



2016

# Statuary Collections In The Late Roman Villas Of Hispania And Southwestern Gaul

Sarah Elizabeth Beckmann

*University of Pennsylvania*, [sarahbe@sas.upenn.edu](mailto:sarahbe@sas.upenn.edu)

Follow this and additional works at: <https://repository.upenn.edu/edissertations>

 Part of the [Ancient History, Greek and Roman through Late Antiquity Commons](#), and the [History of Art, Architecture, and Archaeology Commons](#)

---

## Recommended Citation

Beckmann, Sarah Elizabeth, "Statuary Collections In The Late Roman Villas Of Hispania And Southwestern Gaul" (2016). *Publicly Accessible Penn Dissertations*. 2183.

<https://repository.upenn.edu/edissertations/2183>

This paper is posted at ScholarlyCommons. <https://repository.upenn.edu/edissertations/2183>

For more information, please contact [repository@pobox.upenn.edu](mailto:repository@pobox.upenn.edu).

---

# Statuary Collections In The Late Roman Villas Of Hispania And Southwestern Gaul

## **Abstract**

Excavations in the Roman Southwest, in what is now Portugal, Spain, and southern France, have brought to light a diverse corpus of sculpture that was displayed in late antique villas, ca. 250-450 CE: monumental reliefs, mythological statues and statuettes, and portraits, of both private individuals and imperial personages. Although the production of some statues is roughly contemporaneous with the late antique villa in which they stood, many pieces were antiques, carved centuries earlier. But the diversity within and across these statuary assemblages, and the concentration of such finds in villas of Hispania and Gaul, have not been given a full treatment in modern scholarship. Rather, sculpture is interpreted generically as evidence for the elite status of a villa owner, leading to problematic assumptions that all statuary collections, and late-Roman villas more broadly, evince an indistinguishable class of “elite” Romans. This dissertation invites readers to reconsider the narrow but well-established definitions of the late antique elite, through analysis of the many differences that are readily apparent among villas and their material assemblages. I argue that material culture can and should be interpreted as evidence of the regionalism which played an important role in late antique society, and thus I treat sculpture as a window into the social practices and peer polity negotiations among villa domini.

## **Degree Type**

Dissertation

## **Degree Name**

Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

## **Graduate Group**

Art & Archaeology of Mediterranean World

## **First Advisor**

Ann Kuttner

## **Keywords**

Gaul, Hispania, Late Antiquity, Roman, Sculpture, Villa

## **Subject Categories**

Ancient History, Greek and Roman through Late Antiquity | History of Art, Architecture, and Archaeology

STATUARY COLLECTIONS IN THE LATE ROMAN VILLAS  
OF HISPANIA AND SOUTHWESTERN GAUL

Sarah E. Beckmann

A DISSERTATION

in

Art and Archaeology of the Mediterranean World

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania

in

Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2016

Supervisor of Dissertation

---

Ann Kuttner, Associate Professor of History of Art

Graduate Group Chairperson

---

Thomas Tartaron, Associate Professor of Classical Studies

Dissertation Committee

Kimberly Bowes, Associate Professor of Classical Studies

C. Brian Rose, James B. Pritchard Professor of Archaeology

STATUARY COLLECTIONS

IN THE LATE ROMAN VILLAS OF HISPANIA AND SOUTHWESTERN GAUL

COPYRIGHT

2016

Sarah Elizabeth Beckmann

This work is licensed under the  
Creative Commons Attribution-  
NonCommercial-ShareAlike 3.0  
License

To view a copy of this license, visit

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/3.0/us/>

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I have always thought that this small piece of the dissertation would be the easiest to write, but in sitting down to do so, I realize I am completely wrong. It is next to impossible to find the right words to express my gratitude towards all of the people who have made an indelible impression on me during my graduate career, both personally and professionally, but I will do my best.

First and foremost, this dissertation would not exist without the unwavering support and encouragement of my committee, Kim Bowes, Brian Rose, and the chair of my dissertation, Ann Kuttner. Each has had a profound effect on my research and on my development as a scholar. I thank these three heartily, while taking care to note that any faults that remain in this dissertation are purely my own. I thank Brian for his generosity and his insight. I will always treasure a piece of advice he once gave me in the writing process, that no piece of scholarship is ever the work of one scholar, but that it is the product of reflection, revision and constant discourse between the author and her advisors and colleagues. This dissertation is a demonstration of that principle. I thank Kim in particular for sharing her knowledge of and insight into villas and domestic archaeology with me at an early and defining moment in my graduate career. It was in her class on the ancient house in fall of 2010 that the seeds of this dissertation were sown. I have long since admired her scholarship, and the enthusiasm with which she approaches material

culture, international collaboration, and critical study. I thank her immensely for her input and inspiration, and feel lucky to count her in my professional circle.

Finally, I thank my chair, Ann Kuttner, for the interminable intellectual and emotional support I have received from her throughout the writing of this dissertation, and throughout my graduate career. I have never once doubted her commitment to me as a young scholar. My interest in Roman sculpture was honed in her classroom as early as 2009, and since then she has generously shared her time and her knowledge. I thank her especially in the dissertation for challenging me to explain and frame my arguments coherently and to situate my work in a bigger picture. I look forward to maintaining this personal and professional relationship into the future.

I must also extend my gratitude to one additional member of the AAMW department, Ann Brownlee. Courses with Dr. Brownlee honed my interest in collection studies and the acquisition histories of objects. I look back fondly on the many discussions she and I have had over the years. Remembering those, there is a part of me that hopes that no one is able to solve the puzzles around Isaac and Henry Charles Lea, and thus that there will always a place for me in her research.

Within the AAMW department, I also want to thank Tom Tartaron, who has been constant source of encouragement as department chair, and Lothar Haselberger, Jeremy McInerney, and Cam Grey, in whose classes I gained valuable teaching experiences. I thank also Darlene Jackson, for dealing with my mail during my years abroad, and fielding constant questions and headaches about concur. No more, I promise!

The Penn ancient studies graduate student community is such that it would be challenging to give everyone whom I count as a friend due recognition here, but a few members merit express mention. To Meg Andrews, Jeremy Labuff, Jason Nethercut, Amanda Reiterman, and Sarah Scullin, I looked up to you all for much of my graduate career, and I still do. Thank you for your friendship. I add here fellow AAMW folk, Lara Fabian, Kate Morgan, Kurtis Tanaka, and non-AAMWer Stephanie Hagan to a list that could be considerably longer than space allows. I want to give a special thanks to the only other member of a small, Sarah-centric AAMW cohort, Sarah Linn. I remember meeting Sarah for the first time at the corner of 34<sup>th</sup> and Walnut, when I had been feeling nervous about this graduate school thing, but somehow her friendly smile made me feel like maybe things weren't so bad. Nearly eight years later, you have become a confidant and a true friend. I can't imagine having gone through this with anyone else. I love you, Slinnamin!

On the note of lifelong friendship, I also want to share my gratitude and love for two members of a larger ancient studies cohort, both of whom entered alongside me in 2009, if in Classics and Ancient History, Heather Elomaa and Kyle Mahoney. Heather, your kind, generous spirit is a continual source of inspiration and encouragement. Thank you for being there for me, always but especially this last year. You'll never truly know how happy getting your emails while living abroad has made me feel. And Kyler, I am now remembering walking home and chatting with you for probably the first time ever

after Lothar's class in fall 2009. Who would have thought that eight years later, you'd be one of my dearest friends. Thanks for always making me laugh, buddy.

In the course of my research I also spent a great deal of time away from Penn, and there are many individuals and institutions to whom I owe my gratitude. I would like to extend special thanks to a number of museums and curators, to the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid; to Antonio Carvalho and the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia in Lisbon; to Pascal Capus of the Musée Saint-Raymond, and to Rui Parreira and the Museo Municipal in Faro. I also extend my gratitude to the Archaeological Institute of America for awarding me the Archaeology of Portugal Fellowship to carry out my research in Lisbon and Faro, and the Fulbright Commission for sponsoring a year of study in France.

Special thanks is due as well to the many friends and friendships I have made and cultivated during the course of research abroad. To Nuno Beja, I am at a loss for words as to how to express how welcome you made me feel in Faro. Perhaps this is because I never mastered Portuguese. Thank you for giving me a place to work – an actual desk! – and for introducing me to Portuguese food, to the Alentejo, and to the beauty of the Roman and the modern Algarve. Thanks as well to the Centre Camille Jullian in Aix-en-Provence, and to Vassiliki Gaggadis-Robin for her guidance in academic matters, but also in French and in life. She is a true friend. I also thank *mes amis*, and Léa Delpierre and Jonathan Devogelaere in particular, and the Kommission für Alte Geschichte in München and Ursula Vedder for hosting me during my final year of dissertation writing.



A rather different sort of gratitude is due to my parents, David and Sally Beckmann, who instilled in me an intellectual curiosity from an early age. In this moment I also want to thank you for making home a home. I have always known that I can travel the world and explore new places, but that home remains right there waiting for me. I also appreciate Jack the Pumpkin King's willingness to follow me wherever I go. I also thank my siblings, my brother and especially my little sisters Katherine, Julia, and Emily. I would not be the person I am today without my family.

And Samboy, where would I be without you? I have saved you for last because you are my world, and because you really have been by my side throughout this entire process. Thank you for your constant support, for your words of encouragement, for taking care of me and standing by me, for being an emotional punching bag when I need it, and for making me laugh at the beginning and end of every day (and many moments in between). I wanted to have the best words here, to tell you how much you mean to me, but I can't find them, which figures because you're the philologist in the family, not me. But if a picture really is worth a thousand words, picture a smiling, sweat-soaked, tear-stained, tired and happy Dr. Panda. I love you.

## ABSTRACT

STATUARY COLLECTIONS IN THE LATE ROMAN VILLAS  
OF HISPANIA AND SOUTHWESTERN GAUL

Sarah E Beckmann

Ann Kuttner

Excavations in the Roman Southwest, in what is now Portugal, Spain, and southern France, have brought to light a diverse corpus of sculpture that was displayed in late antique villas, ca. 250-450 CE: monumental reliefs, mythological statues and statuettes, and portraits, of both private individuals and imperial personages. Although the production of some statues is roughly contemporaneous with the late antique villa in which they stood, many pieces were antiques, carved centuries earlier. But the diversity within and across these statuary assemblages, and the concentration of such finds in villas of Hispania and Gaul, have not been given a full treatment in modern scholarship. Rather, sculpture is interpreted generically as evidence for the elite status of a villa owner, leading to problematic assumptions that all statuary collections, and late-Roman villas more broadly, evince an indistinguishable class of “elite” Romans. This dissertation invites readers to reconsider the narrow but well-established definitions of the late antique elite, through analysis of the many differences that are readily apparent among villas and their material assemblages. I argue that material culture can and should be interpreted as evidence of the regionalism which played an important role in late antique

