

ROMAN VILLAS IN THE IBERIAN PENINSULA (SECOND CENTURY BCE–THIRD CENTURY CE)¹

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INTRODUCTION

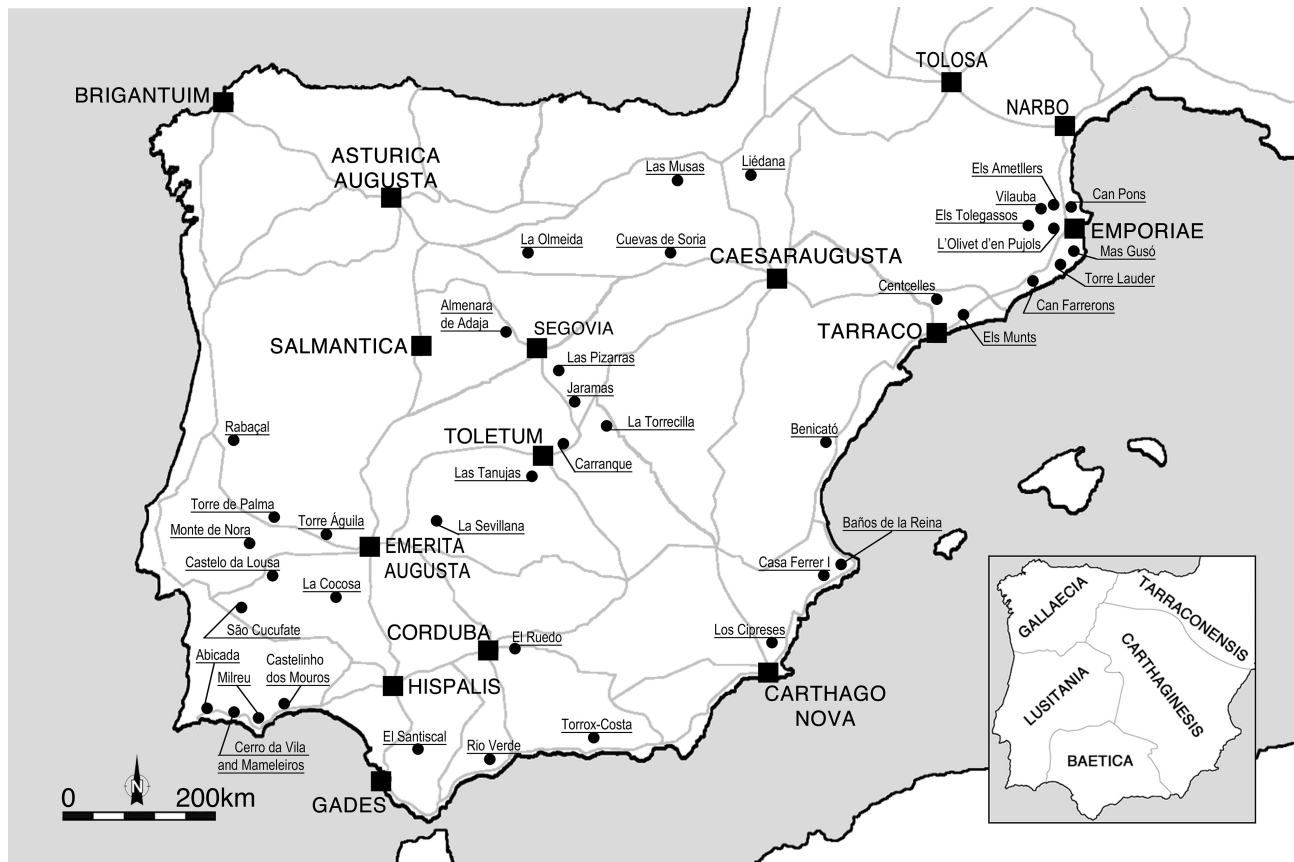
The Iberian Peninsula was Rome's earliest overseas possession and as such provides an early instance of how Roman provincial culture in its material and architectural manifestations developed.² The implantation and spread of villas – which began only in the imperial period but flourished in late antiquity – are important aspects of this development.

The conquest of the peninsula began with the campaigns of Publius and Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio in 218 BCE but was only completed administratively when the emperor Augustus reorganized its provinces after the conclusion of his military campaigns in 16 BCE. The original division into Nearer and Further Spain – *Hispania Citerior* and *Ulterior* – had been dictated by strategic and geopolitical considerations, but Augustus replaced it with a civilian organization based on actual geographical conditions and the ethnic groups of the region (Map 10). In the west, the province of Lusitania was named after the tribe that inhabited that territory, stretching from the Atlantic coast to the river Anas (Guadiana); this province roughly corresponded to modern Portugal and parts of the Spanish regions of Galicia and Extremadura. In the south, the province of Baetica was organized around the fertile valley of the river Baetis (Guadalquivir), more or less the Spanish region of Andalusia. The entire north, between the Pyrenees, Atlantic, and Mediterranean, and including most of

the high plateau of the Meseta Central, formed the province of Tarraconensis, named after the provincial capital, Tarraco. Much later, under Diocletian (284–305 CE), the provinces of Callaecia in the northwest and Carthagenensis in the southeast were separated from it. From the fifth century, Roman Hispania was dominated by the early medieval barbarian kingdoms, and later the southeastern Byzantine province of Spania.

Columella, Pliny the Elder, and Strabo mention commodities such as metal ores and secondary agricultural products, fish sauces, wine, and oil as the major exports from Hispania.³ In the regions around Carthago Nova (Cartagena) and Castulo (Prov. Jaen), as well as in the Sierra Morena in Andalusia and the mining districts on the edge of the Asturian–Cantabrian mountains, sites still consisted of traditional nucleated settlements; the marketing of ores and the production of fish sauces (the famous *garum hispanum*) were concentrated in the small fishing towns and urban centers along the coast.⁴ The main centers of this coastal industry were situated on the Mediterranean in southern Baetica, on the Atlantic in Lusitania, and in the Straits of Gibraltar, in the important economic zone of the “Circle of the Strait.”⁵

The agricultural goods for which Hispania was famous, wine and oil, were produced in Roman-style farms and villas, to be found more or less throughout the entire peninsula.⁶ However, the enormous geographical variety of the Iberian



Map 10. Ancient towns and villa sites of the Iberian Peninsula (M. D. Öz, mainly after F. Teichner).

Peninsula and the slow pace of its conquest (over 200 years) made for great regional variations in the intensity of agricultural exploitation and economic development. In essence, the areas settled by the eponymous Iberians along the Mediterranean coast, which had been exposed to Punic, Phoenician, and Greek influence from an early stage, contrasted strongly with the homelands of the Celtiberians on the Atlantic coast and in the Meseta Central. Between them stretched the soaring peaks of the Sistema Iberico in the northeast and the Sierra Morena in the south.

In the Atlantic northwest, there is virtually no evidence in the archaeological record for the existence of a Mediterranean villa culture before the imperial period. In contrast, along the Mediterranean coast of modern Catalonia, in the territory of the Laietani as well as in the neighboring Ebro valley, agricultural specialization in the production of fine wines had

already started during the Republic. At the same time, wealthy Italian landowners began intensive oleoculture in the fertile Guadalquivir valley.⁷ It was here, in the very south of Hispania, in the harbor town of Gades (Cadiz), that the family of Lucius Iunius Moderatus Columella lived, and his twelve-volume treatise on agricultural practice entitled *De Re Rustica* (written in the reign of Claudius [41–54 CE]) became an important handbook for Roman farming and the villa economy of the early Roman Empire.

HISTORY OF RESEARCH ON ROMAN VILLAS IN HISPANIA

During the eighteenth century, the Bourbon royal family had supported the excavations in Pompeii and Herculaneum and initiated that archaeological

patronage in Spain, specifically on Roman villas. Carlos III and his Foreign Minister (*Secretario del Despacho de Estado*), José Moñino y Redondo, Conde de Floridablanca, commissioned the director for architecture (*Director general de la Comisión de Arquitectura*) of the *Real Academia de San Fernando* to excavate the complex at Rielves (Toledo) outside Madrid.⁸ Elsewhere, members of the clergy, in the spirit of the Enlightenment, drew attention to ancient ruins. D. Juan Lozano, a canonist from Cartagena, excavated the Villa de Los Cipreses (Jumilla, Murcia), with its numerous mosaics, between 1779 and 1787.⁹ Similarly, on the coast of Andalusia, the local priest published a first report on the ruins of the Roman maritime villa at Torrox-Costa (Marbella) in 1773.¹⁰

By the early nineteenth century, Roman villas in Spain became a special class of monuments: In 1832, the *Sumario de las antigüedades que hay en España* by J.A. Ceán Bermúdez reported on them, and in the years that followed, ever more detailed reports on the architecture and decoration of villas in Spain were provided to the *Real Academia de la Historia*.¹¹

Systematic exploration, advanced archaeological methods, and detailed documentation began in the twentieth century, in part because villas served as material proof that Spain and Portugal had been fully integrated into the classical world. Work was carried out at the villa of Fortunatus in Fraga (Huesca), with its remarkable mosaic floors; at the palatial villa at Centcelles (Tarragona), which had survived to its upper stories; and in the residential and agricultural buildings of the villas at La Cocosa (Badajoz), Liédena (Navarra), and Torre de Palma (Alentejo).¹² By 1944, Blas Taracena Aguirre published a first overview of the farmsteads and villas in Roman Hispania,¹³ and within a few years studies on individual regions appeared, many of them by the leading figures in Spanish archaeology.¹⁴

The first large-scale contribution to the history and archaeology of villas of the Hispanic Roman provinces was made by Jean-Gérard Gorges in 1979 with his corpus of Roman country dwellings.¹⁵ This work was a catalogue and analysis of some 1,300 sites in Spain and Portugal, and it met modern standards of scholarship in the field. Gorges' use of a comparative

methodology also established the basic forms and typology of buildings – this was a completely new vision – as well as their spatial distribution in the peninsula. The work was based on primary literature and field surveys; in consequence, the chronology and overall development of villas was less clear. Three years later, Maria Cruz Fernández Castro's general work on Roman villas in Spain focused only on the 149 most noteworthy sites with the best-preserved structural remains, a more traditional approach facilitating a typological arrangement of the plans and analyses of the different architectural units and decorative elements.¹⁶

