Ma-Ver) -Cortijo de los Robles (Ja-Cor) -Libreros (Ca-Lib) -Martos (Ja-Mar)* -Cortijo del Alcaide (Co-Alc) -Cortijo de Aparicio el Grande (Se-Apa) -"Marchenilla" (Ca-Mar)* -Encinarejo de los Fraileas (Co-Enc)* -La Almagra (Hue-Alm)* -Huerta de los Vila (Ma-Vil) -Puente Grande (Ca-Pug)* -Huétor Vega (Gra-Hue)* -Huerta del Ciprés (Ma-Cip)*

To overcome the possible limitations that my approach to chronologies could present in my analyses, I have created three chronological groups that allow me to investigate villa spaces – and, in some cases, pavement display – from a diachronic perspective. In *Table 1.2* I listed the 67 villas collated in my Gazetteer (see also Appendix A), marking with a '*' the villas I exclude from my analyses due to their limited state of excavation and lack of information with regard to pavements or associated architectural contexts for the analyses carried out in this study. *Tables 1.3-4* show the 45 occurrences of the villas analysed in this study, according to the reliability of their dating and their chronological groups. I must note that I only focus on construction or major redevelopment phases of villas, but do not consider punctual reparations of pavements in later periods.

The first chronological group comprises villas with a Late Republican or a very early imperial construction, from the late 1st century B.C. to mid-1st century AD. The second chronological group is composed of

Table 1.3. Villas according to the reliability of their dating and their chronological groupings after excluding the villas marked with a '*' in Table 1.2.

Villas according to the reliability of the dates proposed and their chronological ascription		
Completely reliable dating		
Chronological group 1	**Chronological group 2**	**Chronological group 3**
/	Cercadilla (Co-Cer) Salar (Gra-Sal)	Mitra (Co-Mit) Mondragones (Gra-Mon) El Ruedo (Co-Rue) Fuente Álamo (Co-Fue) Santa Rosa (Co-San) Cadima (Al-Cad) Salar (Gra-Sal)
Likely reliable dating		
Chronological group 1	**Chronological group 2**	**Chronological group 3**
Antiguos Cuarteles de Varela (Ca-Var)	Benalroma (Ma-Ben) Castillo de la Duquesa (Ma-Duq) La Butibamba (Ma-But) Priego de Córdoba (Co-Pri) Pago del Fiche (Gra-Tal) Cadima (Al-Cad) El Laurel (Gra-Lau) El Tesorillo (Gra-Tes) Herrera (Se-Her) Sabinillas (Ma-Sab)	El Arca (Co-Arc) Caserío Silverio (Ma-Cas) Faro de Torrox (Ma-Far) Auta (Ma-Aut) La Estación (Ma-Est) Torre de Benagalbón (Ma-Tbe) Los Vergeles (Ma-Ver) Finaca del Secreatrio (Ma-Sec)
Debated dating		
Chronological group 1	**Chronological group 2**	**Chronological group 3**
/	El Chorreadero (Ca-Cho) Puente Melchor (Ca-Pum) Cortijo del Alcaide (Co-Alc) La Valenzoneja (Co-Val) Ronda del Marrubial (Co-Ron) Río Verde (Ma-Ver) Torreblanca del Sol (Ma-Sol) C. Aparicio el Grande (Se-Apa)	El Santiscal (Ca-San) Las Mezquitillas (Se-Mez) El Alcaparral (Se-Alc) Las Gabias (Gra-Gab) Daragoleja (Gra-Dar) Carnic. de los Moros (Ma-Car) Libreros (Ca-Lib) Huerta de los Vila (Ma-Vil) Cortijo de los Robles (Ja-Cor)

residences erected or redeveloped between mid-1st century AD to the beginning of the 3rd century AD. Finally, the third chronological group contains those villas constructed or redeveloped from circa mid-3rd century until the end of the 4th century AD. This grouping provides the possibility to analyse villa spaces and/or pavements that lack more accurate dating but for which it is possible to ascertain a general period. This is exemplified by the villa of Las Mezquitillas (Se-Mez), for which no stratigraphy was recorded during excavations and no studies of materials have been done. However, its unique main representational space with 3 apses, so-characteristic of Late Antiquity, makes it possible to consider it in relation to other architectural parallels with a more accurate chronology, such as the complex of Cercadilla (see Hidalgo 2011-2012: 655-670).

In sum, the revision, the selection of chronological phases to be analysed and the grouping of chronologies have allowed me to create a consistent chronological frame within which placing the Baetican villas I analyse. In the analyses, I have included examples that present a completely or likely reliable chronology. For the villas for which dates are debated, I have tried to refine their dates by considering wider contexts, such the redevelopments experienced in nearby villas. In this regard, a study carried out by Romero (2011: 53-80) showed that villas from the territory of *Antikaria* (current Antequera, Málaga) experienced similar redevelopments at the end of the 3rd century or the beginning of the 4th century AD.