society, and thus I treat sculpture as a window into the social practices and peer polity negotiations among villa *domini*.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENT.....	III
ABSTRACT.....	VIII
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	X
LIST OF FIGURES .....	XIII
INTRODUCTION .....	1
I. Sculpture in the Late Antique Villa .....	4
II. Situating Statuary finds in Late Antique Villas of Southwestern Europe.....	6
III. The “Villa Boom” and Elite Owners in Late Antiquity.....	10
IV. Methodology.....	15
IV.1 Art Historical Approaches to the Sculptural Assemblages .....	17
V. Dissertation Overview .....	20
CHAPTER ONE.....	23
I. The Place of “Domestic” in Roman Sculpture .....	23
I.1 Domestic Statuary Finds: Private Portraiture .....	26
I.2 Domestic Statuary Finds: Idealizing Mythological Statuary .....	28
II. Provincial Studies and Provincial Art.....	31
III. Chronological Variation of Statuary Finds in the Later Roman Villa.....	33
III.1 Methodological Approaches to “Antiques” and “Heirlooms” .....	34
III.2 Contemporary Sculpture in Late Antiquity.....	38
IV. Objects in Context .....	51
IV.1. <i>Paideia</i> and the late Roman Elite.....	52
IV.2 Collection studies in the Ancient World .....	55
CHAPTER TWO .....	68
I. The Villa of Quinta das Longas.....	73
I.1 Site Plan and Marble Décor.....	76
II. Marble Statuary at Quinta das Longas.....	80
II.1 Stylistic Analysis of the Statuary Assemblage .....	82
II.2 Additional Figural Fragments.....	87
II.3 Landscape Fragments and Small-scale Animal Figures .....	93
II.4 A Consciously Curated Collection? .....	96
III. Exploring the Rural Landscape Inhabited by Quinta das Longas .....	100
III.1 Commercial Networks to and Through the Crossroads .....	103
III.2 Macro <i>and</i> Mirco-Economics at Play.....	105
III.3 Estate Décor at the Crossroads.....	106
III.4 The Marble Program of Quinta das Longas .....	108
IV. Valdetorres de Jarama .....	111
IV.1 Valdetorres de Jarama: a Villa? .....	113
V. Marble Statuary at Valdetorres de Jarama .....	116
V.1 The Grey Marble Sculptures .....	119
V.2 A Marble Collection of Many Colors.....	126
VI. The Valdetorres sculptures in a Domestic Context .....	133
VII. Conclusions .....	138
CHAPTER THREE .....	143
I. <i>Rus</i> and <i>Urbs</i> in the Ancient Subbética Cordobesa .....	148
II. Archeological Review of the Sites.....	154

II.1 El Ruedo (Almedinilla, Córdoba).....	155
II.2 Casa del Mitra (Cabra, Córdoba).....	160
II.3 Cortijo de los Robles (Jaén, Jaén) .....	164
III.    Antique Statuary Program(s).....	167
III.1 Bronze Statuary in the <i>Conventus Astigitanus</i> : Case Study of El Ruedo .....	168
III.2 Not Just Bacchic Statuary, but <i>Heirloom</i> Bacchic statuary.....	173
III.3 Bacchus...and Mithras at Casa del Mitra.....	176
III.4 Unpacking Bacchus: a Popular Iconography .....	179
IV.    Estate Economics .....	183
IV.1 The <i>pars rustica</i> of Cortijo de los Robles in Phase II .....	183
IV.2 The <i>pars rustica</i> of late El Ruedo .....	186
V.    Antique portraiture at Cortijo de los Robles and El Ruedo .....	189
VI.    Conclusions .....	195
CHAPTER FOUR.....	199
I.    Early History and Excavations .....	201
I.1 Site Chronology and Phases of Occupation.....	204
I.2 Situating Milreu’s Statuary Finds in the Late Antique Villa .....	210
II.    Antique Mythological Statuary, and the Villa’s Mosaic Program .....	213
III.   Portraiture at Milreu.....	222
III.1 Private Portraits.....	224
III.2 Imperial Portraits .....	230
IV.   Peer Polity Competition: Cult (?) Buildings in the Algarve .....	240
IV.1 Sacred and Secular Economies .....	245
V.    Conclusions .....	248
CHAPTER FIVE .....	250
I.    A Brief Historiography of Study and Excavation in Aquitaine’s Villas.....	251
I.1 The Three Aquitanias of Late Antiquity.....	257
II.   Late Antique Villa Estates in Southern Aquitaine .....	261
II.1 The villa Lamarque (Castelculier, Lot-et-Garonne).....	262
II.2 La Garenne (Nérac, Lot-et-Garonne) .....	268
II.3 Séviac (Montréal, Le Gers) .....	273
II.4 Montmaurin (Montmaurin, Le Comminges).....	279
II.5 Chiragan (Martres-Tolosane, Haute-Garonne) in Context .....	285
III.   Late-Mythological Sculpture and Questions of Acquisition .....	295
III.1 The Possible Acquisition Modes of Late-Mythological Statuettes .....	303
III.2 A Specialized Marble Market?.....	306
IV.   The Portraiture Tradition in Novempopulania, Part I.....	310
IV.1 The Portrait Assemblage of Séviac .....	311
IV.2 Contemporary portraiture in Novempopulania .....	317
IV.3 Antique Private Portraits.....	321
V.    Conclusions .....	329
CHAPTER SIX.....	334
I.    The Excavation History of the Villa of Chiragan .....	336
I.1 Joulin’s Excavations, 1897-99.....	343
I.2 Spheres of Statuary Display in the Late Antique Villa .....	346
II.   The Historiography of the Chiragan Marbles .....	349
III.  Architectural Relief Sculpture at Chiragan: The Shield Medallions .....	357
III.1 Analysis of the Shield Medallions .....	364

III.2 The Reliefs of Hercules.....	368
III.3 Analysis of the Hercules Labors Reliefs and the Relief Program at Chiragan.....	382
IV. A “Consular” Relief: Arguments for the Villa <i>Dominus</i> in Late Antiquity.....	386
IV.1 Maximian’s portraiture at Chiragan? .....	389
IV.2 The Relief of a Late Antique Official .....	395
IV.3 The Nymfius Inscription at the Villa of Valentine: Local <i>Domini</i> in Office .....	401
V. Portrait Tradition, Part II: Marcus Aurelius in Southern Aquitaine.....	407
VI. Conclusions: Chiragan as Example or Exception .....	415
Appendices to Chapter 6 .....	430
6.1: CIL XIII 00128 .....	430
6.2: Dynastic Portraiture at Chiragan? : “Maximian” and “Family” .....	431
<b>CONCLUSIONS</b> .....	<b>440</b>
I. Summary of the Dissertation Chapters: Hispania .....	442
I.1 Iberian statuary villas, and Directions Forward .....	444
I.2 Summary of the Dissertation Chapters: southwestern Gaul .....	445
II. Conservation and Preservation of Statuary as a Domestic Project .....	448
II.1 Statuary Conservation in Public Contexts: Rome as a Case Study .....	451
II.2 The role of the Villa, and Urban Statuary Landscapes .....	454
III.3 Statues and Elite Identit(ies) .....	455
<b>FIGURES</b> .....	<b>458</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b> .....	<b>578</b>

## LIST OF FIGURES

- Fig. 1. Map of the villa sites discussed in this dissertation.
- Fig. 2. Map of late-Roman villas identified in Hispania (after Chavarría Arnau, Mapa I).
- Fig. 3. Map of late-Roman villas identified in Aquitaine (after Balmelle 2001, *Carte des Sites* p. 443).
- Fig. 4. Map of concentration of late-Roman villas in the West (after Bowes 2010, fig. 21).
- Fig. 5 The Esquiline group (after Hannestad 2012, fig. 2).
- Fig. 6 The Esquiline satyr (after Molteson 1996, no. 123).
- Fig. 7 Detail of the Esquiline satyr (after Hannestad 2012, fig. 3).
- Fig. 8. The Esquiline Neptune (after Molteson 1996, no. 126).
- Fig. 9 Detail of the Esquiline standing male deity (after Hannestad 1994, fig. 74).
- Fig. 10. The Esquiline Hercules (after Hannestad 1994, fig. 76).
- Fig. 11 Statue of a female deity from Silahtarağa (after Bergmann 1999, Pl. 22).
- Fig. 12 Statue of Artemis from Silahtarağa (after Bergmann 1999, Pl. 23.1).
- Fig. 13 Torso of an anguiped giant from Silahtarağa (after Chaisemartin and Örgen 1982, Pl. 31).
- Fig. 14 Mithras Tauroktonos from Sidon (after Bergmann 1999, Pl. 30.1).
- Fig. 15 The Ganymede group from Carthage (after Wikimedia Commons).
- Fig. 16 The Diana statuette from the villa Petit-Corbin, Saint-Georges-de-Montagne (Gironde) (courtesy of the Musée d'Aquitaine).
- Fig. 17 The Venus statuette from the villa Petit-Corbin, Saint-Georges de Montagne (Gironde) (after Balmelle 2001, fig. 128).
- Fig. 18 Map of the villas of Quinta das Longas (Elvas, Portugal) and Valdetorres de Jarama (Valdetorres, Spain).
- Fig. 19 Map of villas at the crossroads of the *Conventus Pacensis*, *Conventus Emeritensis*, and *Conventus Scallabitanus* (after Lancha and André 2000, fig. 1).
- Fig. 20 Plan of the late antique villa of Quinta das Longas, Elvas, Portugal (after Nogales Basarrate, Carvalho, and Almeida 2004, fig. 2b).
- Fig. 21 Aerial view of the Quinta das Longas site (after Nogales Basarrate, Carvalho, and Almeida 2004, fig. 2a).
- Fig. 22 Detail of a black and white *opus sectile* pavement at Quinta das Longas (after Nogales Basarrate, Carvalho, and Almeida 2004, fig. 3a).
- Fig. 23 *Opus sectile* pavements in Casa de los Mármoles, Mérida, Spain (after Alba Calzado 2004, Pl. V).
- Fig. 24 Plan of late antique Casa de los Mármoles (after Alba Calzado 2004, fig. 38).
- Fig. 25 Finds context of the Quinta das Longas marble statuettes (after Nogales Basarrate, Carvalho and Almeida 2004, fig. 4).
- Fig. 26 Anguiped statuette found at the villa of Quinta das Longas.
- Fig. 27 Fragment of an anguiped tail (photo: MNA-Lisbon).
- Fig. 28 Fragment of an anguiped tail (photo: MNA-Lisbon).