A recent upsurge in archaeological research, in part prompted by transformations of the rural infrastructure in Spain and Portugal, has led to an increase in the number of newly discovered sites. The excavation of the villa at Vilauba (Girona) by Spanish and English archaeologists from 1979 set high standards for research programs at other sites in the northeast of the peninsula (Catalonia and elsewhere).¹⁷ Likewise, on the Atlantic coast of Iberia, the excavation of the São Cucufate (Vidigueira) villa, located between ancient Pax Iulia (Beja) and Eborā Liberalitas Iulia (Évora), by a combined Portuguese–French team from 1979 to 1984 demonstrated what could be achieved with the application of a precise research agenda and methods focusing on the architecture in stratigraphical context and analysis of the villa's hinterland.¹⁸ This work has been followed by a comparative study of several rural settlements in the south of the Roman province of Lusitania based on a series of systematic excavations.¹⁹ Specialized comprehensive studies of the production quarters of villas in Hispania – their *partes rusticae et frumentariae* – have shed new light on the economies of Roman villas,²⁰ even though the large estates of Baetica, which were empire-wide suppliers of olive oil, have not yet been adequately studied.²¹

In Hispania as elsewhere, the study of Roman villas must navigate between a concentration on historical events and/or artistic phenomena on the one hand, and independent, up-to-date archaeological analysis on the other. And in Hispania as elsewhere, a balance among the competing claims of

history, art history, and economic phenomena is particularly important for the history of residential rural estates. In this chapter, recent work on the buildings at a selection of sites, mainly in Lusitania, forms the basis for a review of the general tendencies in the development of Roman rural domestic architecture in the peninsula from its beginnings during the Republican period, through the imperial period when extensive villas with well-organized *partes urbanae* became a general phenomenon, to the third century CE when they became increasingly luxurious residences.²²

THE EARLY RURAL SETTLEMENTS: SUBSISTENCE ECONOMY AND FORTIFIED FARMSTEADS

The campaigns of the Second Punic War (218–201 BCE) had been the first occasion that the Romans had to turn their attention to the local supply of their troops; shortly thereafter, during military actions in 197 BCE, the Roman governor Cato relied primarily on the existing indigenous economic and settlement structures. However, as urbanization of the new province progressed in the course of the second century BCE, individual farmsteads of Mediterranean/Italic type capable of producing more than merely subsistence or local-market comestibles began to appear in the territories of the newly established towns.

The best picture we have of rural settlement during the Roman conquest and consolidation phase in the Republic is for the northeast of the peninsula, the earliest contact zone between Romans and Iberians.²³ The first phase, immediately after the Roman conquest at the turn of the third and second centuries BCE, saw the establishment of simple farmsteads for single-family units that allowed for little more than subsistence agriculture. Structures from this earliest phase of Roman Hispania have been excavated in the hinterland of the Catalonian coast at Les Guardies, Les Teixoneres, Ca l'Estrada, and Can Pons.²⁴ The plan of the complex at Can Pons (Girona), in the mountains behind the Catalonian coast, allows the reconstruction of

a rectangular building with an area of 170 m². In the second century BCE there were seven irregularly arranged rooms in which the presence of hearths, stoves, and looms denote a division into living and working areas. The materials from the site indicate that an indigenous Iberian community lived here, away from the main communication and commercial routes. Its members only gradually came into contact with the Roman world, though by a late phase of the building distinctly Roman forms of roofing with characteristic roof tiles (*tegulae* and *imbrices*) and storage in terracotta vessels (*dolia*) were adopted.²⁵

Not surprisingly, evidence of the end of this subsistence economy and the introduction of Roman-style agriculture, buildings, and architecture has been found less than 5 km into the hinterland of the coastal Greek colony of Ampurias. In 218 BCE, Ampurias had provided the first haven for the Roman army in the peninsula. At the turn of the second and first centuries BCE, a modest farmstead was established at L'Olivet d'en Pujols (Girona), but with substantial facilities for the fermentation of must into wine (Figure 14.1).²⁶ A small rectangular building was erected over older Iberian structures. From the outset, the building was roofed with typical Roman roof tiles and its plan was completed by a 300 m² walled courtyard. Must and

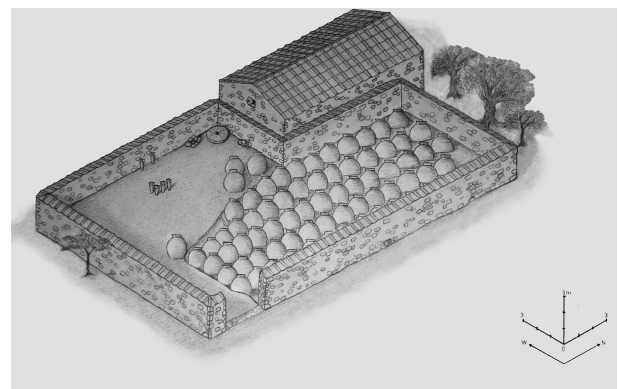


Figure 14.1. L'Olivet d'en Pujols (Gerona), villa, reconstruction during the Republican period, not far from the Graeco-Roman harbor town of Ampurias (Empories) (drawing by Zuzana Berková after Casas and Soler 2003).

wine were stored in seventy-five large terracotta storage vessels (*dolia*) sunken into the ground of the courtyard, a practice introduced by the Romans from Italy.²⁷ The extent of these storage and fermentation facilities at L'Olivet d'en Pujols is a clear indication of surplus production destined for the local urban market in Ampurias, and the importance of the region for this early Romanization of rural life is confirmed by a very similar picture at other sites.²⁸

While such residential buildings with working areas were typical of the countryside of *Hispania Citerior* from the late Republican period, the southern and southwestern areas of the peninsula (*Hispania Ulterior*) were characterized by fortified farmsteads. These regions remained comparatively unstable almost until the beginning of the Principate in the late first century BCE, and they were plagued by troubles and rebellions (e.g., the revolts of Viriathus in 147–139 BCE and that of Sertorius in 83–72 BCE). For this reason, sturdy buildings were erected in strategic locations to provide protection for the new settlers and to secure and control transport routes and natural resources. These settlements are known from the hinterland of Carthago Nova (Cartagena) and along the coastal Cordillera of Baetica (Malaga), but the best research on them is in the region that later became the province of Lusitania.²⁹

The sites of these Lusitanian settlements were chosen because they could be easily defended: protection of the new settlers was a primary concern. They tend to be located on promontories whence they dominated the surrounding landscape. Architecturally, the structures present a central building with a square plan, along with secondary structures that usually lie further down the slopes. The central buildings have very thick external walls, with only one door and very narrow window slits. Our knowledge of these settlements, which scholars frequently describe as *castela*, *casas fuertes* or fortified farmsteads, is drawn mainly from work carried out at Castelo da Lousa (Morão) in Lusitania.³⁰ This settlement was situated in the extensive plain of the Portuguese Alentejo, above the Rio Guadiana, and was dominated by a truly monumental central structure (Figure 14.2). The lower parts of the

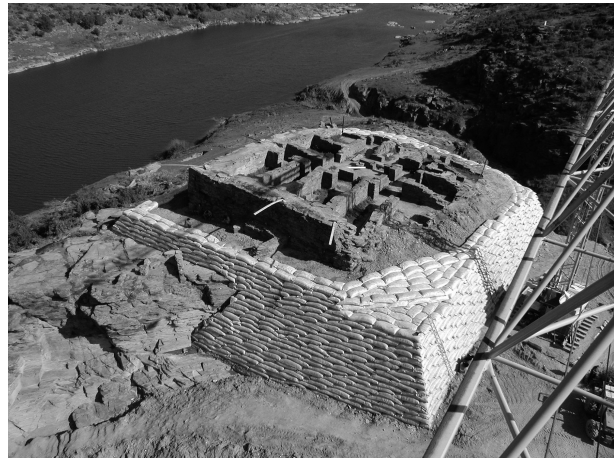


Figure 14.2. “Castelo da Lousa” (Alentejo, Portugal), villa, on the left bank of the River Guadiana, the ancient Anas. The central rectangular structure of the main building on the top of the natural slope during consolidation prior to the flooding of the Alqueva dam. (© Arkhaios - Ana Gonçalves, Évora 2008).

building consisted of unmortared walls of slate and flat stones. Thick layers of loam discovered inside suggest that the upper parts of the walls were made of mud-bricks, while stratigraphic observations indicate that slate was also used for the roof. Remains of a cistern in the middle of the building, a staircase, and window slits high up the walls suggest an upper story and an *atrium*-like colonnaded court with *impluvium* in the center. In the late 1970s, the Portuguese archaeologist Manuel Maia drew attention to a whole group of such buildings concentrated along the Guadiana River in the Baixo Alentejo region (Figure 14.3).³¹ Besides the uniform, compact plan of the fortified farms, which could be several stories high, the buildings were constructed using a unit of measure based on the Roman foot (29.6 cm). At first, these fortified structures were believed to have played a part in the military defense of the area during the late Republic, but the fact that subsidiary residential and other buildings surrounded them suggests uses other than military. Analysis of the architectural origins of the buildings indicates the influence of prototypes from the Hellenistic east, such as the so-called Nékromanteion near Ephyra.³² Their function was both to produce and protect the agricultural produce of the Roman colonists from roving

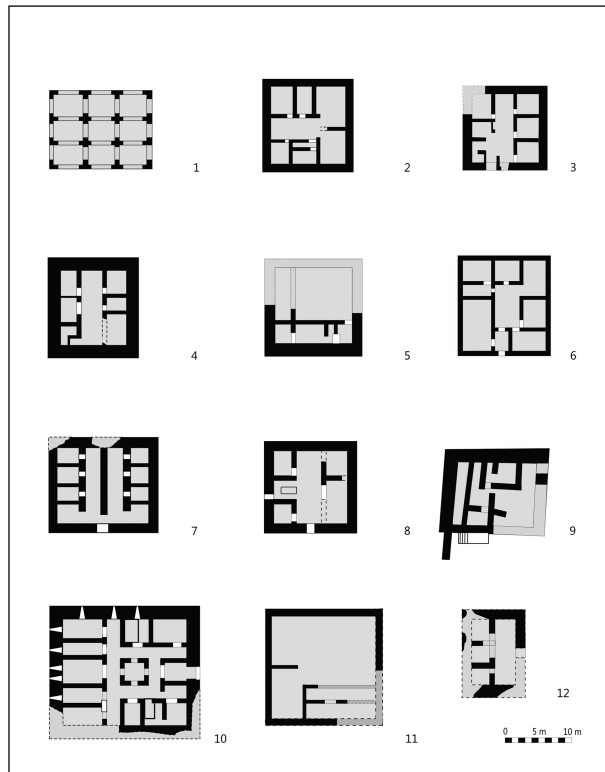


Figure 14.3. Late-Republican and Early-Imperial protected farmsteads (“casas Fuertes”):