Analytical Methods

The approach I adopt in this study is principally quantitative, adapting Allison's (2004a) architectural typology of Pompeian *atrium* houses from her study of Pompeian households, as she analysed the artefact assemblages found in each room type and their representativeness in these room types. I base

Table 1.4. Numbers of villas according to the reliability of their dating and their chronological groupings after excluding the villas marked with a '*' in Table 1.2

Chronological Group	Total of villas	Completely reliable dating	Likely reliable dating	Debated dating
Group 1	1	0	1	0
Group 2	20	2	10	8
Group 3	24	7	8	9
Total	45	9	19	17

my quantitative approach on Brain's (2018; 2019) approach to the identification of the significant occurrence of different types of Venus scenes across certain room types in Pompeii. Both authors' works are useful because they provide approaches that allow me to assess the types of architectural features that predominated in Baetican villa spaces and the types of pavements that were more prevalent in specific room types, thus allowing me to identify preferences in the choice of pavements to display at both the group and individual level.

The advantages of adopting a quantitative approach include the possibility of comparing data systematically and the evidence-led approach it implies when investigating domestic decoration (Brain 2019). Previous art-historical approaches were mainly qualitative, based on stylistic and descriptive analyses. In spite of the substantial contributions made by these approaches, they lacked, in some cases, the initial percentages in these art-historical approaches obtained to outline conclusions are not representative of the dataset and do not show a reliable picture of the phenomenon analysed, as I show in Chapter 4. Thus, by carrying out a quantitative approach, reliable percentages can be obtained to support the proposed conclusions. Moreover, the use of numerical data also allows the identification of different patterns and outliers in the sample, making it possible to provide more complete information on the sample analysed. Finally, a quantitative approach allows other scholars to reuse the data provided in studies of this kind, facilitating new interpretations (Brain 2019: 3-4).

Because of the limited number of examples across different spaces, I have adopted a qualitative approach when describing the spatial distribution of pavements with figured, objects, animal and architectonic motifs; this is because the scarce number of types of scenes evidenced across room types will not allow the generation of reliable percentages. Overall, the principal quantitative approach I have adopted in this study has allowed me to identify and interpret patterns in a more categorical than descriptive way – facilitating the analytical interpretations presented in Chapter 6. I explain my approaches' quantitative and qualitative nature and the challenges faced at the beginning of the analytical sections in chapters 3 to 6.

Structure of the Book

This research is organised into six chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the theme, and context of this study. First, I present the research aim and objectives of this book. I then contextualise my study within wider scholarship on studies on villas and mosaics in *Hispania* and beyond. Finally, I present the methodological aspects of this study and the processes of data collection, collation, analysis and presentation.

In Chapter 2, I assess globalization studies in the Roman world and the concept of a global-local dichotomy present in these studies. I then adopt and refine Roudometof's (2016b) glocalization framework as a potential analytical approach to further understanding the global-local dichotomous concept when investigating how global phenomena occurred in specific locations in past historical periods, especially when investigating the Roman world.

In Chapter 3, I characterise and quantify the different spaces in the Baetican villas, and those that can be analysed. For this, I have developed an architectural room-based typology. I then calculate the counts and percentages of each room type and the different features in each room type. Although some of the room types analysed only occur in a limited number of the examples of villas I have collected, my quantitative approach provides reliable results based on the different architectural features of villa spaces.

In Chapter 4, I characterise and quantify the different types of pavements in the Baetican villas under study. I first develop a decorative typology based on the types of pavements and other types of decoration present and then characterise and quantify the different types of pavements by room types; percentages used here are those of each type of pavement found in each room type analysed in Chapter 5. Next, I compare the occurrences and the percentages of the different types of pavements

with the occurrences and percentages of the room types where they were displayed to ascertain which types of pavements were more prevalent in specific room types, thus identifying preferences in the choice of pavements to display at both the group and individual level.

In Chapter 5, I investigate the relationship between pavements, space and function. Initially, I differentiate between the representational character and type of function a space could have. I then assess how far the display of decorative and other types of pavements can be used to identify either predominantly representational or predominantly non-representational areas within villas. In this chapter, I also investigate visual markers in mosaic pavements, traditionally associated with the display of couches and beds, to assess the extent to which such visual markers existed and could indicate a possible room function. The final section of this chapter deals with the spatial distribution of pavements with figured, objects, animals, and architectural motifs to assess whether or not a strict relationship between subject-matter and room type exited in Baetican villas.

Finally, in Chapter 6, I apply the glocalization framework that I develop in Chapter 2 to the percentages results of architectural features and pavement display in Baetican villa spaces obtained in Chapters 3 to 5. This allows me to interpret how the phenomenon of the Roman villa occurred in the *Baetica* province. Where evidence allows, I identify chronological variations in the phenomenon of villas in this province. I also identify regional and local variations in different areas of *Hispania Baetica*. In addition, I assess the regional-based character of the decision-making process for choice of subject matter within a global visual *koine* through two case studies. Finally, I briefly contextualise the Baetican phenomenon of the Roman villa within the context of the Iberian Peninsula to assess its relationship with the other two Hispanic provinces.

Finally, in Chapter 7, I briefly summarise my findings, evaluate the viability of glocalization as a framework and discuss future avenues of research where this theoretical concept could be applied.