- Fig. 29 Venus statuette, Quinta das Longas.  
Fig. 30 Venus statuette, Quinta das Longas (photo: MNA-Lisbon).  
Fig. 31 Statuette of Aphrodite found in Sidon (after Stirling 2005, fig. 48).  
Fig. 32 Statuette of Aphrodite found in Sidi Bishr (photo: Bibliotheca Alexandrina).  
Fig. 33 Fragment of a female head, Quinta das Longas (photo: MNA-Lisbon).  
Fig. 34 Fragment of a female hand holding a shell, Quinta das Longas (photo: MNA-Lisbon).  
Fig. 35 Fragment of a female hand holding a globe, Quinta das Longas (photo: MNA-Lisbon).  
Fig. 36 Mosaic of the Muses from the villa of Torre de Palma (after Lancha et al. 2000, Pl. LII).  
Fig. 37 Fragment of a female hand holding a cylindrical object, Quinta das Longas (photo: MNA-Lisbon).  
Fig. 38 Fragment of a female forearm and hand holding a long cylindrical object, Quinta das Longas (after Nogales Basarrate et al, 2004, fig. 9b).  
Fig. 39 Fragment of an embracing or interlocked couple, Quinta das Longas (photo: MNA-Lisbon).  
Fig. 40 Cupid and Psyche statuette group from Ostia (photo: Il Museo Ostiense).  
Fig. 41 Fragments of a hunting group statuette (?), Quinta das Longas (after Nogales Basarrate et al 2004, fig. 9).  
Fig. 42 Fragment of a tree trunk, Quinta das Longas (photo: MNA-Lisbon).  
Fig. 43 Arboreal fragments, Quinta das Longas (photo: MNA-Lisbon).  
Fig. 44 Fragment of a tree trunk, probable landscape element, Quinta das Longas (photo: MNA-Lisbon).  
Fig. 45 Statuette of Diana from Cherchel (after Landwehr 1993, Pl. 34).  
Fig. 46 Fragment of a dog attacking a stag, Quinta das Longas (photo: MNA-Lisbon).  
Fig. 47 Fragment of a panther, Quinta das Longas (photo: MNA-Lisbon).  
Fig. 48 Fragment of a griffin or griffin-shaped figurehead, Quinta das Longas (photo: MNA-Lisbon).  
Fig. 49 The late-mythological statuettes from Quinta das Longas on exhibition.  
Fig. 50 Map of the road system in central Lusitania (after Almeida and Carvalho 2004, fig. 8).  
Fig. 51 Plan of the villa of Torre de Palma (after Chavarría Arnau, fig. 108).  
Fig. 52 Mosaic of the Triumph of Bacchus at the villa of Torre de Palma (after Lancha et al. 2000, Pl. LXV).  
Fig. 53 Plan of Valdetorres de Jarama with findspots of the dark marble statuary fragments (after Puerta, Elvira and Artigas 1994, figs. 22).  
Fig. 54 Plan of Valdetorres de Jarama with findspots of the white and red marble statuary (after Puerta, Elvira and Artigas 1994, figs. 23).  
Fig. 55 A pair of statuette bases found at Valdetorres de Jarama (after Puerta, Elvira and Artigas 1994, figs. 20, 21).



- Fig. 56 Anguiped torso from Valdetorres de Jarama (after De Nuccio and Ungaro 2002, no. 7).
- Fig. 57 Detail of the anguiped torso at Valdetorres de Jarama.
- Fig. 58 Anguiped torso at Valdetorres de Jarama.
- Fig. 59 Detail of the anguiped torso at Valdetorres de Jarama.
- Fig. 60 Reconstruction of Archer 1 at Valdetorres de Jarama (after Puerta, Elvira and Artigas 1994, fig. 5).
- Fig. 61 Reconstruction of Archer 2 at Valdetorres de Jarama (after Puerta, Elvira and Artigas 1994, fig. 6).
- Fig. 62 Detail of the hand of Archer 1.
- Fig. 63 Detail of the hand of Archer 2.
- Fig. 64 Statuette of a Niobid at Valdetorres de Jarama (after De Nuccio and Ungaro 2002, no. 6).
- Fig. 65 Detail of the Niobid statuette.
- Fig. 66 Detail of the Niobid's chest prepared for an applique.
- Fig. 67 Detail of the Niobid's horse.
- Fig. 68 Rear view of the Niobid statuette.
- Fig. 69 Unknown statuette B fragments (after Puerta, Elvira and Artigas 1994, fig. 9).
- Fig. 70 Details of Unknown statuette B fragments.
- Fig. 71 Unknown statuette B fragments (after Puerta, Elvira and Artigas 1994, fig. 8).
- Fig. 72 Fragments of satyr with a wineskin (after Puerta, Elvira and Artigas 1994, fig. 7).
- Fig. 73 Detail of the satyr's arm and wineskin fountain conduit.
- Fig. 74. Detail of rocky ledge associated with the satyr statuette.
- Fig. 75 Fragments of an African figure (after Puerta, Elvira and Artigas 1994, fig. 10).
- Fig. 76 Detail of two fragments of African figure's head and coiffure.
- Fig. 77 Statue of a young African slave, Musée du Louvre (photo: Musée du Louvre)
- Fig. 78 Detail of the fragments of a right calf and foot.
- Fig. 79 Statuette of Asclepius, Valdetorres de Jarama.
- Fig. 80 Rear of the Asclepius statuette (after Puerta, Elvira and Artigas 1994, fig. 13).
- Fig. 81 Fragments of Unknown no. 12 statuette, Valdetorres de Jarama (after Puerta, Elvira and Artigas 1994, fig. 18).
- Fig. 82 Fragment of a wooden staff, Valdetorres de Jarama.
- Fig. 83 Fragments of Unknown no. 11 statuette, Valdetorres de Jarama (after Puerta, Elvira and Artigas 1994, fig. 16).
- Fig. 84 Fragments of Unknown no. 10 statuette, Valdetorres de Jarama (after Puerta, Elvira and Artigas 1994, fig. 14).
- Fig. 85 Fragment of a panther head, Valdetorres de Jarama.
- Fig. 86 The Aion-Kronos statuette from Sidon, Musée de Louvre (photo: Musée du Louvre).
- Fig. 87 Panther head possibly associated with Unknown no. 11, fragments from Valdetorres de Jarama.

- Fig. 88 Late-mythological Statuette base from Maiden Castle (after Cunliffe 1982, Pl. 26).
- Fig. 89 Assorted fragments of a griffin, Valdetorres de Jarama.
- Fig. 90 Fragments of a possible group statuette with an eagle (after Puerta, Elvira and Artigas 1994, fig. 19).
- Fig. 91 Map of the sculpted ivory finds at Valdetorres de Jarama (after Carrasco and Elvira 1994, fig. 1).
- Fig. 92 Decorative sculpted Ivory Plaques with an architectural niche and an urn, found at Valdetorres de Jarama (after Carrasco and Elvira 1994, fig. 6)
- Fig. 93 Sculpted Ivory “Monster” of Valdetorres de Jarama (after Carrasco and Elvira 1994, fig. 7).
- Fig. 94 Map of villas discussed in chapter 4 in rural Baetica.
- Fig. 95 Map of the territory surrounding ancient Corduba (after Dupré Raventós, ed., 2004, Pl. VIII).
- Fig. 96 Map of the Subbética Cordobesa (after Carillo-Diaz 2011-12, fig. 1a).
- Fig. 97 Map of Roman towns in the *Conventus Astigitanus*, c. late-1<sup>st</sup> century CE (after Haley 1996, p. 297).
- Fig. 98 Aerial view of the villa of El Ruedo (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, Pl. 3).
- Fig. 99 Plan of the villa of El Ruedo, Almedinilla (Córdoba) (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, Pl. 8)
- Fig. 100 Photo of possible statue niches in the triclinium of El Ruedo.
- Fig. 101 Plan of El Ruedo with location of statuary finds (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, Pl. 15).
- Fig. 102 Low wall added to the peristyle of El Ruedo in Phase III (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, Pl. 12a).
- Fig. 103 Bi-apsidal pool added to the central peristyle in Phase III.
- Fig. 104 Nymphaeum-ad-aedicola and stibadium added to the triclinium in Phase III (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, Pl. 19C).
- Fig. 105 Detail of the Nymphaeum.
- Fig. 106 Bronze statue of Hypnos, El Ruedo
- Fig. 107 Bronze statuette of a dancing Hermaphrodite, El Ruedo (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, no. 13).
- Fig. 108 Marble statuette of Perseus and Andromeda group, El Ruedo.
- Fig. 109 Mithras Tauroktonos statue, Casa del Mitra, Cabra (Córdoba) (photo: Museo Arqueológico de Córdoba).
- Fig. 110 Plan of Casa del Mitra in Phase II after the 1970s excavations (after Blanco, Garcia and Bendala 1972, fig. 2).
- Fig. 111 Plan of Casa del Mitra after the 1980s excavations (after Jimenez Salvador and Martin Bueno 1982, fig. 3).

- Fig. 112 Reconstruction of Casa del Mitra's central peristyle (after Moreno Alciade 2011, Pl. 1).
- Fig. 113 Dionysius statue found at Casa de Mitra (after Blanco, Garcia and Bendala 1972, Pl. 1).
- Fig. 114 Statuary finds *in situ* at Cortijo de los Robles, Jáen (Jáen) (after López Marcos and Buzón Alarcón 2013-14, fig. 21).
- Fig. 115 Plan of the site of Cortijo de los Robles (after López Marcos and Buzón Alarcón 2013-14, fig. 3).
- Fig. 116 Aerial view of Cortijo de los Robles (after López Marcos and Buzón Alarcón 2013-14, fig. 4).
- Fig. 117 Plan of the *pars urbana* of Cortijo de los Robles (after López Marcos and Buzón Alarcón 2013-14, fig. 19).
- Fig. 118 The central tank at Cortijo de los Robles (after López Marcos and Buzón Alarcón 2013-14, fig. 20).
- Fig. 119 Detail of Hypnos statue, El Ruedo (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, no. 12).
- Fig. 120 Detail of Hypnos statue, El Ruedo (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, no. 12).
- Fig. 121 Detail of Hypnos statue, El Ruedo (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, no. 12).
- Fig. 122 Archaizing Bacchus herm, El Ruedo (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, no. 6).
- Fig. 123 Satyr herm, El Ruedo (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, no. 7).
- Fig. 124 Herm III, El Ruedo (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, no. 8).
- Fig. 125 Fragment of a Pan and Satyr group, El Ruedo (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, no. 5).
- Fig. 126 *Pars Rustica* of the villa of Cortijo de los Robles (after López Marcos and Buzón Alarcón 2013-14, fig. 14).
- Fig. 127 Aerial View of *Pars Rustica* of Cortijo de los Robles (after López Marcos and Buzón Alarcón 2013-14, fig. 13).
- Fig. 128 Oil production facilities excavated at El Ruedo (after Lara and Camacho 2000, Pl. 3).
- Fig. 129 Ceramic Kiln, El Ruedo.
- Fig. 130 Female portrait, Cortijo de los Robles (after López Marcos and Baena del Alcázar 2007).
- Fig. 131 Juvenile male portrait, El Ruedo (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, no. 2).
- Fig. 132 Domitian portrait, El Ruedo.
- Fig. 133 Paludamentum, El Ruedo (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, no. 3).
- Fig. 134 Map of Roman Lusitania (after Teichner 2008, fig. 2).