- 1.) Cerro da Vila, Quarteira, Algarve, Portugal;
- 2.) Castelo dos Namorados, Castro Verde, Portugal;
- 3.) Castelinho dos Mouros, Castro Verde, Portugal;
- 4.) Castelo do Manuel Galo, Mértola, Portugal;
- 5.) Los Paradores, Murcia, Spain; 6.) La Sevillana, Esparragosa de Lares, Spain; 7.) El Tesorillo, Málaga, Spain; 8.) Castelo da Chaminé, Castro Verde, Portugal;
- 9.) Castilinho dos Mouros, Alcoutim, Portugal; 10.) Castelo da Lousa, Morão, Portugal; 11.) Cabezo de la Atalaya, Cartagena, Spain; 12.) Cerro del Espino, Torredelcampo, Spain (after Teichner 2008, fig. 262 with modifications).

Lusitanian bandits mentioned in ancient written sources.³³

The basic concept of these early farmsteads has similarities with the compact Italo-Roman style farmsteads of similar date found in Italy, for example the villa at Sambuco in Etruria or at Posta Crusta in Apulia.³⁴ It has also been possible to determine the identity of their inhabitants. At the Monte de Nora site (Alentejo), which was also fortified in the late Republican period, articles of attire such as brooches (*fibulae*) indicate the presence of new Italic colonists

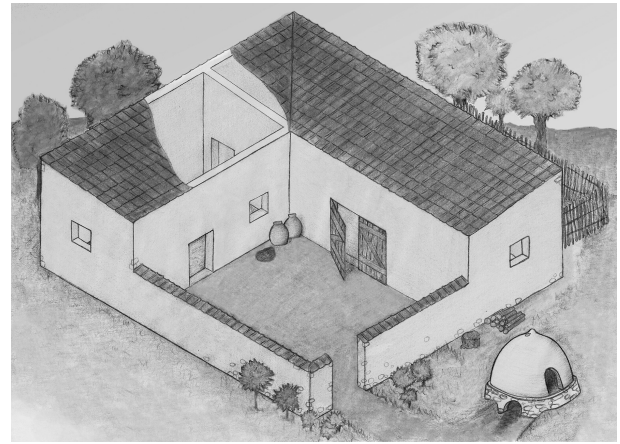


Figure 14.4. Monte da Nora (Portugal), reconstruction of the Roman farmstead constructed in the Augustan period over the leveled ditches of the Republican fortification. (© Felix Teichner/Zuzana Berková 2010).

from the *Caput Adriae* region (part of the northeastern Italian regions of Veneto and Friuli-Venezia Giulia, western Slovenia, and northwestern Croatia).³⁵

The best-excavated sites, such as the fortified settlement at Castelo da Lousa (Morão) can be dated to the first century BCE on the secure evidence of Campanian wares, early Italic sigillata (terracotta tableware characterized by a glossy red surface), and amphorae for imported wine. The recent excavations at Castelinho dos Mouros further to the south (Figure 14.3: 9) suggest that the site may have been founded in the late second century BCE to secure the route that Lusitanian raiders used to gain access to the Baetis valley (Guadalquivir), the economic heart of the Republican province of *Hispania Ulterior*.³⁶ In the south of Hispania, fortified farmsteads continued to be occupied until the first century CE, even in some cases into the early second century. For example, the estate at El Tesorillo overlooking the Rio Gadalete near Málaga, only founded at the beginning of the first century CE, produced olive oil at least until the beginning of the following century (Figure 14.3: 7).³⁷

Elsewhere, fortified central buildings of late Republican or early imperial date were transformed into residential villas. The villa at La Sevillana (Badajoz) has been thoroughly studied, and at Cerro da Vila near Quarteira (Algarve) the development of the settlement is particularly illuminating.³⁸

During the early Empire, a fortified farmstead set deep into the slope of the Cerro da Vila controlled the approach to the excellent natural anchorage in the lagoon of the Riberia de Quarteira (Figure 14.3: 1). The rectangular central building was visible from far away on the open sea and was surrounded by smaller subsidiary buildings and a cistern typical of the early settlement phases. During the second and third centuries, the original farmstead grew into an extensive fishing settlement with at least one main building that can be styled as a villa (Figure 14.6: 2).

TOWARD A ROMAN MEDITERRANEAN LANDSCAPE OF VILLAS

When Augustus brought the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula to a close, the old Celtiberian territories in the northwest received a new administrative organization. The settlement of veterans and colonists on the land of the newly founded towns had consequences for the countryside. For example, in Portugal, in the area of the new town of Ebora Liberalitas Iulia, an existing late Iron Age/Republican fortification on Monte da Nora was systematically leveled and a new farmstead built. The building had numerous rooms arranged around a small working courtyard and was more spacious than the older fortified farmsteads (Figure 14.4).³⁹ The site was near the main road running from Olisipo (mod. Lisbon) to Emerita Augusta (mod. Mérida). Economic activities attested in the area until late antiquity included cattle breeding, grain cultivation, oil, and pottery production. In the first quarter of the first century CE, a farmstead with a similar layout was also established south of Emerita (Mérida), the capital of the province of Lusitania, in Las Rozas (Extremadura) on the Via de la Plata; this route was an old road leading to the Atlantic ports of the south coast.

Fishing was probably the occupation of the inhabitants of Mameleiros, another settlement built on the lagoon of Cerro da Vila, in the south of Lusitania. Habitation units consisted of long buildings with rectangular rooms arranged along a roofed

corridor.⁴⁰ Increasing numbers of modest rural complexes of this kind dating to the early imperial period have been found in the neighboring province of Baetica, characterized by living and working quarters in the same architectural unit, either rectangular or square in plan, with various arrangements of the rooms. Similarly rectangular plans have been found at Las Cruces (Sevilla), Cortija Cecilio (Fiñana, Almería), and most probably in the earliest building at El Ruedo (Córdoba).⁴¹ In these and other cases, advances in excavation techniques have revealed identification of these proto-villas beneath larger complexes of the early and high empire that had been the main body of evidence in the work of Jean-Gérard Gorges and Maria Carmen Fernández Castro: The *developmental* history of Hispanic villas can now be formulated.

The province of Tarraconensis, directly connected with the Mediterranean trade routes and markets, was Romanized much earlier than the northwestern portions of the peninsula. Regularly planned and extensive rural villas comparable to those in Italy were already in existence in the first century CE. Although only partially excavated, the complex plans of the villas at Els Ametllers (Girona), La Llosa (Tarragona), Els Tolegassos (Girona), and Torre Lauder (Barcelona) have attracted international attention. They display a clear distinction between the living quarters and the utilitarian sectors, in the *pars urbana*, *pars rustica* division typical of Italian villas.⁴² The two sectors were arranged around rectangular internal courtyards – the hexastyle atrium at Torre Lauder is particularly impressive – and the buildings were generally surrounded by a wall. The increasing size of the villas reflects the growing prosperity of the estates and was accompanied by a gradual increase in the comforts provided in the residential parts, in particular the installation of mosaic floors and small bath suites (*balnea*). At the same time, a rise in the volume of agricultural production can be observed, as well as the rationalization and increasing specialization of the production quarters. For example, the estate in Els Tolegassos near Girona had over 100 sunken large storage vessels for wine production. They were larger than the *dolia* recovered at the nearby earlier site of Olivet d'en

Pujols, wine having become the main export of the Laietana region (roughly corresponding to modern Catalonia).⁴³ Such production is attested by the wine presses and storage areas provided with these vessels for the fermentation of must into wine that are regularly found at villa sites, as well as kilns for the production of wine amphorae, the usual transport container used for transmarine shipments.⁴⁴

In the southwest of Hispania, a more complex division of villas into living and working quarters is attested only around the middle of the first century CE. The arrangement is very clear at Courelas de Antas (Vidigueira), Carrión (Mérida), São Cucufate (villa I), and Milreu (Algarve, phase B), where the separate parts are regularly divided into three wings (cf. Figure 14.5).⁴⁵ The two working units, which are identified as the production and storage quarters (*pars rustica* and *pars frumentaria*) in accordance with the layout described by Columella,⁴⁶ were connected by residential quarters (*pars urbana*) set between them. This arrangement produced

a protected inner courtyard open on one side, used both for agricultural production and as a kitchen garden (*hortus*). The villa at Milreu (Algarve) included – in accordance with the recommendation of Cato in his agricultural manual – five oil and two wine presses.⁴⁷ The oil pressing and storage rooms were in the west wing overlooking a small river valley, while the winery, also provided with storage facilities for the produce, was built next to the vineyards to the east, in a compact, efficient plan. The residential quarters, on the other hand, were located facing the approach route to the south and were reached through a central vestibule. Inside this southern wing – integrated into the later peristyle villa (Figure 14.6: 1 and Figure 14.7, above left) – corridors and stairways led to less important rooms arranged in a row, some of which already had simple black and white mosaic floors.⁴⁸ The three-winged scheme – production areas and storage facilities radiating outward on either side of a central residence – came to be almost a norm in many Hispanic villas.

The structural and spatial concept of “three-building units” (*à trois corps*)⁴⁹ also proved to be viable: As late as the beginning of the third century, an existing villa at Vilauba (Girona) that had previously had a different plan was extended into a three-winged complex (Figure 14.5).⁵⁰ Similarly, the two distinct residential and agricultural *partes* of the Republican period at the Mas Gusó villa in the Girona district were joined by a connecting wing with a gatehouse in the late second century CE, thus forming a u-shaped, *carré*-like complex.⁵¹

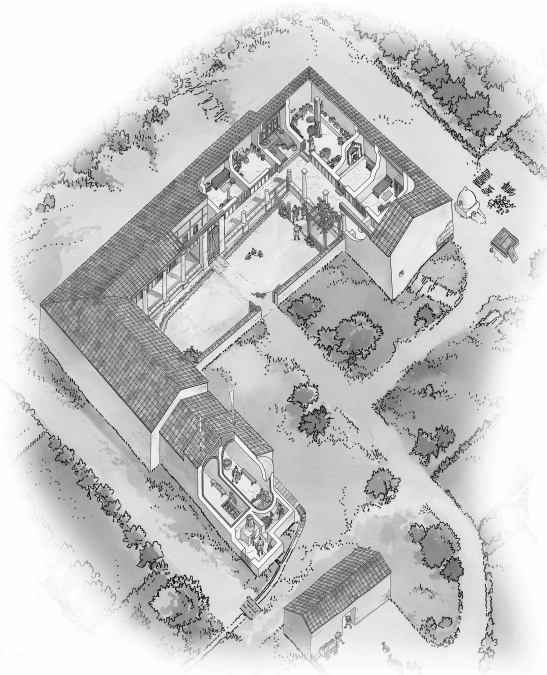


Figure 14.5. Vilauba (Girona), villa. The complex with three ranges (“*édifice à trois corps*”) as constructed during the third century CE (after Castanyer and Tremoleda 2007).

MEDITERRANEAN ARCHITECTURE

The Peristyle Villa in Lusitania

Vespasian (reigned 69–79 CE) conferred Latin rights on all the inhabitants of Hispania and the grant of municipal rights on towns, acts that constituted the final step in the Romanization of the Iberian Peninsula.⁵² The result was large numbers

of senators and knights from the Iberian provinces: The Aelii and the Ulpii, the families of the first non-Italian emperors Trajan and Hadrian (98–117 and 117–138 CE), both came from the Republican foundation of Italica (mod. Santiponce). Not surprisingly, Vespasian, his successors Titus and Domitian, and later emperors supported the monumentalization of public buildings in urban centers.⁵³ In the countryside, rural settlements in Hispania changed, with some stagnating or disappearing altogether, others modifying toward larger size and consolidation. Whole series of farmsteads were abandoned in the second half of the first century CE, leading to the merging of estates that previously had been cultivated separately.⁵⁴

In Lusitania, the area surrounding the provincial capital at Mérida in the Guadiana valley saw merging of estates due to migration of some of the original colonists seeking opportunities in the expanding town.⁵⁵ The original distribution of land in the new territories at the beginning of the Principate had probably been very artificial and/or not or no longer viable: now, geographical and economic considerations as well as administrative changes strengthened and concentrated the more productive and successful estates. The process is well documented in the lagoon of the Ribera de Quarteira on the southern coast of the province: **The early imperial fishing settlement at Marmeleiros led to a significant concentration of activity at nearby Cerro da Vila, where a prosperous port grew up** on the site of one of the old scattered fortified farmsteads.⁵⁶

The villa at Milreu (Faro), also in Lusitania, is a good example of this reorganization of structures for agricultural production and how many villas in the Iberian Peninsula developed between the first and second centuries CE.⁵⁷ In the early second century CE, the residential part, a typical early-first-century complex with three wings of the type described earlier (p. 242), was architecturally reconceived. The old open courtyard was modified by the construction of a fourth wing, thus creating a closed inner court. The individual rooms and suites of the living quarters could now be accessed from the colonnades of the peristyle that surrounded this

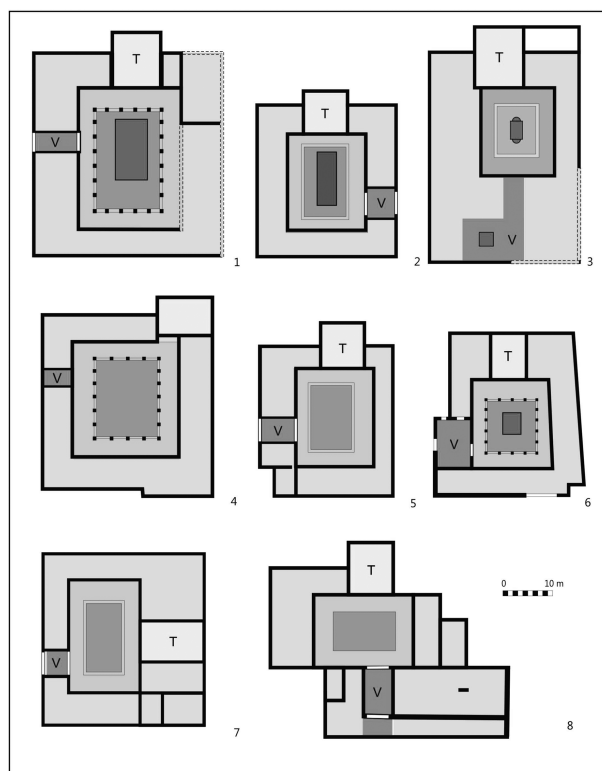


Figure 14.6. Some prominent peristyle villas in Lusitania: 1.) Milreu, Estói, Portugal; 2.) Cerro da Vila, Quarteira, Portugal; 3.) El Ruedo, Córdoba, Spain; 4.) Dehesa de la Cocosa, Badajoz, Spain; 5.) Monroy, Cáceres, Spain; 6.) Torre de Palma, Monforte, Portugal; 7.) Las Motas, Fuente de Cantos, Spain; 8.) São Cucufate, Vidigueira, Portugal (after Teichner 2008, fig. 264 with modifications).

court (Figure 14.6: 1), with the result that the villa became a formally planned, inward-looking residence with rooms articulated as to function by their location, proportions, and the differences among the mosaic floors in every room (Figure 14.7). The entrance area – the vestibule – was still located in the south, but at the western end of the peristyle garden a large dining room was installed (*triclinium*: Figures 14.6: 1; 14.8: A) and several living rooms and bedrooms (*cubicula*) were organized around the central garden area. Kitchen and service installations for the residence were arranged together in the eastern wing of the rectangular *pars urbana*.

With small differences, the majority of villas built in Lusitania at the beginning of the second century



Figure 14.7. Milreu (Algarve), villa, sections.

Above: W-E section through the *pars urbana* of the Milreu villa. From left to right: *piscina* in the *balneum*, *triclinium*, peristyle with *piscina* and colonnade, private quarters with ancestors' gallery, atrium and kitchen (after Teichner 2008, figs. 59 and 60).

Below: N-S section through the *pars urbana* of the Mileu villa. From left to right: well, street, vestibule, peristyle with colonnade and pool (in the background the *triclinium*) and adjoining residential quarters.

CE adhere to the basic plan of the Milreu villa as it was remodeled: a peristyle in the center of a complex arranged symmetrically along a central axis (Figure 14.6). The rectangular peristyle, sometimes with a garden (*viridarium*) with its surrounding porticoes, usually contained a water basin, which, by reflecting the surrounding architecture, enhanced the decorative and visual effects of the villa as well as the reservoir for drinking water: Its large size (greater than the cistern of urban *domus*) was suited to the climatic conditions of rural southern Spain. Their capacity varied between 30 and 100 m³ and often were connected to sophisticated water-supply systems from nearby wells or natural springs: The traditional method of collecting water from inclined roofs surrounding the peristyle (*impluvium*) needed local adaptation. At some other sites, the adaptation of a secure water supply for the whole villa to garden design for the owners' pleasure was ingenious: Large reservoirs were placed outside and small decorative basins were installed in the inner garden.⁵⁸ Good examples of this are the round

decorative basin in the *viridarium* found at Benicató (Nules, Valencia), or the four small circular structures subdividing the court of the villa at La Estación (Andalucía).⁵⁹

As a rule, the long axis of the rectangular residential complexes included a vestibule that acted as the entrance to the living quarters, while the banqueting room (*triclinium*) had a prominent place in the center of one of the short wings (Figure 14.6). At São Cucufate, however, the dining room was placed in the long west wing of the peristyle court, an arrangement dictated by the architectural layout of the earlier complex (Figure 14.6: 8). The other three wings were occupied by smaller living rooms of uniform dimensions; bedrooms could be accessed directly from the peristyle porticoes. In fact, from the end of the second century rooms were generally arranged in groups of two or three to form independent accommodation units or suites. This hierarchical planning concept grew in popularity in late antiquity and normally consisted of an antechamber leading into one, or more rarely two, main rooms.⁶⁰

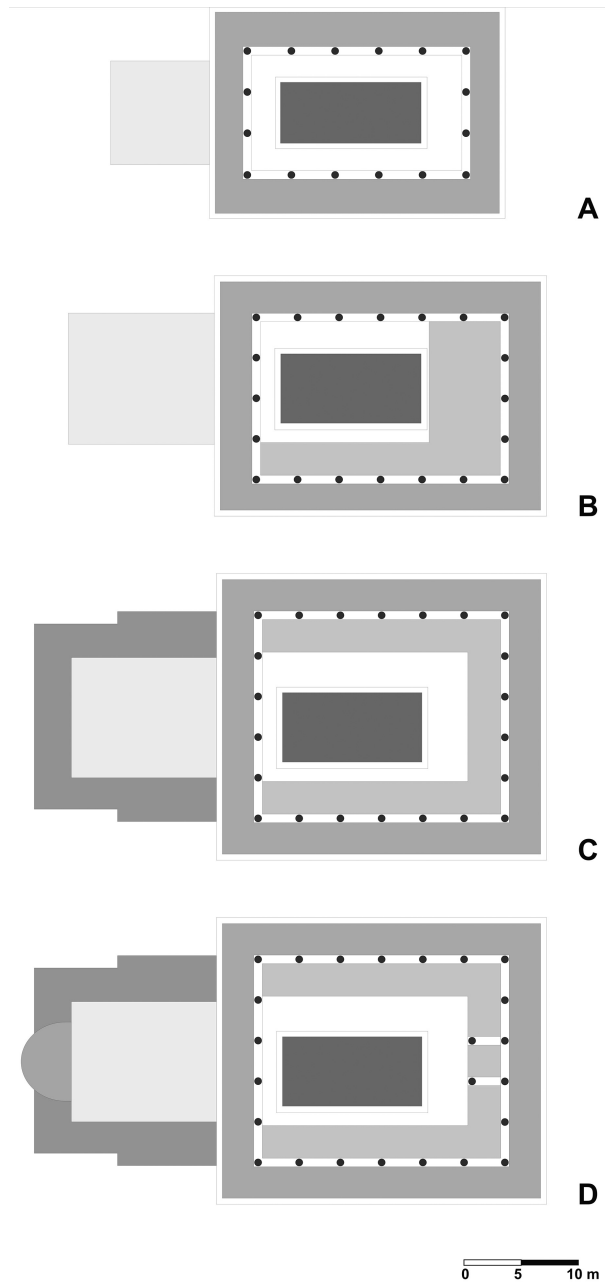


Figure 14.8. Milreu (Algarve), villa: development of the peristyle and *triclinium* from the second to the fifth centuries CE. The central court, with garden and pool (dark gray) was surrounded by a portico (gray). To the west was the *triclinium* (light gray), which at a later stage was extended with an ambulatory and an apse (after Teichner 2008, fig. 73).