- Fig. 135 Plan of the villa Milreu c. 350 CE, Phase F (courtesy of Rui Parreira).
- Fig. 136 Plan of the structures at Milreu uncovered in 19<sup>th</sup> century excavation (after Teichner 2008, fig. 39).
- Fig. 137 Plan of the Milreu site in Phase B (after Teichner 2008, fig. 36).
- Fig. 138 Plan of the Milreu site in Phase C (after Teichner 2008, fig. 37).
- Fig. 139 Reconstruction of Milreu's triclinium in Phase F (after Teichner 2008, fig. 81).
- Fig. 140 Marine mosaics in the eastern gallery of the peristyle in the *pars urbana*.
- Fig. 141 Marine mosaics on the walls of the *tepidarium* in the bath complex.
- Fig. 142 Probable cult building at Milreu.
- Fig. 143 Reconstruction of the c. 350 cult building (after Hauschild 1964).
- Fig. 144 The pressing facilities of Milreu's *pars rustica* (after Teichner 2008, fig. 98).
- Fig. 145 Photo of the dolia found in the storage cellar (after Teichner 2008, Pl. 43a).
- Fig. 146 Fragmentary (portrait?) head of (a male in the guise of) Bacchus (photo: MNA-Lisbon).
- Fig. 147 Dionysius statuette (photo: MNA-Lisbon).
- Fig. 148 Geometric mosaics at Milreu (after Teichner 2008, figs. 66 and 67).
- Fig. 149 Marine mosaics along the temple podium at Milreu.
- Fig. 150 Statuette of a small figure riding a dolphin (photo: MNA-Lisbon).
- Fig. 151 Private female portrait, early 2<sup>nd</sup> century (photo: MNA-Lisbon).
- Fig. 152 Fragment of a *paludamentum*, 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE (photo: MNA-Lisbon).
- Fig. 153 Fragment of a *paludamentum*, 2<sup>nd</sup> (?) century CE (photo: MNA-Lisbon).
- Fig. 154 Fragment of a female portrait bust, 2<sup>nd</sup> century (photo: MNA-Lisbon).
- Fig. 155 Fragment of a female portrait bust, 1<sup>st</sup> century (photo: MNA-Lisbon).
- Fig. 156 Fragment of a female (?) portrait, 2<sup>nd</sup> century (photo: MNA-Lisbon).
- Fig. 157 Portrait of Gallienus (after Teichner 2008, Pl. 28C).
- Fig. 158 Profile view of the Gallienus head.
- Fig. 159 Portrait of Hadrian.
- Fig. 160 Portrait of Hadrian (after Gonçalves 2007, no. 15).
- Fig. 161 Portrait of Agrippina the Younger.
- Fig. 162 Portrait of Agrippina the Younger (after Hauschild 2002).
- Fig. 163 Fragmentary left calf with caliga (photo: MNA-Lisbon).
- Fig. 164 Fragmentary left leg with caliga (photo: MNA-Lisbon).
- Fig. 165 Plan of the cult building at Milreu (after Chavarría Arnau 2007, fig. 122).
- Fig. 166 Plan of the *Umgangstempel* at Quinta do Marim (After Bowes 2006, fig. 3b)
- Fig. 167 Plan of the *Umgangstempel* at São Cucufate (After Alarcao, Etienne, Mayet 1990, Pl. LXXVIII).
- Fig. 168 *Opus sectile* figural fragments at Milreu (after Teichner 2008, fig. 136).
- Fig. 169 Detail of several *opus sectile* figural fragments at Milreu (photo: MNA-Lisbon).
- Fig. 170 Map of late-Roman villas in Aquitaine (after Balmelle 2001, fig. 327).
- Fig. 171 Map of provinces in southwestern Gaul in Late Antiquity.
- Fig. 172 Male portrait, Lamarque (Castelculier) (after Fages 1995, fig. 132).

- Fig. 173 Headless draped male bust, Lamarque (after Fages 1995, fig. 134).
- Fig. 174 Minerva statuette, Lamarque (after Stirling 2005, fig. 30).
- Fig. 175 Plan of the villa of Lamarque (after Jacques 2006, fig. 4).
- Fig. 176 Plan of the baths Phase V, Lamarque (after Jacques 2006, fig. 6).
- Fig. 177 Plan of the baths Phase VII, Lamarque (after Jacques 2006, fig. 8).
- Fig. 178 Statuary from Lamarque on Exhibition (photo: Musée de Villascopia, Castelculier).
- Fig. 179 Head of Marcus Aurelius, Lamarque.
- Fig. 180 Two male portrait heads found in excavation at Lamarque (after Jacques 2006, fig. 30).
- Fig. 181 Male portrait head, Lamarque.
- Fig. 182 Phase VIII of the baths at Lamarque (after Fages 1995, fig. 137).
- Fig. 183 Plan of the villa La Garenne (Nérac) (after Balmelle 2001, fig. 347).
- Fig. 184 Drawing of a diademed female head, La Garenne-Nérac (after Stirling 2005, fig. 31).
- Fig. 185 Portrait of Marcus Aurelius, La Garenne-Nérac.
- Fig. 186 Late-mythological statuette base, La Garenne-Nérac (after Stirling 2005, fig. 32).
- Fig. 187 Plan of the villa of Séviac (Montréal) (after Gugole 2006, fig. 1).
- Fig. 188 Mosaic of fruit trees, c. 425 CE (after Balmelle 2001, fig. 226).
- Fig. 189 Male portrait head, Séviac (after Balmelle 2001, fig. 122a-b).
- Fig. 190 Plan of the villa of Montmaurin (Montmaurin) with findspots of statuary (after Stirling 2005, fig. 11).
- Fig. 191 Male portrait bust from Montmaurin (after Balmelle 2001, fig. 123).
- Fig. 192 Bronze head of Helio-Serapis (after Fouet 1969, Pl. 32).
- Fig. 193 Fragment of a Venus-Victory figure, Montmaurin (after Stirling 2005, fig. 12).
- Fig. 194 Fragments of Venus-Adonis group statuette(s) (after Stirling 2005, fig. 17).
- Fig. 195 Plan of the villa of Chiragan (after Stirling 2004, fig. 22).
- Fig. 196 Dionysius statuette, Chiragan.
- Fig. 197 Ariadne statuette, Chiragan.
- Fig. 198 Head of a female goddess, Chiragan (Bergmann 1999, Pl. 56.3).
- Fig. 199 Diademed head of Venus, Montmaurin (after Stirling 2005, figs. 18-19).
- Fig. 200 Reconstruction of the Venus and Adonis groups at Montmaurin (after Stirling 2005, figs. 21-22).
- Fig. 201 Plan of the mosaic and marble pavements in the villa of Séviac (after Balmelle 2001, fig. 331).
- Fig. 202 Plan of Montmaurin with marble pavements (after Balmelle 2001, fig. 334).
- Fig. 203 Portrait fragment of a philosopher (?) from Séviac (after Stirling 2008, fig. 5).
- Fig. 204 Relief fragment of a herm and philosopher (Socrates?) from Chiragan.
- Fig. 205 Late Female portrait at Chiragan.
- Fig. 206 Detail of the late Female portrait at Chiragan.

- Fig. 207 Early 2<sup>nd</sup> century juvenile male portrait from Chiragan (after Balty and Cazes 2008, fig. 54).
- Fig. 208 Early 2<sup>nd</sup> century juvenile male portrait from Chiragan (after Balty and Cazes 2008, fig. 60).
- Fig. 209 Map of Martres-Tolosane (after Joulin 1901, no. 2, printed in Balmelle 2001, fig. 228).
- Fig. 210 Plan of the site of Chiragan (after Massendari 2006, fig. 86).
- Fig. 211 Shield medallion of Minerva, Chiragan.
- Fig. 212 Shield medallion of Cybele, Chiragan.
- Fig. 213 Shield medallion of Attis, Chiragan.
- Fig. 214 Shield medallion of Asclepius, Chiragan.
- Fig. 215 Shield medallion of Hygeia, Chiragan.
- Fig. 216 Fragmentary head of Vulcan, from a shield medallion at Chiragan.
- Fig. 217 Fragmentary head of a diademed female goddess (Juno?), from a shield medallion at Chiragan.
- Fig. 218 Fragmentary head of a female goddess (Venus? Diana?) from a shield medallion at Chiragan.
- Fig. 219 Fragmentary shield medallion of a draped male deity (photo: Musée Saint-Raymond).
- Fig. 220 Fragmentary shield medallion of a draped male deity (photo: Musée Saint-Raymond).
- Fig. 221 Fragmentary shield medallion of a draped male deity (photo: Musée Saint-Raymond).
- Fig. 222 Fragmentary shield medallion of a draped male deity (photo: Musée Saint-Raymond).
- Fig. 223 Shield medallion of Pindar, Aphrodisias.
- Fig. 224 Reliefs of the Labors of Hercules from Chiragan, Musée Saint-Raymond.
- Fig. 225 Fragmentary head of Hercules, Labors of Hercules, Chiragan.
- Fig. 226 Relief of Hercules and the Hydra of Lerna, Chiragan.
- Fig. 227 Detail of the Hercules and Lernian Hydra relief, Chiragan.
- Fig. 228 Relief of Hercules and the Erymanthian boar, Chiragan.
- Fig. 229 Detail of the Hercules and the Erymanthian boar relief, Chiragan.
- Fig. 230 Detail of the Hercules and the Erymanthian boar relief, Chiragan.
- Fig. 231 Relief of Hercules and the Stymphalian Birds, Chiragan.
- Fig. 232 Relief of Hercules in the Augean Stables, Chiragan.
- Fig. 233 Relief of Hercules and Hippolyta, Chiragan.
- Fig. 234 Relief of Hercules and Diomedes, Chiragan.
- Fig. 235 Relief of Hercules and the giant Geryon.
- Fig. 236 Fragments of a portrait relief depicting a late antique official, Chiragan.
- Fig. 237 Detail of the fragmentary portrait relief head, Chiragan (after Balty and Cazes 2008, figs. 26, 27).

- Fig. 238 Detail of the relief fragments of a right arm raising the *mappa*, and a left hand holding a cylindrical rod (after Balty and Cazes 2008, figs. 30, 33).
- Fig. 239 Portrait relief fragments reconstructed as a consular relief (after Balty and Cazes 2008, fig. 43).
- Fig. 240 Late Male Portrait head, Chiragan.
- Fig. 241 Portrait head of a Tetrarch (Diocletian?), Nicomedia.
- Fig. 242 Tetrarchic Porphyry Group, S. Marco (photo: Last Statues of Antiquity).
- Fig. 243 Numismatic portraits of Maximian (after Balty and Cazes 2008, figs. 16, 17).
- Fig. 244 Statues of Magistrates, Rome (photo: Last Statues of Antiquity).
- Fig. 245 Statue of a Proconsul, Ephesus (photo: Last Statues of Antiquity).
- Fig. 246 Southeastern face of the Theodosian obelisk base (after Kiilerich 1993, fig. 12b).
- Fig. 247 Consular diptychs.
- Fig. 248 Portrait of Marcus Aurelius, Chiragan.
- Fig. 249 Gallery of Imperial Portraits, Chiragan, Musée Saint-Raymond.
- Fig. 250 Portrait of young Marcus Aurelius, Chiragan.
- Fig. 251 Portrait of Augustus, Chiragan.
- Fig. 252 Portrait of Trajan, Chiragan (after Balty, Cazes and Rosso 2012, figs. 4, 7).
- Fig. 253 Portrait of Trajan, Chiragan (after Balty, Cazes and Rosso 2012, figs. 13).
- Fig. 254 Portrait of Trajan, Chiragan (after Balty, Cazes, and Rosso 2012, fig. 28).
- Fig. 255 Portrait of Trajan, Chiragan (after Balty, Cazes, and Rosso 2012, figs. 42, 43).
- Fig. 256 Statues of the weary Hercules at Chiragan.
- Fig. 257 Statues of Isis at Chiragan.
- Fig. 258 Late portrait of a young male, Chiragan.
- Fig. 259 Late portrait of a young woman, Chiragan (after Balty and Cazes 2008, figs. 91, 92).
- Fig. 260 Late Female portrait, Chiragan (after Balty and Cazes 2008, figs. 74, 76).

## INTRODUCTION

### Statuary Collections in the Late Roman Villas of Hispania and Gaul

This dissertation examines statuary assemblages found in late Roman villas of the Western provinces, in what is now Portugal, Spain, and southwestern France, c. 250-450 CE, and analyzes different iterations of the statuary habit as instantiations of regional conversations among villa *domini*. This consideration of the regionally inflected character of statuary assemblages and the villas they inhabited is designed to challenge and to problematize, but ultimately to complement pre-existing notions of the elite associated with the late Roman villa. In this study I consider the diversity within the domestic sculpture corpus of the West's late-Roman villas, and issues of genre, material, age, and the regional patterning of domestic sculpture finds. These collections have been largely overlooked in broad interpretations of domestic sculpture while the villas themselves have been viewed as accessories of a socially homogenous, pan-Roman late antique elite. This dissertation argues instead that tangible distinctions in material culture, however subtle, can and should contribute to nuanced syntheses of the later Roman world and its elite inhabitants. Thus this thesis treats sculpture as a window into the localized conversations which archaeology is best equipped to recount, that is, the social practices, self-fashioning, and peer polity interactions taking place within provincial villa *domini* groups in the rural Southwestern Empire.