The criteria for the division and proportions of these accommodation units varied to suit the individual needs of the inhabitants. For example, the antechamber and main room could be of similar shape and

size,⁶¹ while at other sites the antechamber is smaller than the main room.⁶² In some cases, one or more secondary rooms could be reached from the antechamber, further differentiating the functions of the rooms.⁶³

In Lusitania, the architecture and dimensions of the residential quarters of Cerro de Vila and Milreu are remarkably similar to phase II of the villa at São Cucufate (Vidigueira) (Figure 14.6: 1, 2, 8).⁶⁴ The construction at Cerro de Vila dates as early as the late Flavian period, while Milreu was apparently built a little later in the Hadrianic period, and at São Cucufate the *pars urbana* is dated by the finds to about 130 CE. The main residential complex at Torre de Palma (Monforte), a large estate in the interior of Lusitania, is also arranged around a peristyle court (Figure 14.6: 6). The building is some 950 m² in size, but there is no agreement on its date of construction: the second half of the third/fourth century CE for some, the mid-second century according to others.⁶⁵ In contrast, period B of the complex at Dehesa de Doña Maria (Badajoz), which has an area of only 500 m², is clearly dated to the first half of the second century. Finally, the plans from the excavations at Monroy (Cáceres) suggest that there may have been an earlier structure of similar type with an area of at least 850 m² (Figure 14.6: 5), which was then radically modified by later additions and alterations – in particular the rooms with apses (discussed later). The same seems to apply to the newly excavated villas at Alberquilla (Badajoz) and Las Motas (Badajoz), where structures dating to the second and third centuries CE can be reconstructed with residential areas of at least 800 and 1100 m² (Figure 14.6: 7).⁶⁶ While these villas differ in date and geographical location, the similarities of their plans indicate that the peristyle combining centralizing and axial movement was a strong homogenizing design in Iberian architectural typology.

Jean-Gérard Gorges and Maria Carmen Fernández Castro already recognized that this architectural type, the so-called *villa bloc à peristyle à plan simple* (peristyle villa-unit with simple plan), found regularly in the first half of the second century CE, was the most common type of Roman villa in the Iberian peninsula.⁶⁷ Its prototype is

most certainly to be found in the axial peristyle townhouses of the western Mediterranean.⁶⁸ However, in contrast to the constraints of space imposed by the urban environment, the fact that plenty of space was available in the country to construct villas meant that the buildings could take advantage of the morphology of the landscape by means of artificial terraces, and that sight lines and structural axes could be expressively emphasized. Thus, the main façade, which generally faced the approach route, played a particularly important part, and this explains why the entrance hallway was often moved from the central axis (Figure 14.6: 3, 8) to one of the longer sides of the peristyle (Figure 14.6: 1–2, 4–7).

The Peristyle Villa in Tarraconensis

The direct predecessors of the peristyle villas in the western Iberian Peninsula are to be found in the Mediterranean coastal strip of Tarraconensis, which – as shown before – generally developed more rapidly and earlier. At El Moro villa near Tarragona, on the Catalan coast, residential quarters with mosaic floors were built around a central court with porticoes (i.e., a typical peristyle) as early as the later first century CE.⁶⁹ Villas of this type were also being established at about this time in the hinterland of Carthago Nova (Cartagena). For example, in the second half of the first century CE, a peristyle villa with rich architectural decoration was constructed at Los Cipreses (Murcia) over older buildings dating back to the Republican period.⁷⁰ One of the largest wine producers in the hinterland of the ancient town of Saguntum built a residential complex with a peristyle toward the beginning of the second century.⁷¹ At a villa devoted to the production of olive oil at Casa Ferrer I in the suburbs of ancient Lucentum near Alicante, the basic plan of the living quarters surrounding a peristyle was probably built in the first century CE.⁷² In the hinterland of Tarraconensis there are also examples of villas with a similarly structured residential part dating after the middle of the first century CE, among them the

exceptional villa at Las Musas (Navarra), where a remarkable wine storage area was integrated into the central structure.⁷³

Villas in Baetica

The province of Baetica in the south, which garnered its considerable wealth to the large-scale export of olive oil to the entire empire, was also populated with rural residences in the second century. The complex at El Ruedo (Córdoba) is one of the few systematically excavated Roman villas in the province and a paradigm of the settlement situation in the Baetis valley where most of the oil production in Hispania was situated.⁷⁴ In the second phase of the villa, a peristyle court and wings were added to the original building. Although the site was located very close to the provincial capital of Corduba (mod. Córdoba), this modification is clearly no earlier than the first half of the second century. The second example of villa architecture of the period in Baetica was constructed directly on the Mediterranean coast. The villa of Río Verde (Marbella), organized like all those described earlier around a peristyle, is dated on the basis of the mosaic floors in the porticoes. These mosaics, famous for their illustrations of a range of kitchen implements, date to the late first or early second century CE.⁷⁵

Late-antique construction, particularly abundant throughout the peninsula, often obscures the earlier plans of peristyle villas: further stratigraphic analysis is needed.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, the state of research to date clearly suggests that the peristyle-villa type gradually spread from east to west. The oldest examples, such as the villas at El Moro and Río Verde described earlier, belong to the second half of the first century CE, while in the interior of Baetica and Lusitania this villa type generally appears only from the early second century CE.⁷⁷ Once established in most areas of Hispania by the mid-second century, the peristyle layout – a conscious symbol of Roman-Mediterranean lifestyle – continued to be popular for the *partes urbanae* of Hispanic villas until late antiquity.⁷⁸

LUXURIOUS LIFE: THE SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES

The military threats, political unrest, and economic crisis of the third century CE do not seem to have seriously affected the agriculture of Hispania: Wine and olive oil continued to be shipped throughout the empire.⁷⁹ As a result, the improvements in the comforts and luxuries of the residential quarters of rural villas begun in the second century continued – mosaic floors were added as well as wall paintings, and fine architecture and sculptural decoration supplemented the already sophisticated interiors. Recent excavations at the so-called villa of Maternus in Carranque (Toledo) have demonstrated that for the majority of the known late-antique residences a progressive, step-by-step evolution from an earlier peristyle villa can be posited.⁸⁰

As in other parts of the empire, the owners of Hispanic villas paid particular attention to the creation of impressive banqueting rooms (*triclinia*). Because it was customary in antiquity to dine while reclining, the position of the individual couches (*dinae*) can often be reconstructed from the divisions in the polychrome mosaic floors. The plentiful supply of drinking water could be displayed to view inside the residence in pools and fountains, especially in regions where there was little rain. Dining rooms usually had a wide front opening onto the garden at the center of the peristyle, with its water basins providing a luxurious display.⁸¹ In the villa of El Ruedo near Córdoba, terracotta and lead pipes beneath the 100 m² floor of the *triclinium* ran from the entrance to a basin in the middle of the room; the basin was surrounded by a semicircular dining couch (*stibadium*) in masonry.⁸² In the villa at Milreu (Faro), two water basins lined with marble flanked the entrance to the dining room, and the center of another room had a stepped pyramidal-shaped fountain, over which the water pleasantly flowed.⁸³ At the villa of El Ruedo, mentioned earlier, as well as at Cerro de Vila (Quarteira), there were also fountains in wall-niches (*aediculae*) based on Campanian prototypes.⁸⁴ Most important, the construction of

bath quarters in villas, beginning in the early second century CE, brought a central element of urban Roman lifestyle to the Iberian countryside.⁸⁵

The importance of villas as places of increasingly luxurious and complex social residence can be seen in their continual expansion and extension. During the third century, the decision was taken at Milreu to make room for the construction of a peristyle garden by moving the wine-making facilities in the east wing of the production quarters (Figure 14.8: B). At this time, a variety of innovations and additions to the dining room, living rooms, and the vestibule were made, which modified the traditional elements of the villa's architecture.⁸⁶ The dining room, already large at 112 m², was extended by adding a wide U-shaped corridor around it to make a new and more efficient space from which to serve the diners, and this modification allowed the main part of the room to be more densely furnished or else vacated for entertainment (Figure 14.8: C).⁸⁷

Apses were often added to rooms (including dining rooms), as in a final stage at Milreu (Figure 14.8: D and Figure 14.9). At the villa at El Ruedo (Córdoba) in Baetica, in the late third century the addition of a semicircular apse to a room on one side of the original *triclinium* produced a *second* banqueting area. In other comparable villas, sumptuous floors in marble intarsia (*scutulatum pavementum*) and polychrome mosaic were added to *triclinia*.⁸⁸

In general, by the late third century CE, very formal reception rooms started to appear in villas in addition to the new, grand dining suites.⁸⁹ These rooms were elongated halls with an apse at one end, and they varied in size from 40 to 80 m²: examples are to be found at Milreu (Faro), La Olmeda (Palencia), Quintas das Longas (Elvas), La Malena (Zaragoza), Cuevas de Soria (Soria), and Carranque (Toledo).⁹⁰ The formality of the rooms did not preclude their comfort: underfloor heating was added to some of them in rich residences for double use as winter dining halls.⁹¹

The new architectural fashions in villas included the addition of architectural elements to existing buildings, in particular long galleries and impressive halls such as those at Milreu and São Cucufate.⁹²

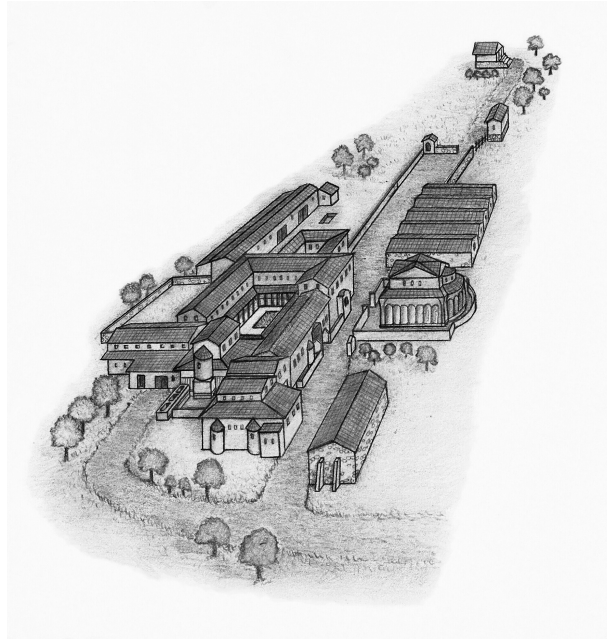


Figure 14.9. Milreu (Algarve), villa, view from the west in late antiquity. The *pars urbana* can be seen arranged around a peristyle, adjoined in the north by a winery and an oil press; to the west is a *balneum*. To the south of the street is a free-standing *horreum*, a late-antique *aula*, and various agricultural buildings and workshops. (© Felix Teichner/Zuzana Berková 2010).

These halls were generally situated in prominent positions and thus completely changed the effect of the buildings' existing layout and vistas. Open colonnades, some 80 m long, connected the main residential quarter with their baths at Tourega (Évora), Cerro da Vila (Quarteira), and Els Munts (Tarragona).⁹³ Elsewhere, broad corridors led to garden rooms separate from the main structure of the villa. These normally had a polygonal plan, as at Cerro da Vila (Quarteira), Ramalete (Navarra), La Madala (Zaragoza), and Rabaçal (Coimbra).⁹⁴ In some of the late-antique villas, impressive arrangements of corridors, some of them with apsidal niches along the sight lines, replaced traditional peristyles.⁹⁵

As elsewhere in the Roman Empire, Hispanic villas of the third century exhibit a general tendency toward more elaborate living areas, often with large banqueting complexes, and grandiose self-representation. However, the basic concept remained that of a complex arranged around

a rectangular peristyle court, even as the residential quarters expanded around it. The newly enlarged rooms were equipped with every single luxury that was available: mosaics, architectural ornaments, wall paintings, and sculptures. At Milreu in Lusitania, an impressive gallery was added for portrait busts of imperial personages as disparate as Agrippina Minor (15–59 CE) and the emperors Hadrian (reigned 117–38 CE) and Gallienus (reigned 253–68).⁹⁶

SOME ALTERNATIVE DESIGNS AND LATE-ANTIQUITY CONTINUITIES

Villas on the Iberian peninsula followed a predictable development in line with villas elsewhere: With Roman power fully established, peristyle villas with *partes rusticae* came to be the norm, and by the third century the new, almost universal formality in certain rooms (the addition of apses as backdrops, long corridors, and other impressive spaces) as well overt luxury (bath-buildings, mosaics, marble veneers) was followed by Hispanic owners. However, in the late third century, certain original architectural concepts began to appear.

In Lusitania, at Abicada (Mexilhoerira) on a high bank above an estuary on the south coast, a villa was built that was fundamentally different from the typical peristyle villa (Figure 14.10: 1). Its residential part incorporated two innovations in architectural concept.⁹⁷ First, the complex had a *linear* ground plan with units joined by a colonnaded façade (“*villa linéaire a galerie*”).⁹⁸ Perhaps to keep leveling work to a minimum, the dwelling followed the contours of the hillside's natural terrace, with the various units arranged separately along a colonnade with an open view of the sea. As a result, the dining room and the internal court were no longer aligned together but each one formed the centerpiece of a separate building unit; on the west side was an impressive banqueting and guest block, while private living and sleeping quarters were arranged around the internal court, next to a kitchen and storage wing to the east. The design of three units brought together by a colonnade refers directly to the shore-

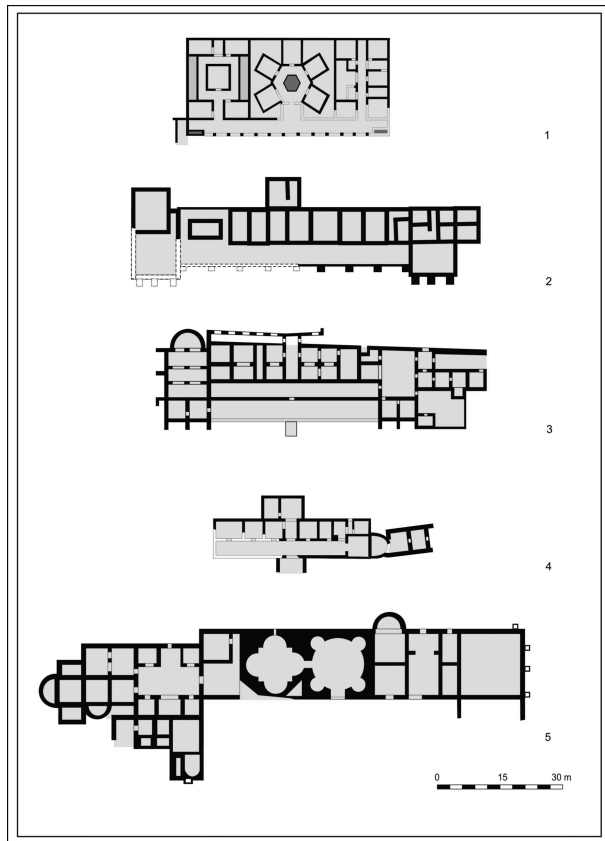


Figure 14.10. The linear structure of *villae maritimae* in Hispania. 1.) Abicada (Algarve), Portugal; 2.) Sant Amanç de Viladés (Barcelona), Spain; 3.) São Cucufate (Alentejo), Portugal; 4.) Benagalbón (Malaga), Spain; 5.) Centcelles (Tarragona), Spain (after Teichner 2008, fig. 313 with modifications; for no. 2 see: Martín and Alemany 1996/7).

side *villae maritimae* depicted in first-century CE wall paintings from Pompeii and elsewhere in the Bay of Naples.⁹⁹ Nor was the design confined to villas with a view of the sea: At São Cucufate (Vidigueira), at the beginning of the fourth century, the old peristyle villa of the second century was abandoned and replaced with a dwelling with a new linear plan (Figure 14.10: 3).¹⁰⁰ The central feature of the new villa was the long portico of the façade, behind which rose a two-story building with two corner projections detached from the main block and a wide water basin set in front of the residential unit. Similar fourth-century transformations of peristyle villas into linear complexes with portico façades have been observed elsewhere.¹⁰¹

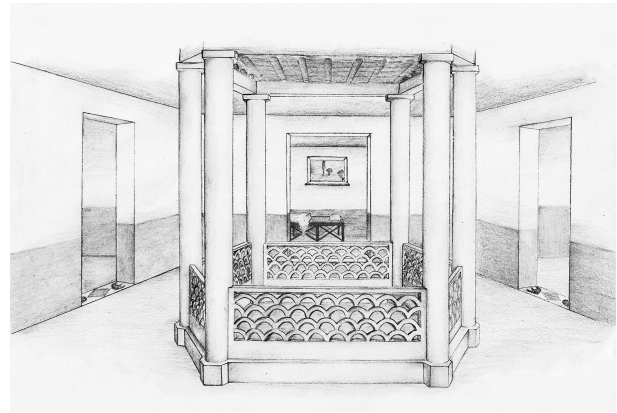


Figure 14.11. Abicada (Algarve), reconstruction view from the south of the hexagonal internal court (Zuzana Berková after Teichner 2008, fig. 260).

The second architectural innovation at the Abicada villa was its distinctive hexagonal peristyle surrounded by colonnaded porticoes some 2 m wide, with a hexagonal basin in the center bordered by a garden (Figure 14.11). The rooms surrounding this court were arranged so that their façades and openings faced only onto the central area with basin, thus conveying the impression that behind them was a dense closed complex of rooms, whereas the radial arrangement made for generous open spaces between the individual units. Hexagonal or polygonal peristyles or courtyards have been found elsewhere, and the architectural concept has been described as “central-plan villas.”¹⁰² The maritime villa on the Puerta Oscura in Malaga (later third century) may have had a hexagonal courtyard,¹⁰³ and the arrangement of living and dining rooms around a polygonal internal court dominated the designs of villas at Jaramas (Madrid), Can Farrerons (Barcelona), and Rabaçal (Coimbra).¹⁰⁴ At these sites, walls were specially constructed between the radially arranged elements to mask the spaces between them, so that the external aspect of the actual residential quarters paralleled the polygonal internal layout of the structure. This arrangement made the villas look larger and even more impressive than they were from both the outside and the inside, quite possibly an intended purpose. The most original plan was in the villa at

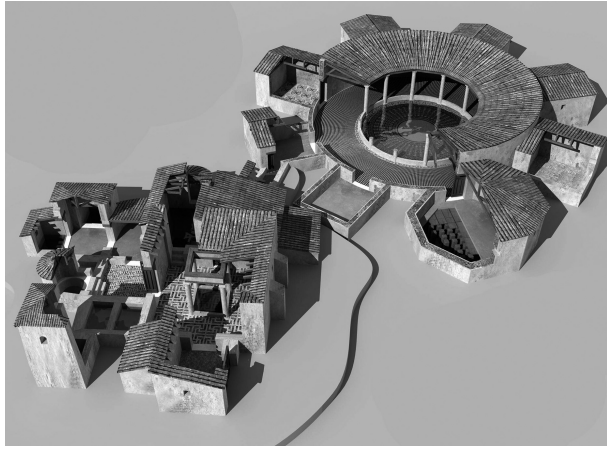


Figure 14.12. Baños de la Reina (Calpe, Alicante), villa, reconstruction view. The living quarters and a heated polygonal dining room are arranged around the circular court. The baths (left) were accessed via a corridor (after Abascal et al. 2007).