Before we consider the implications of this study, a quick survey of the material evidence that informs the project is in order. The sculptural corpus of these villas, which



are scattered across the Iberian Peninsula and in the river lands of southern Aquitaine, is extremely diverse. Finds include monumental reliefs, mythological statues and statuettes, and portraits of both private individuals and imperial dynasts. The dates of these pieces also vary; some are roughly contemporaneous with the late antique villa, but others can be securely marked as antique sculptures, that is, pieces carved generations or centuries earlier than the stratified context in which they are found.

The variety within and across these domestic statuary assemblages, or excavated groups of sculptural objects, is greater than previous scholarship has admitted.<sup>1</sup> In the Roman Algarve, for example, the sculptural assemblage known at the late antique villa of Milreu (Estoi, Portugal) includes both idealizing mythological statuettes and portraits.<sup>2</sup> The latest extant piece is an imperial portrait of Gallienus (c. 260 CE), but most of the finds are earlier and date to the mid-1<sup>st</sup> – mid-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries. Such chronological variety is

---

<sup>1</sup> Previous scholarship among Iberian and Gallic domestic statuary assemblages has focused largely on a single genre of sculpture or popular iconography, cf. Bacchic iconography as a particular phenomenon of statuary assemblages in Iberian villas in Koppel 1993; 1995; comments passim in Vaquerizo and Gil 1997; see also the discussion in chapter 3. For an admirable synthesis of the late-mythological statuary in villas of Aquitaine see Stirling 2005, with mention of similar late-mythological finds at the villa Valdetorres de Jarama in Iberia (178-82; see also chapter 2 for the site of Valdetorres de Jarama). See also Stirling 2007 for survey of the apparent differences between Iberia and Gaul, with proclivities for mythological statuary and Bacchic iconographies cited in the former, and mention of the palpable dearth of portraiture in Iberia when compared to the abundance of finds in Gaul (see also chapter 5, section IV). I note here that the work of Lea Stirling is most conscious of minute differences (2005; 2007; 2014), though she does relate the possession of different types of sculpture broadly to a collecting habit of the late-Roman elite (2005, 165-227), and as such gives audience to the pan-regional elite identity privileged in much late antique historical scholarship. Study of late-mythological statuary as a genre, with mention of Valdetorres de Jarama and finds at Gallic villas like Chiragan (chapter 5 passim; 6) also appears in the recent study of Aphrodisian sculpture in the late antique period in Bergmann 1999. For brief and thus superficial survey of the sculptures found in Iberian villas see Kulikowski 2004, 137-44; see also Chavarría Aranu 2007, 111-12, who notes that statuary finds are not pervasive, and difficult to contextualize securely in many later villas. For Gaul see also Braemer 1982; Balmelle 2001, 229-237.

<sup>2</sup> The villa Milreu is discussed in greater depth in chapter 4.

significant, but all pieces may also be labelled broadly as antiques in the context of 4<sup>th</sup> century occupation at Milreu. This villa's portrait assemblage stands out in Iberia, judging from the prevalence of mythological pieces in other villas with statuary, whether among estates clustered in rural Baetica or the central Iberian Plateau. It is, however, important to distinguish the chronological variety within these mythological finds. The late Roman villas of rural Baetica furnish evidence for 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> century mythological sculptures, or antiques, in marble and bronze, whereas contemporary marble mythological statuettes loosely dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> century appear at Iberian villas in the central plateau like Valdetorres de Jarama (Madrid, Spain) and Quinta das Longas.<sup>3</sup>

Although no extant statuary assemblage in Iberia can be marked as a true *mélange* of antique and contemporary sculpture, the same cannot be said of Gaul, where such complex assemblages are well attested. Here archaeology documents imported late-mythological statuettes and other contemporary marbles like portraits and relief sculptures, alongside antique sculptures like heirloom private portraits, dynastic portraits, and idealizing mythological works of the Imperial-era. That the collection or display of such an eclectic sculptural repertoire was a particular habit of villa owners here is suggested by the close geographic clustering of the estates with statuary evidence.<sup>4</sup>

With this in mind, let us now consider the various conditions – that is, the cultural, geographic, and social frameworks – within which this study operates, looking

---

<sup>3</sup> Baetican villas with antique mythological statuary are discussed in chapter 3; for the late-mythological statuettes of Quinta das Longas and Valdetorres de Jarama see chapter 2.

<sup>4</sup> A full account of these assemblages and the villas they inhabited follows in chapters 5 and 6.

briefly at the scholarly traditions that inform and anticipate my approach, and exploring the methodologies that I have employed in my research.

### **I. Sculpture in the Late Antique Villa**

The corpus of domestic sculpture is largely understudied, and therefore primed for a new analysis. Previous scholarship in Roman sculpture has been focused principally on urban finds, or those associated with urban contexts, whether funerary sculptures, imperial monuments, historical relief, or honorific portraiture. Although focuses in sculpture studies are changing, emphasis on urban statuary finds persists.<sup>5</sup>

In private contexts, and in part because these contexts are under synthesized, many assumptions surround the display of these objects. For example, it is frequently assumed that private portraits represent family ancestors, or that Bacchic statuary is a metonym for *otium* and leisure. Assumptions of this variety lead to sweeping generalizations about the function or program of sculpture in a private setting, and so too to generalizations about the elite people who assembled and displayed these sculptures.

Such generalizations are ill-advised in the context of the late Roman villa, where sculpture is far from ubiquitous. Excavations record statuary finds with considerably less frequency than other decorative elements, such as mosaic pavements, frescos, and elaborate architectural features or frescos. In the late Roman West and especially the provinces, it may be that the paucity of villas with statuary finds is due to increasing

---

<sup>5</sup> For a fuller treatment of the historiography of Roman sculpture studies see chapter 1.

difficulties surrounding its acquisition, given the decline of production and local workshops from the mid-to-late 3<sup>rd</sup> century on.<sup>6</sup> The display of sculpture in later domestic contexts and the values associated with or applied to this medium therefore warrant further analytical study.

At present, it is difficult to reconcile the paucity of sculptures found in the villa with the importance that statuary display seems to have had. When sculptures are uncovered in excavations of a late Roman villa, findspots suggest they were displayed in highly visible and prominent locations, whether in bath complexes, peristyles, gardens or audience halls. It may also be said that certain basic qualities remain inherent to sculpture as an artistic medium in the late period – substantiality, costliness, and the preciousness of the material, whether bronze or marble. But it is difficult to trace interest in statuary broadly in the late antique period, given the curious clustering of domestic statuary assemblages not in all villas, but in the villas of the rural Roman southwest.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> For declining statuary production in the West provinces see Gonçalves 2007 (Portugal); Nogales Basarrate 2014 (Spain); Witschel 2016 (Gallia, Hispania, and Raetia); in Rome see also Coates-Stephens 2007; Machado and Lenaghan 2016. Various studies that investigate the “end of the statue habit” have emerged in recent years, cf. edited volumes by Bauer and Witschel (2007); Smith and Ward-Perkins (2016). We may note that declining sculpture production parallels the decline of the epigraphic habit in the West. It is also possible that declining statuary production in the West correlates with the reuse or spoliation of antique statuary, cf. Prusac 2011 for portrait recarving; see also Lenaghan 2016; see Elsner 2000 and Varner 2014 for the spoliation of imperial imagery and monuments. That said, the increasing paucity of new sculptures does not correlate to a disinterest in sculpture, or suggest that cities were barren. Antique statuary continued to adorn civic spaces well into late antiquity and indeed, Constantinople was even outfitted with antique statuary to provide the new capital with a visual history it lacked (Bassett 1991; 2004). For further treatment of sculpture and its production in late antiquity see chapter 1, section III.2.

<sup>7</sup> I exclude North Africa because of different settlement patterns in this area. Villas are known here, but most are suburban, or maritime villas. Settlement in Roman North Africa is decidedly urban, which is itself a product of the region’s involvement in sea trade and the arid nature of non-coastal North Africa. Urban *domus* are also well known here for their figural mosaics (Dunbabin 1978). For the landmark survey of urban *domus* in late-Roman Africa see Thébart 1987; for recent synopses see also Bullo and Ghedini 2003;

Before looking at this geographic clustering of domestic statuary finds, that is, at the villas in rural Hispania and southwestern Gaul, I note that with this geographic boundary in place, this project is not restricted to examination of one genre of sculpture, or to one chronological period of statuary production. Rather, it privileges study of statuary assemblages – by which I mean excavated groups of more than one statue – in the context of the late Roman villa, and studies a range of sculptural genres from the 1<sup>st</sup> – late 4<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries CE.<sup>8</sup>

## **II. Situating Statuary finds in Late Antique Villas of Southwestern Europe**

In this dissertation, a villa is defined as a rural estate with evidence for luxury amenities – décor or architectural features like baths and triclinia – in its residential quarters (*pars urbana*), and a possible economic component (*pars rustica*).<sup>9</sup> The project is limited to Hispania and southwestern Gaul, because this is where villas with statuary assemblages concentrate in late antiquity (fig. 1). But even within this landscape, the variation discussed above suggests regional patterns of statuary display, social behavior and settlement. This project argues that such patterns are products of the various social and

---

2007; and Rossiter 2007, who notes that suburban villas around Carthage are mentioned in literary sources, but few excavations have explored the surrounding territory.

<sup>8</sup> Other villas in Iberia and Gaul outside of those discussed in this dissertation do occasionally furnish evidence for sporadic statuary finds, but for only one or two pieces that often cannot be securely contextualized in the late antique occupation of the villa. Discussion of such finds follows at the beginning of chapters 3, 4 and 5. Perhaps the largest concentration of antique statuary finds which cannot be securely attached to late antiquity is a number of villas outside Tarraco, in Hispania Tarraconensis. Contemporary Spanish archaeology does not securely associate these finds with later occupation of the villas, thus these sites are discussed in Appendix 1 of chapter 3.

<sup>9</sup> For a thoughtful treatment of the Roman villa as a literary project see Bodel 1997.

economic networks at work in a locality. As such, statuary display is not a habit of all Iberian or Gallic villa owners, but one practiced by select settlement groups and, importantly, in different ways.<sup>10</sup>

In the Iberian Peninsula, statuary villas surveyed include two late antique villas in the central plateau, Quinta das Longas in central Portugal, and Valdetorres de Jarama in Spain; three estates in the mountainous interior of central Andalusia – El Ruedo, Casa del Mitra, and Cortijo de los Robles; and the villa of Milreu in the Roman Algarve, not 8 kilometers from the Mediterranean coast. In modern Aquitaine, villas with sizable assemblages of statuary cluster in an area that roughly corresponds to the late antique province of Novempopulania. Sites here include the villas of Lamarque (Castelculier), Séviac (Montréal) and La Garenne (Nérac) in northern Novempopulania in the low river lands between modern Agen and Elusa, and the villas of Montmaurin (Montmaurin) and Chiragan (Martres-Tolosane) to the south at the foothills of the Pyrenees.

It is important to note that all of these statuary sites, in both Hispania and Gaul, belong to larger, regional clusters of villa habitation. In this study, a cluster is defined as an area with evidence for multiple villa estates, usually in a 30-45 kilometers radius.

Geographically, the cluster is loosely bound by roads, administrative borders or natural

---

<sup>10</sup> For recent archaeological catalogs of villas in Iberia see Chavarría Arnau 2007; for Aquitaine see Balmelle 2001. For earlier syntheses of villas in Iberia see Gorges 1979; Fernández Castro 1982. In France, volumes of the Carte Archéologique de la Gaule are also useful, cf. Vol. 32 Le Gers (Lapart and Petit 1993, villa sites near Elusa); Vol. 47 Lot-et-Garonne (Fages 1995 for Lamarque and other villa sites near modern Agen); Vol 31-1 Haute-Garonne (Massendari and Leclant 2006 for Chiragan *et. al.*); Vol. 31-2 Le Comminges (Sablayrolles and Beyrie 2006 for the villas Montmaurin, Valentine, others in the Pyrenean foothills).

features like mountains and waterways. In some villa clusters, in rural Baetica or southern Aquitaine, statuary finds are known at multiple sites. In other clusters, the Roman Algarve or the central Iberian Peninsula, statuary finds are infrequent and can be documented at only one or two villas, even though many estates are known in the surrounding area through survey and excavation.

In general, these clusters of villa habitation have a dominant rural character.<sup>11</sup> In Iberia, villas in the central plateau or rural Baetica are often 100 kilometers distant from major urban centers (fig. 2).<sup>12</sup> This does not preclude symbiosis between the *urbs* and rural estates in Late Antiquity, but it does suggest that villas played an important role in the organization of the countryside.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> The physical landscape of each cluster of Iberian villas differs, but it should be noted here that evidence for the economic aspect of most of these settlements is quite strong, contra Aquitaine. Major excavation of the Iberian countryside did not begin until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, and has evolved alongside increasing interest among Roman archaeologists in the functional role of the *pars rustica*. Studies of villas as productive or functional economic estates have gained importance within the last generation of scholarship. Of note are recent discussions of the villa of Vilauba (Castanyer i Masoliver et al. 1999), and Milreu and others in the Roman Algarve (Teichner 2008, though Milreu's sculpture and decorative finds do not figure prominently in Teichner's project); see also Leveau, Sillières and Vallat 1993 in the Roman West broadly. For the late antique landscape and the place of villas within it, see excellent work by Banaji 2007; Whittaker and Guernsey 1998. Most work focuses on the economic structures attached to a villa, with little in the way of analysis of market potential by virtue of the evidence (cf. Chavarría Arnau 2007, pages 79-84 and passim). Our understanding of the networks in which late-Roman villas participated, and relationships to the *annona* system is somewhat lacking, largely because interest in the villa as an economic estate is a recent development. Before the 1960s, most villas were excavated primarily for their luxurious furnishings, whether marble, mosaics, or wall-paintings.

<sup>12</sup> One exception to this is the villa of Milreu (chapter 4), which is located approximately 8 kilometers north of Ossonoba, a port city in the Roman Algarve. The role played by this city in late antiquity is largely unknown, however, as it is mentioned primarily in Imperial-era literary sources. Archaeology has been not been able to document the size of the city in Late Antiquity, nor the extent of its sphere of influence (see chapter 4, nt. 470 for further detail).

<sup>13</sup> The relationship between villas and the city has been examined in great depth in the late Republican and early Imperial period (cf. the Ager Tarraconensis in Carrete, Keay and Millet 1990; Járraga Domínguez 2010). Recent work by Damian Fernández on the evolution of this relationship in Late Antiquity is particularly thoughtful (2010; 2013).

In southwestern Gaul, the villas with statuary and villas in general are clustered in the densely populated landscape of rural Aquitaine (fig. 3). There are some similarities with Iberia, but there is greater evidence for road networks in late antiquity, and navigable river-ways linking this countryside and its estates to smaller urban centers.<sup>14</sup> Villa settlement here is quite compact. In some regions of Aquitaine multiple estates have been documented within 5 kilometer radius. The land itself is particularly fertile for grain and grape production, but the evidence for settlement is so dense that it is unclear how large of an estate each *dominus* could have had.<sup>15</sup> We should therefore imagine a hierarchy existing across sites and across their inhabitants.

The chronology of these late Iberian villas can be broadly dated to the mid-to-late 3<sup>rd</sup> century and through the 4<sup>th</sup>, with the probable abandonment of most sites dated to the early 5<sup>th</sup> century. But in southwestern France, villa occupation is documented for several generations beyond that known in Iberia, that is, through the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century at many sites.<sup>16</sup> Such chronological parameters hint at a larger corpus, and indeed, the dozen sites with sculpture surveyed in this dissertation are but a fraction of the late antique villas now extant.

---

<sup>14</sup> See discussion of this landscape in greater detail in chapter 5, section I.

<sup>15</sup> Scholarship has suggested that with the density of extant villa remains, most estates covered an area of no more than 3 ha. (Fages 1995, 63-67). The rural landscape was densely occupied, in antiquity as it is today.

<sup>16</sup> Study of the end of the Roman villa is a project in and of itself. For the end of the villa habit, I direct readers to excellent articles by Arce and Ripoll 2000; Lewitt 2003.



### **III. The “Villa Boom” and Elite Owners in Late Antiquity**

Over the last century, excavation and survey broadly throughout the Roman West has countered previous suggestions of late antique decline, and documents a resurgence of rural construction and estate renovation in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries CE in Hispania and Gaul, and in southern Britain, the Italian Peninsula, and along the Danube (fig. 4).<sup>17</sup> Few of the estates of late antiquity were built *ex novo*, and evidence for earlier iterations of occupation has been obliterated at most sites. Thus, though we know the Roman villa to be an institution of the late Republic or early Empire in Hispania and Gaul, evidence for villas in this era has been all but wiped out by the late antique villa boom.<sup>18</sup>

Indeed, the flurry of rural building in the late Roman West has been called a “villa boom” in scholarly circles, which acknowledges a phenomenon even if it somewhat obscures the individuality of each project, and the distinct patterns and features which appear only among certain clusters of villas, like sculpture. In Britain and along the Danube, for example, statuary finds are extremely rare, contra southwestern Gaul and Hispania.<sup>19</sup> Thus it cannot be said that statuary was a habit of all villa owners (*domini*) or

---

<sup>17</sup> For villas in Gaul see Balmelle 2001; in Iberia see Chavarría Arnau 2005; 2007; in Britain see Scott 2004; along the Danube see Mulvin 2002; for the Italian Peninsula see Neudecker 1988; Sfamini 2006; Baldini Lippolis 2001. See also Chavarría Arnau and Lewitt 2004, Bowes 2010 for an excellent synthesis of sites and historiography of villa studies.

<sup>18</sup> With little evidence for archaeological villas of the late Republic or early Empire, this evidence is under synthesized and under published. The landmark study in the provinces is Carette, Keay and Millet 1990 in the *Ager Tarraconensis*. For recent interdisciplinary work on villas in the late Republic and early Empire in the Italian Peninsula see the recent 2011 volume edited by Becker and Terrenato.

<sup>19</sup> Only two villas in Britain are known to have had sculpture in late antiquity. Several late mythological statuettes are known at the villa of Woodchester (Gloucestershire) (Clarke 1982), and two portraits were founded in a subterranean cellar of the villa of Lullingstone (Kent), beneath a 4<sup>th</sup> century house church

all elite persons. Synthesis of the regional concentration of finds in the southwestern provinces and their particular attachment to the villa is therefore warranted.<sup>20</sup>

At present, however, our understanding of statuary possession as a habit honed by select individuals or regional groups in this period is largely superficial, because of the way that late-Roman villas are commonly studied in archaeological scholarship.<sup>21</sup> Distinctions across sites and their assemblages are often swept aside in favor of a basic understanding of the elite type who inhabited the villa. The composition of this elite group is seldom questioned, and frequently forced into service as a heuristic tool in

---

(Meates 1979). Portraits are known at both sites, but their display is difficult to reconstruct. However, these sites are the only two documented with statuary in England, and are located in the South Cotswolds. Both have evidence for impressive figural mythological mosaics. Regional study of *domini* habits here may thus be warranted. The situation in the Italian Peninsula is less clear because most extant sites were excavated before the development of modern archaeological methods and before Late Antiquity itself was deemed worthy of study. Richard Neudecker's study (1988) of the statuary found in Italy's villas is largely restricted to the Imperial era; the occupation of most sites into late antiquity is no longer traceable. The statuary habit among the villas of the Italian Peninsula is, however, distinct from that of the southwestern Empire, because of the proximity of sites to major urban centers and Rome herself. For Roman housing in the later Empire see Baldini Lippolis 2005; see also Ellis 2000; for Ostia see also Muntasser 2011; Boin 2013. See Sfameni 2006 for a more recent catalogue of late-Roman villas in Italy, though statuary does not figure into this discussion. For continuity and villa occupation in the later Empire in the Italian Peninsula, the best example is undoubtedly Hadrian's villa. New work has shown that its impressive assemblage of more than 500 statues was acquired over time and not in one fell swoop as its association with Hadrian might lead one to assume. Current excavations headed by Francesco de Angelis and Marco Maiuri of Columbia University, with the goal of bringing to light post-Hadrianic occupation histories and stories of later inhabitants (*forthcoming*). In any case, I mark the Italian Peninsula as unique from the southwestern provinces by virtue of sites' proximity to Rome, and ease of access to culture and economics associated with a cosmopolitan center such as the Empire's capital. Urban *domus* in late-Rome and the Eastern Empire do occasionally furnish evidence for statuary decoration, but the context of these sites is decidedly the urban *domus*, cf. Ephesus (Aurenhammer 1983); Aphrodisias (Smith 1990; Berenfield 2009).

<sup>20</sup> Villa settlement is a particular phenomenon of the West, and can be documented in the Italian Peninsula and provinces as earlier as the Republican era. This may be due in part to the nature of urban settlement in the Eastern Empire, and the antiquity and longevity of its cities. While late-Roman houses of great importance have been identified throughout this region, these *domus* belong to an urban or suburban landscape, and do not reflect the same mode of rural estate life evident in the villas of the West.

<sup>21</sup> For fuller treatment of the historiography of domestic archaeology and the villa in late antiquity see Chavarría Arnau and Lewitt 2004; Bowes 2010, 19-60.

archaeology, used to make sense of everything from villa architecture to opulent decoration to silverware. Thus, villas and statues, as the archaeological vestiges of the elite, are glossed over as analogous to each other. One villa or statuary collection is presented as much like any other with only minor variations.<sup>22</sup>

Yet a certain dependence on a pan-elite type within studies of the late Roman villa can hardly be faulted, for the villa renaissance documented throughout the West is as-yet-unexplained. Earlier generations of scholarship were content to attach large estates to Imperial owners based on their size or lavish décor, as the corpus of excavated late-Roman villas grew in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, these estates came to be regarded as evidence for decline in late antiquity.<sup>23</sup> It was assumed that large rural villa estates were symptomatic of the urban flight of the elite class, built by wealthy Romans who sought to escape their curial obligations amidst the weakening of urbanism and Empire in the West.<sup>24</sup>

Since the 1990s, however, scholarship has largely moved away from this undocumented flight, and attaches the chronological coincidence of the West's villa boom with the administrative reforms of the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 4<sup>th</sup> century, which purportedly led to an increasingly large bureaucratic elite. History ascribes the success of the Tetrarchs in the later 3<sup>rd</sup> century to reforms enacted (or solidified) by Diocletian to

---

<sup>22</sup> This derives in part from an overwhelming tendency to study villas as entries in a larger catalogue, see nt. 17 for relevant bibliography.