Baños de la Reina near Alicante, where the main rooms of the dwelling were arranged radially around a circular portico defining a round internal court: the old rectangular design of the peristyle villas was replaced with a truly original design (Figure 14.12).¹⁰⁵

Such originalities were countered by continuities in Iberian villas in late antiquity: Among others, three large residences of the Theodosian period (379–95 CE) – those of La Torrecilla (Madrid), Las Tanujas (Toledo), and Las Pizarras (Segovia) – resolutely adhered to the concept of the axial and symmetrical villa disposed around a peristyle that had been established as the standard layout in the Iberian Peninsula as early as the beginning of the second century CE.¹⁰⁶

CONCLUSION

While this overview of the Roman villas of Hispania Romana has been confined to their *partes urbanae*, the residential complexes indicate the growing influence of Romano-Mediterranean culture on the old Iberian and Celto-Iberian landscape from the Republic to late antiquity.

The absence of Roman villas in the northwest Atlantic coastal region of Celto-Iberia (Map 10) demonstrates the comparative reluctance of the

local cultures to accept this and other Mediterranean influences. Unsurprisingly, the first indications of Romano-Mediterranean organization of the rural community occurred in the northeast, around the bridgehead established at the end of the third century during the Second Punic War (Olivet d'en Pujols: Figure 14.1). It was here, in imperial Tarraconensis, that the first residential complexes with central courtyards were built (e.g., Torre Lauder), which in this early phase were of similar dimensions to the Roman *atrium* house.

In southern and western Hispania, other architectural models were at first employed, in particular protected farmsteads (“casas fuertes”/“Wehrgehöfte”: Figures 14.2; 14.3) and villas with three wings (“*édifice à trois corps*”: e.g., Vilauba and Milreu: Figure 14.5), but soon villa complexes centered on extensive peristyles with colonnades or courtyards with gardens surrounded by the *pars urbana* became the norm (Figure 14.6). With a few exceptions involving experiments with linear and polygonal arrangements (Figures 14.10, 14.11 and 14.12), the Romano-Mediterranean type became dominant. Because the villas of the second century were arranged around a central element, there was enough space to develop villas that could become increasingly representational, even grandiose, rather than functional, a type that could take into account the higher standard of living of the owners and their increasing social importance (Figure 14.8). Furthermore, the increased luxury, size, and display in villas of the third century indicate that villa owners had come to regard such amenities as necessary to their status without, however, abandoning the tradition of the villa as a refuge from work and a place from which to contemplate nature. Even in southern Lusitania, where large formal halls (*aulae*) were added to certain villas (Milreu, São Cucufate, and Quinta Marin) in the fourth century, the additions were designed to look outward to refreshing views of well-watered gardens in peristyles or courts.¹⁰⁷ The simple enjoyment of nature – a perpetual theme in the culture of villas from Republican

times through late antiquity – found a profound embodiment in villas in the Iberian Peninsula.

The residential parts of Roman villas were only one element in the total picture: agricultural activities developed from the heterogeneous constructions of the pre-Roman rural-agrarian settlement sites to the structured, almost standardized villa system of the imperial Roman period with its distinct separation of different areas of activity (*pars rustica*, *frumentaria*, *pars urbana*). Hispanic villas were highly specialized to support a large-scale export-oriented surplus production to the empire. The result was an increasing separation of production spaces from residential spaces, as at sites like El Moré (Catalunya) and Marroquies Bajos (Jaen): These are standalone wineries and oil mills without fine residences for which an administrator (*villicus*) was responsible, while the affluent owner (*dominus*), possibly of senatorial rank, resided in the neighboring towns.¹⁰⁸

NOTES

1. The translation of this article is by Dr. David Wigg-Wolf (Roman Germanic Commission of the German Archaeological Institute in Frankfurt am Main). For all the work during the careful editing process, I have to thank G. P. R. Métraux and A. Marzano. The research was done as part of the Heisenberg fellowship program of the German Science Foundation (DFG). Final corrections were made as part of the PN-II-ID-PCE-2012-4-0490 program of the Rumanian Academy of Science (project “The Others in Action. The Barbarization of Rome and the Romanization of the World”) and the “Villas romanas de la Bética” program of the Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Seville (Proyecto I+D+I HAR2011-25250; Agencia Obra Pública de la Junta de Andalucía G-GI3000/IDI1).
2. E.g. Alföldy 2002; Panzram 2002; Teichner 2008; 2014a.
3. E.g., Strabo 3.1.7; 3.2.7; 3.2.10; Columella, *Rust.* 3.2; Plin., *HN* 14.94; 15.8; 33.78.
4. Blázquez, Domergue, and Sillières 2002; Teichner 2014a.
5. Lagóstena Barrios 2001; Étienne and Mayet 2002. See also Teichner and Pons Pujol 2008; Teichner 2014a.
6. Indications of a Mediterranean villa economy are, however, relatively rare in the remote northwest. For a summary: Teichner 2008, 583 esp. notes 1153–6.
7. Teichner and Peña Cervantes 2012.
8. Arnal 1788.
9. Lozano Santa 1794, 34–6; see Noguera and Antolinos 2010.
10. An English traveler, Francis Carter, mentioned the Torrox-Costa villa in 1777 (Carter 1777 but see Posac 1972); the villa is now a museum open to the public: Rodríguez Oliva 1979.
11. For example Villaverde Bajo (Madrid): Rada y Delgado 1875, 451; Almenara de Adaja (Valladolid): *Bull. Real Academia Historica* 11, 1887, 451; El Santiscal (Arcos de la Frontera): Mancheño y Olivares 1901, 68–72, referred to in de Mora-Figueroa 1977; Santa Colomba de Somoza (Léon): Fita 1892.
12. Serra Rafols 1943; 1952; Domenech i Montaner 1931; Taracena Aguirre 1949; Heleno 1962.
13. Taracena Aguirre 1944.
14. For example, A. Balil (1954) for the east coast, A. Arribas Palau (1962) and M. Tarradell i Mateu (1968) for Catalonia, and P. de Palol i Salellas (1977) for the northern Meseta Central with the late-antique residences at La Olmeda and Pedros de la Veiga (Palencia).
15. Gorges 1979. There had been an important earlier study by J. Rodríguez Hernández (1975) that had not been much noticed. See on this subject Ripoll (Chapter 22) in this book.
16. Fernández Castro 1982 (based on a doctoral thesis submitted at the Complutense University of Madrid). However, the antiquarian approach employed in Fernández’s and Gorges’ works meant that rarely were they able to provide anything more than a superficial chronological comparison of the structural and settlement phases of individual sites. Although the plans of the villas were collected for the first time, no distinction is made among structures that span several centuries.
17. For Vilauba: Roure et al. 1988; Castanyer and Tremoleda 1999. Long-term research excavations that have received international attention were conducted at villas such as Adarró, El Moro, Els Munts,

- Els Ametllers, Els Tolegassos, and La Pineda. Together with an inventory of archaeological monuments as yet unexcavated, this research offers an overall picture of the development of Roman villa culture outside Italy: Prevosti and Guitart 2010; Revilla 2004; 2010; Revilla, González, and Prevosti 2008–11. Cf. Tremoleda et al. 1995.
18. De Alarcão, Étienne, and Mayet 1990.
 19. Teichner 2008.
 20. Such production quarters comprise presses and store-rooms for wine and oil, the *horrea* for grain, and the vats (*cetariae*) for the production of fish sauces and dyes. Documentation can be found in García-Entero 2005; Peña Cervantes 2010; Teichner and Peña Cervantes 2012. Specifically on architecture and economic basis: Teichner 2008. For the development of archaeological research on this subject see the different emphasis in Fernández Ochoa and Roldán 1991, 218 and Keay 2003. For the surprisingly fragmentary and unsystematic state of investigation on villas in Baetica: Fornell 1999. On the importance of olive oil production in the region: Remesal 2001; Teichner and Peña Cervantes 2012.
 21. Recently on this subject and the structures of olive oil production (not only for the *annona* of Rome): Teichner and Peña Cervantes 2012. The University Pablo de Olavide (Sevilla) has prepared a corpus of all the Roman villa sites in modern Andalucía: Hidalgo 2017.
 22. The surveys listed in the bibliography, together with regional archaeological inventories, some of which are available online, provide swift, unproblematic access to the relevant literature on more than 3,000 Roman farmsteads and villas. For developments in late antiquity and the early Medieval period, see G. Ripoll (Chapter 22) in this book.
 23. See on this subject the results of the important project AGER TARRACONENSIS: Prevosti, López Vilar, and Guitart i Duran 2013.
 24. Fortó, Martínez, and Muñoz 2008–11. For a summary: Revilla 2004; 2010, 49–51 fig. 6. Discerning: Olesti 1997.
 25. Font 1994/5.
 26. Casas i Genover 1988; Casas and Soler 2003.
 27. While the excavators (see note 26) are convinced that the *dolia defossa* of L'Olivet d'en Pujols were used to store grain, all the available evidence from Italy proves that they were used for must fermentation into wine: Teichner and Peña Cervantes 2012.
- The best examples of this Roman agricultural practice are found at Villa Regina (Boscoreale): De Caro 1994; Brun 2004, 17–20.
28. A complex of the same date in Mas Gusó (Girona): Casas and Soler 2004, 141–74 fig. 111 and 137; the villa at Tolegassos (Girona) had probably a comparable Republican phase: Casas and Soler 2003, 15–45. For the on-going discussion of the concepts of Romanization and *resistance* in Roman Spain, see: Curchin 2004; Jiménez Díez 2008; Dopico Caínzos, Villanueva, and Rodríguez 2009 and Gouda 2011.
 29. Cartagena: Antolinos, Noguera and Soler 2010, 206–7 fig. 6 (Cabezo de la Atalaya); Brotóns and Lopez-Mondéjar 2010, 413–38 esp. fig. 4 (Los Paradores); Malaga: Serrano, Atencia, and de Luque 1985.
 30. De Alarcão, Carvalho, and Gonçalves 2010.
 31. Maia 1986; Moret and Chapa 2004; Fabião 2002.
 32. Wahl 1985, esp. 169–73.
 33. On these “*latrocinia*”: Varro, *Rust.* 1.16.2. The most prominent “*latro*” of Lusitania was Viriathus: Cass. Dio 23 (fragm. 73); Livy, *Per.* 52. Cf. Cic., *Fam.* 10.33.3.
 34. Moret 1999, 59–61 fig. 3d (Posta Crusta); Gros 2001, 276 fig. 298 (Villa Sambuco).
 35. Teichner and Schierl 2009.
 36. Teichner et al. 2010; Teichner et al. 2012; Teichner et al. 2015; Teichner et al. 2017.
 37. See note 29.
 38. Teichner 2008, 279–81; 581; 2012; 2014b; 2017a; 2017b.
 39. Teichner 2008, 68–71 fig. 14B–C. See: Teichner and Schierl 2010; Teichner et al. 2012 and Teichner et al. 2017.
 40. Teichner 2008, 413–16 fig. 239.
 41. In summary: Teichner 2008, 256 ff. with fig. 263 (list 3). For El Ruedo (Córdoba): Vaquerizo and Noguera 1991, fig. 8 (structures in red). The situation at San José de Valle (Vega Elvira I) from the same period is not certain: Martí Solano 1995.
 42. Tremoleda et al. 1995. For details: López Mullor et al. 2001; Prevosti 1987/8; 1993; García and Puche 1999; Palahí and Nolla 2010.
 43. Casas and Soler 2003.
 44. Prevosti and Martín 2009; Teichner and Peña Cervantes 2012; more general: Brun 2004.
 45. Teichner 2008, 104; 581–2 fig. 36. Cf. de Alarcão, Étienne, and Mayet 1999; Sillieres 1994; Picado 2001.