<sup>23</sup> For an excellent bibliographic summary of the 4<sup>th</sup> century villa “boom” see Chavarría Arnau and Lewitt 2004. The assumption that large villas belong to the imperial persons, however, persists, cf. analysis of Piazza Armerina as the imperial villa of Diocletian or a Tetrarch (Angeli 1982, refuted by many, cf. Wilson 1983); analysis of Cercadilla as the imperial palace of Maximian (Hidalgo Prieto 1996, refuted by Arce 1997); Chiragan as the imperial villa of Maximian (Balty-Cazes 2008, refuted in chapter 6, section IV.1).

<sup>24</sup> For the model of urban flight and ruralization of the elite see Roda 1985; Colombi 1996.

cope with anxieties and invasions.<sup>25</sup> In the Diocletianic era large swaths of borderlands were divided into smaller administrative units in a massive restructuring of the Empire. The creation of new provinces led naturally to many new official positions, which increased the number of the office-holding elite around the Empire. Under Constantine and his successors in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, a variety of new titles, honors, and ranks led to further augmentation of the late antique elite. Recent scholarship has suggested a record number of up to 4,000 office-holders and senators were present in each half of the Empire by the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>26</sup> Archaeology has therefore posited that the growth of the elite class in the 4<sup>th</sup> century parallels the extraordinary number of late-Roman villas documented across the Western provinces, loosely dated to this century. Indeed, region-based studies of villas now regularly attach large villa estates to senatorial or bureaucratic

---

<sup>25</sup> In the late-Roman West, Aquitania was divided into three provinces: Aquitania I, Aquitania II, and Novempopulania. In Iberia, the massive province of Tarraconensis was divided in two: Hispania Tarraconensis and Hispania Carthagenensis. Diocletian's division of the Empire into smaller provinces in 293 CE was part of a larger program, it has been argued, that created 12 dioceses, or administrative units, to assist with tax collection and control at the frontiers. These changes, plus the addition of two Caesars for the formation of a Tetrarchic government which is also dated to 293 CE, probably did not occur at a single moment in time but belong to a broader series of reforms and administrative evolutions which took some time to implement. Recent scholarship debates whether Diocletian carried out these reforms with a plan in mind or on a needs basis; most scholars suggest the latter (Bowman 2005; Cameron 2005; contra Kolb 1987).

<sup>26</sup> It has been suggested that the size of the senatorial class by the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century was nearly seven times that of the earlier Empire, with 3-4,000 senators scattered all over the Roman world. See Heather's landmark 1997 study of institutional changes vis-à-vis the senatorial class from Constantine – Valens, the senatorial career paths and the particular role of the bureaucracy. As motivations behind the expansion of the senatorial class, Heather highlights the wealth in private, non-senatorial classes, which emperors from Constantine on needed to shape their new Empire. For the 4<sup>th</sup> century – 6<sup>th</sup> in Gaul among “Romans” and “barbarians” see also Heather 2000.

provincials, who presumably enjoyed elevated social status and monetary principle necessary to orchestrate a villa renaissance.<sup>27</sup>

This argument remains attractive, but I note that focus on the pan-imperial values or identities of villa *domini* writ broad does have possible shortcomings. In the first place, it forces connections between material assemblages – villas – and a sociological elite type that is well documented in literary testimony – the senatorial bureaucrats of Late Antiquity. This makes material culture somewhat of an accessory to a standardized elite identity, and archaeology an accessory to literary or historical scholarship. What is more, the analyses of villa *domini* as late antique bureaucrats are largely based on assumption or intuition; rarely does scholarship identify evidence within the material assemblage of a villa that securely speaks to the social profile of a particular *dominus*.

And in fact, recent work in the field of late-antique history now suggests more variability among senatorial groups and imperial bureaucracy than has previously been assumed, and the hierarchies within and across this social class are now receiving attention.<sup>28</sup> It may be that the diversity of material culture associated with late antique

---

<sup>27</sup> Local senatorial elite groups are commonly cited as likely candidates for late antique *domini* in Spanish villa scholarship, cf. Arce 1997; Chavarría Arnau 2007. Prosopography on the Gallic aristocracy also plays an important role in Balmelle 2001 (discussion pages 37-53).

<sup>28</sup> cf. Heather 1994; 1997; Dossey 2010; Fernández 2010; 2013; Weisweiler 2012; 2014; 2015; Kulikowski 2015. Weisweiler's 2015 *Domesticating the Senatorial Elite* stresses the trans-regional nature of the late antique elite and the "globalism" of the senatorial class, who by the 4<sup>th</sup> century were no longer based in Rome. Weisweiler suggests that by the later 4<sup>th</sup> century, appointed bureaucrats may also have been included in the senatorial elite class; he cites Ausonius as an example of a *novus homo*. Weisweiler's arguments are valid, but as archaeologists we must be cautious about mapping historical evidence onto material structures. That is, we should not assume that every late Gallic villa was occupied by a senatorial or bureaucratic elites; other elite groups, and local *curiales* (who are unfortunately harder to trace with the demise of the epigraphic habit) should be considered as candidates.

villas in fact parallels the diversity of the late Roman upper class: some individuals claimed membership in historically aristocratic families; and others rapidly gained senatorial status in the rise of Constantinian reforms; still others existed and thrived outside of these two groups, whether as local *curiales*, landlords, merchants or military officials. It is the place of archaeology to highlight the diversity of this group, and the regional faces of the late Roman elite, that is, the local identities that are not preserved in literature or historical records but in the material record. Such are the narratives that archaeology is perhaps best equipped to recount, however diverse and regionally centric those narratives may be.

#### **IV. Methodology**

To counter *a priori* assumptions of a standardized elite villa *dominus*, and either the villa or sculpture displays as the vessels of this pan-elite type, a multi-scalar analytical approach underpins this dissertation. The statuary assemblage of each villa is first examined *in situ*, that is, in the villa in which it was displayed. First, individual pieces are appraised in art historical terms of style, iconographies, and type. Though program is seldom discernable, attempts are made to illuminate themes or programmatic intents within each assemblage, based on the prevalence of particular iconographies or types of statuary. Then, to fully reconstruct the physical and cultural environment of statuary displays, this thesis examines sculpture as one element within the larger domestic assemblage, alongside evidence for the architectural plan of a villa, its larger programs of

décor, small finds and ceramics. This evidence is used to construct an artifact profile for each site when possible, thus re-contextualizing sculptures in a larger domestic context.

Each statuary villa is then examined in the larger landscape it inhabited, that is, in a larger habitation cluster alongside other neighboring villas. Comparative analysis highlights similarities and variations across the domestic assemblages of a particular region. With sculpture, focus is given to shared iconographies, genres, provenances and chronologies, but the profile of each estate – architectural plan, décor, small finds and chronologies – is also considered in analytical discussion. Ceramic profiles are brought into this discussion when possible to suggest import networks, inter-regional vs. trans-regional engagement, and local vs. regional systems of economy.<sup>29</sup>

With this data, the project asks how analogous dates of occupation and similarities across the material assemblages of neighboring villas illuminate group behaviors, and speak to peer polity networks in which *domini* participated.<sup>30</sup> In this way sculpture is but one of several functional tools for exploration of social practices in various localities of the late-Roman West. Regional analysis in this fashion is designed to bring attention to interactions among neighboring villas, and to the networks in which *domini* participated.<sup>31</sup> This method does not bar an estate's *domini* from belonging to a

---

<sup>29</sup> See Whittow 2013 for local economics in the late antique world. Further discussion will follow passim, particularly in chapters 3 and 4.

<sup>30</sup> For the seminal edited volume on peer polity theory in applied archaeology see Renfrew and Cherry 1986.

<sup>31</sup> For correspondence analysis as a theoretical tool in late antique archaeology and large finds assemblages, see Cool and Baxter 2002; Williams 2010. For assemblage analysis technique and utility see also Allison 1999.

transregional elite class, or sculpture from being a tool of this class, but it does privilege the regional environments inhabited by these sculptures and late Roman *domini*, and the conversations in those environments.

#### IV.1 Art Historical Approaches to the Sculptural Assemblages

Since the chronological age of statuary finds in this study varies, a brief synthesis of current approaches to contemporary and “antique” sculptures in late antique domestic settings follows.<sup>32</sup> Contemporary finds are somewhat rare in the late Roman villa, perhaps in part because of declining production in the West. Indeed, recent scholarship suggests that all known contemporary pieces in the aforementioned villas – primarily mythological statue/ettes but also several portraits and large scale reliefs at the villa of Chiragan – were made in Eastern workshops and imported to the West.<sup>33</sup> One genre of late antique statuary, the late-mythological statuette, has been given a full treatment in domestic contexts by Lea Stirling, who argues that these small statuettes appealed to elite collectors as visual manifestations of *paideia*.<sup>34</sup> *Paideia*, or the classical education system, is now regarded as an important anchoring mechanism in the 4<sup>th</sup> century amidst

---

<sup>32</sup> A fuller treatment follows in the next chapter.

<sup>33</sup> Though few petrographic analyses have been carried out. For Valdetorres de Jarama’s late-mythological sculptures see Puerta, Elvira and Artigas 1994; Bergmann 1999, 21; for the late antique statuettes of Quinta das Longas see Nogales Basarrate, Carvalho, and Almeida 2004; Nogales Basarrate 2014. See also chapter 2 for both sites. For the late-mythological statuettes of Gallic villas see Stirling 2005. Most scholars cite the workshops of Aphrodisias as possible manufacturers (cf. Bergmann 1999), but Stirling is more cautious and suggests other Eastern workshops in Asia Minor may have participated in production of this genre, citing evidence for such finds in Constantinople, Ephesus, and Dokimion and Side (Filges 1999). For fuller treatment of Chiragan’s late antique sculptures, arguments for their Aphrodisian origin, and recent petrographic analyses, see chapter 6.

<sup>34</sup> Stirling 2005.



great social and religious changes, and has been instrumental to the development of Late Antique studies. It is increasingly accepted that *paideia* made the display of mythological imagery socially acceptable among the elite class, including Christians.<sup>35</sup> The importance of a classical education in late antiquity cannot be undermined, but when we accept the display of late mythological statuettes as an expression of *paideia*, we tacitly link the persons who owned these sculptures to a generic elite type documented in literary sources, and obfuscate both the choice of a three-dimensional medium as opposed to mosaics, and the curious clustering of such objects in southern Aquitaine, versus the sporadic finds in Iberia. This dissertation therefore aims to develop and press claims for *paideia* further, exploring a greater range of values attributed to mythological sculptures in the late antique period.