46. Columella, *Rust.* 1.6; 2.1.
47. Cato, *Agr.* 12.2; Teichner 2010/11; 2013.
48. For details, Teichner 2008, 105–7 fig. 45B.
49. Sillières 1994, 96.
50. Castanyer and Tremoleda 1999; 2008. Cf. also the complex at Font del Vilar (Girona), which also has its origins in the first century CE: Casas et al. 1995; Tremoleda et al. 1995.
51. Casas and Soler 2004, 175–228 fig. 138 and 181.
52. Plin., *HN* 3.30.
53. Teichner 2006 for an overview, with previous literature.
54. Escacena and Padilla 1992. Cf. Teichner 2008, 580–2.
55. Rodríguez Martín 1999.
56. Teichner 2008, 411–16. Cf. Teichner 2014b; Teichner and Wienkemeier in press.
57. The site was known in the late eighteenth century but has been the object of recent investigation: Teichner 2008, 93–269.
58. See, for example, the big reservoirs with a capacity of 600–800 m³ outside the *pars urbana* at São Cucufate: de Alarcão, Étienne, and Mayet 1990, 58–59 plate 51.
59. Gusi and Olaria 1977; Gusi 1999 (Benicató). Romero 1998 (La Estación); Hidalgo 2017, vol. 2, 437–47.
60. Cf. Balmelle 2001, 135 f.
61. For example, at Milreu (Faro), La Malena (Zaragoza) or Rielves (Toledo): Teichner 2008, 469–72 fig. 267, 1–3.
62. For example at Cerro da Vila (Quarteira), Las Motas (Badajoz), or Pisões (Beja): Teichner 2008, 469–72 fig. 267, 6.11.
63. For example, at Los Quintanares (Soria), Almenara de Adaja (Valladolid), and Aguilafuentes (Segovia): Teichner 2008, 469–72 fig. 267, 12–14.
64. These measure 1,500 m², 1,070 m², and ca. 1,300 m², respectively.
65. See Maloney and Hale 1996 for the dating by the American excavator of the site to the third/fourth c. CE; Lancha and André 2000 for the earlier, and more likely, date. On problems in the work: Maloney and da Luz Huffstot 2002. For the later evolution of the site, see Ripoll (Chapter 22) in this book.
66. For a summary, with previous literature: Teichner 2008, 462 Fig. 264, 3. 7.
67. Gorges 1979, 125 fig. 19; Fernández Castro 1982, 174 ff.
68. Meyer 1999.
69. Remolà Vallverdú 2003.
70. Noguera and Antolinos 2010.
71. Gusi and Olaria 1977; Gusi 1999. Cf. Peña Cervantes 2010, 450–2.
72. Pastor, Tendero, and Torregrosa 1999. Cf. Peña Cervantes 2010, 297–9.
73. Mezquíriz Irujo 2003, 32.
74. Vaquerizo and Carrillo 1995; Vaquerizo and Noguera 1991; Hidalgo 2017, vol. 2, 174–85. For the later evolution of the site: see Ripoll (Chapter 22) in this book.
75. The date is based on the shape of the kitchen implements illustrated: Posac 1972; Mondelor 1984/5; Hidalgo 2017, vol. 2I, 562–73.
76. Typical of this are the Lusitanian complexes at Dehesa de la Cocola and Torre Águila, both near Badajoz. Extensive excavation has not produced stratigraphic dating for the different architectural units, and unusually early dates (e.g., Flavian) need verification: cf. García-Entero 2005, 332–8; Peña Cervantes 2010, 314–18. The same problem applies to Torre Águila, which has only theoretically been described as a “peristyle villa”: Rodríguez Martín 1995; 1999.
77. The villa at Santa Colomba de Somoza (León) has its origins in the reign of Tiberius. However, it is unclear when it was redeveloped with a peristyle court. What is more, the fact that it is close to the rich gold mines of northwest Spain makes it a special case: Gorges 1979, 276–8 fig. 36.
78. Among the best-known examples are the complexes at Aguilafuente (Segovia), Casa del Mitra (Cabra, Córdoba), La Olmeida (Palencia), Quesada (Jaén), Cuevas de Soria (Soria), the Villa of Cardilius (Torres Novas), and the villa of Fortunatus (Fraga).
79. Recently on the question of the third-century CE crisis in Hispania: Witschel 2009; Sommer 2015.
80. García-Entero et al. 2008; García-Entero and Castelo Ruano 2008; for the later evolution of the site: see Ripoll (Chapter 22) in this book. Another example is the villa at Milreu: Teichner 2008, 95–270 fig. 108–13.
81. Complex installations for the water supply have been carefully documented in the villa of El Ruedo near Córdoba, discussed earlier: Vaquerizo and Noguera 1991, 71 fig. 21.
82. On this subject (*stibadia*) see Ripoll (Chapter 22) in this book.
83. Teichner 2008, 141–3 fig. 57–8 and 178 fig. 81, cf. fig. 265.
84. Vaquerizo and Noguera 1991, 65 fig. 19; Teichner 2008, 364 fig. 204–5 (building F).

85. García-Entero 2005. Cf. Teichner 2008, 182–207 fig. 82–6; 493–504 fig. 279.
86. Cf. Nolla i Brufau 2008.
87. Previously, this kind of service area around dining rooms had been a typical feature of North-African houses; at Volubilis (*Maison à la monnaie d'or*, *Maison au cadran solaire*) or Utica (*Maison de la Cascade*): Dunbabin 1996; Teichner 2008, 465 note 605.
88. A good example of this kind of arrangement is provided by the banquetting hall in the villa at Quintas das Longas (Elvas), which had a marble-tile floor forming an intricate pattern: Nogales, Carvalho, and Almeida 2004. Cf. Teichner 2008, 466–9 fig. 266, 2; cf. Ripoll (Chapter 22) in this book. But see also the polychrome mosaic floor in the dining room of the complex at Almenara de Adaja (Valladolid): García Merino, and Sánchez Simón 2004. Cf. Teichner 2008, fig. 266, 3.
89. Balmelle 2001, 159.
90. For a summary: Teichner 2008, 472–5 fig. 66–7; 268. Cf. Ripoll (Chapter 22) in this book.
91. Examples include the villas at La Olmeda (Palencia), El Rudeo (Córdoba), Carranque (Toledo), Barros (Idanha-a-Nova), and Milreu (Faro); cf. Balmelle 2001, 174–5.
92. Teichner 2008, 514 fig. 287.
93. Vaz Pinto and Viegas 1994; Tarrats Bou et al. 2000; Teichner 2008, 319–20 fig. 152.
94. Teichner 2008, 475–8 fig. 269.
95. This development can be observed at Rio Maior (Santarem), Monte do Meio (Beja), Barros (Idanha a Velha), and Torre Águila (Badajoz). For a summary: Teichner 2008, 476 nn. 652–6.
96. Teichner 2008, 592 with note 1223 and plate 28. See also Trillmich 1974; Fittschen 1984, 1993. For other examples of portrait collecting in villas, see Métraux (Chapter 21) in this book.
97. Teichner 2008, 419–47; in press..
98. Gorges 1979, 122 fig. 19; Balmelle 2001, 126 d.
99. Lafon 2001, 287 fig. 39b. Cf. Teichner and Ugarković 2012.
100. De Alarcão, Étienne, and Mayet 1990, 123 ff. plate 70. For the later evolution of the site: see Ripoll (Chapter 22) in this book.
101. E.g., at the villa on the Monte da Cegonha at Vidigueira: Lopes and Alfenim 1994.
102. On this subject, see Ripoll (Chapter 22) in this book.
103. The mosaic floors of the villa indicate such a plan: Serrano and Rodríguez 1975.
104. For a summary: Teichner 2008, 480–3 fig. 272–3. Cf. the hexagonal peristyle court of a suburban villa in Córdoba, which was also built toward the end of the third century CE: Teichner 2008, 483 fig. 272, 6.
105. Abascal et al. 2007. On this subject, see Ripoll (Chapter 22) in this book.
106. Teichner 2011, esp. fig. 6; see also Ripoll (Chapter 22) in this book.
107. On this building type in general, Teichner 2008, 514–16 fig. 287.
108. Teichner and Peña Cervantes 2012, 400–3; 422–5; cf. Revilla 2008, 113–14; Teichner 2016, 562–3 (Las Maravillas).