For example, at other late villas archaeology documents the private conservation and curation of antique mythological and genre statues broadly classified in the German *idealplastik* genre. The value of such pieces, this thesis argues, lay not only in their iconographies and the concurrent status they held as visual emblems of *paideia*, but in certain additional value(s) these pieces had accrued as historical relics or cultural heirlooms. Study of antique mythological sculptures as cultural heirlooms, as opposed to familial, suggests itself because it is difficult to trace ownership of these objects and the villas in which they stood. Nor does the domestic context bar examination of the historical, social and cultural values which were deeply ingrained in such objects by late

---

<sup>35</sup> Paideia is discussed further in chapter 1, section IV.1.

antiquity, and which had only accrued with passing generations. This dissertation takes a similar approach to other antique statuary finds like 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> century portraiture, whether dynastic or private. Private portraits in particular may have stood in the late Roman villa as familial heirlooms, but it is possible to embrace the anonymity inherent to these pieces through analysis of the social aspects inherent to Roman portraiture.<sup>36</sup> Study in this fashion, it might be said, eschews the private aspect of domestic settings, but then again, the social function played by the villa into late antiquity is well attested.<sup>37</sup>

A word on statuary collections is necessary here, because this project does examine sets of sculpture objects and in doing so aims to contribute to the growing corpus of research on private collecting in the Roman era.<sup>38</sup> Most of the excellent literature on collecting in the ancient world is, however, somewhat dependent on literary testimony. Thus this dissertation does not avoid “collection”, but it aims to use the term carefully in archaeological contexts, and to identify instances of curation within any set of objects marked as a collection. It also does not settle on collection as a conclusion of sorts.

The collector, moreover, is rarely given voice here, because such discussions privilege an individual who is inherently anonymous in the vast majority of domestic contexts. So too does the collector approach tend to downplay the social functions of

---

<sup>36</sup> See chapter 1, section III.1 for additional explication of “antique” and “heirloom”.

<sup>37</sup> The correspondence of late antique authors like Ausonius and Sidonius suggests that a strong component of rural estate life was a visiting culture, organized by traditional virtues of *xenia* and *amicitia*: poems and gifts were exchanged, and social visits and dinner parties were frequent among rural landowners. For this visiting culture see Sivan 1993, 66-73; Brown 2012, 185-207.

<sup>38</sup> For full treatment of collection studies in the ancient world see chapter 1, section IV.2.

statuary display, which this thesis aims to reconstruct, or to circumvent the lives of objects and their complicated, often irrecoverable acquisition histories. This dissertation favors multi-scalar and regional analysis to bring attention the variety of ways that different sculptures were employed in different villas, and a series of principles which may have organized the possession of statuary. These methodologies complement the increasingly social historical approach of art history and archaeology, and reception studies, highlighting ways that different people and groups interacted with and responded to domestic sculptures, whether or not the objects stood as consciously curated collections. We will look more closely at the parameters of “collection” and “collection studies” in the following chapter.

## **V. Dissertation Overview**

To explore domestic statuary collection or display as regionally patterned, the chapters which follow proceed in a geographic fashion. Following exegesis of the historiographic framework of this dissertation in chapter 1, chapter 2 discusses two villas with late-mythological statuary in central Iberia, Quinta das Longas in central Lusitania and Valdetorres de Jarama in western central Tarraconensis. Rather than discuss both sites as evidence for a shared late-mythological collecting habit, this chapter focus on the differences between the two sites which suggest two different types of locally rooted *domini*.

Chapter 3 surveys several villas in Roman Baetica with a markedly rural character – El Ruedo, Cortijo de los Robles, and Casa del Mitra. The geographic clustering of these sites and a predilection for antique, mythological statuary suggest peer polity interactions among *domini*. The similarities across statuary assemblages at multiple sites in this region, however, stands in contrast to the Roman Algarve where antique statuary is known at only one villa. Chapter 4 looks at this villa, the villa of Milreu (Estoi, Portugal). Though an anomaly by virtue of its dynastic portraits, regional analysis highlights the Milreu estate's active engagement with local bodies, and offers insight into the role of antique statuary in regional discourse.

Chapters 5 and 6 cross the Pyrenees into the densely populated rural landscape of southern Aquitaine where at least five villas furnish evidence for both antique and contemporary statues – Lamarque (Castelculier), Séviac (Montréal), La Garenne (Nérac), Montmaurin (Montmaurin), and Chiragan (Martres-Tolosane). The prominence of contemporary and antique sculptures, and portraits in particular, suggests that select villa owners used marble sculpture to assert their social standing and elite lineage, a practice which is likely linked to the changing landscape of southern Aquitaine and the creation of Novempopulania in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

In conclusion, this dissertation shows the value of sculpture in social and archaeological discourse. Its use in later Western villas is not pervasive, but clustered in particular geographic areas, such that displays may and should be examined not as a habit of a widespread body of elite, but of local landowning groups.

**Appendix of Sites:**

- I. Quinta das Longas (Elvas), Hispania Lusitania (Alentejo, Portugal)
- II. Valdetorres de Jarama (Valdetorres), Hispania Tarraconensis (Madrid, Spain).
- III. El Ruedo (Almedinilla), Hispania Baetica (Andalusia, Spain).
- IV. Casa del Mitra (Cabra), Hispania Baetica (Andalusia, Spain).
- V. Cortijo de los Robles (Jáen), Hispania Baetica (Andalusia, Spain).
- VI. Milreu (Estói), Hispania Lusitania (Algarve, Portugal).
- VI. Lamarque (Castelculier), Aquitania II (Lot-et-Garonne, France).
- VII. La Garenne (Nérac), Novempopulania (Lot-et-Garonne, France)
- VIII. Séviac (Montréal), Novempopulania (Le Gers, France).
- VI. Montmaurin (Montmaurin), Novempopulania (Le Comminges, France).
- X. Valentine (Valentine), Novempopulania (Haute-Garonne, France).
- XI. Chiragan (Martres-Tolosane), Novempopulania (Haute-Garonne, France).

## CHAPTER ONE

### Historiography

As previously stated in the introduction, the goal of this thesis is the presentation of a large corpus of sculptures or sculpture collections in broader sociological contexts, that is, within regional clusters of late Roman villas in the Western provinces. The project therefore must engage with a variety of specialist sub-disciplines – Roman sculpture and the Roman villa, but also provincial studies, collection studies, domestic archaeology more broadly, and the world of Late Antiquity. For this reason, chapter 1 is largely concerned with establishing the historiographic framework for the analysis that follows. Since the material culture in question is statuary, I begin by examining the place of Roman sculpture in art historical studies, and the place of domestic and provincial sculptures within this sub-field.

#### **I. The Place of “Domestic” in Roman Sculpture**

In many ways the sculptures discussed in this dissertation, but also the format of discussion itself is a response to previous scholarship in this field. As noted in the introductory chapter, domestic statuary assemblages of the Roman provinces do not feature prominently in the canon of Roman art, which tends to privilege iconographic studies of Empire and urban display:

Yet the minor role that such objects have occupied until recently is less a fault of modern scholarship than a historical consequence of Roman art's nascence. While it is true that ancient sculptures played an instrumental role in the development of Western art history from the Renaissance on, and that sculpture was regarded as one of the highest forms of art, not all ancient sculptures stood on an equal footing. In the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, early art historical scholarship suggested a hierarchy between good art and lesser ancient sculptures, that is, between purportedly Greek sculptures and Roman statuary. Thus in early modern scholarship, aesthetically pleasing statues are heralded as Greek masterpieces, and as evidence for the zenith of antiquity. Later Hellenistic and Roman statues, whether properly identified as such or not, are given a secondary importance.<sup>39</sup>

When the first analyses of Roman sculptures as "Roman" began to appear in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, there was clearly much at stake. Rather than eschew the designation "Roman" as symptomatic of decadence and decline as earlier scholarship had done, a number of early 20<sup>th</sup> century scholars chose largely to celebrate the Roman-ness

---

<sup>39</sup> The rhetoric which privileges Greek art over other ancient arts seems to begin in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in the wake of formal art historical scholarship and the work of Johann Winkelmann in particular (1764). Winkelmann's treatise on ancient art suggests that its zenith occurred during the Classical period in Greece, and that later Hellenistic and Roman works evince cultural decline. In this analysis, however, Winkelmann unwittingly identified a number of important Hellenistic and Roman sculptures like the Apollo Belvedere and the Laocoön in the Vatican as classical Greek works. Winkelmann's work could perhaps be commended for a sort of interdisciplinary approach, in that his comments on decline mirror the rhetoric of later Roman authors in their celebration of all things Greek, amidst discussions of later decadence and decline. I might add that Greek art, architecture and culture more broadly enjoyed a hallowed aura in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries because of its association with a democratic ethos. The Greek Revival architectural movement was also prominent in the newly democratic United States, and in Germany and Britain over the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (cf. Philadelphia's Second National Bank, designed by William Strickland in 1816-24; München's Königsplatz, built under Ludwig I (1825-48). and designed by Karl von Fischer).

of this period and its art.<sup>40</sup> Distinguished Roman-era marble statues were naturally not domestic statuary or generic provincial marbles, but those iconic of the Roman ethos – veristic portraiture, historical relief, funerary monuments and political art. Such works remain important today, and studies of Roman portraiture, public monuments, and civic sculptural projects still dominate the field in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>41</sup> Though the discipline’s focus is slowly changing amidst broader revolutions in art history, enduring emphasis on the Roman era’s public and funerary statuary is a tacit reminder of our tendency to focus on art objects that have a clear importance to modern viewers, that is, those that can be assigned “meaning” and incorporated into the popular narratives of ancient history.<sup>42</sup> It

---

<sup>40</sup> The work of Franz Wickhoff, Alois Riegl and Otto Brendel was instrumental towards a late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century rewrite of Roman art history. It should be noted that all three were trained in the German art historical tradition. Wickhoff worked extensively with Roman art historical relief, and specifically with imperial monuments with state reliefs like the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius in Rome, and the Arch of Titus. Wickhoff suggested that there was no comparandum in earlier arts for Rome’s historical relief and its narrational aspect in particular. Riegl’s work (1901) is well ahead of his contemporaries, with an interest not only in state monuments and canonical arts, but also in “forgotten” or underappreciated objects and epochs. His landmark work examined late antique arts of various media, and speaks with no disdain for the late-Roman style as was largely typical of the 19<sup>th</sup> century more broadly. A generation later, Otto Brendel and his “Prolegomena to a Book on Roman Art” (1953) is as close to a manifesto as Roman art has ever received. It is here that veristic portraiture, but also historical relief and state monuments are signaled as Roman inventions, infused with a Roman spirit.

<sup>41</sup> So too is the discipline still largely defined by traditions in the city of Rome or other urban centers, cf. general surveys of Roman art and state monuments in Hannestad 1986; Kleiner 1992; Kleiner 1994; Borg (ed.) 2015; recent surveys of Roman portraiture (primarily public and honorific) Stewart 2003 (private sphere 223-260); Fejfer 2008. That is not to discredit excellent recent scholarship on political and imperial monuments in Rome and other urban centers (cf. Elsner 2000; Davies 2002; Zanker 2002); on funerary sculptures (cf. Koortbojian 1995; Davies *ibid.*, Hope 2003; Elsner and Huskinson 2010; Peterson 2011); and analytical art historical studies of imperial portraiture (Kleiner and Matheson 1996; Rose 1997; Varner 2004) and public honorific portraiture in urban centers (Smith 1999; 2002; Fejfer 2002). So too are reception studies proving a fruitful avenue for new research, though these are largely based in Rome (cf. Clarke 2003 in the Imperial era; Russell 2016 in the Republican era).

<sup>42</sup> An important scholarly contribution to the changing face of Roman art history is Bianchi Bandinelli’s work in the 1960s and 70s. Bianchi Bandinelli brought attention to overlooked or largely ignored social groups, such as freedman and provincial groups. Stemming in part from work in this vein is growing interest in another under-represented area, that is, the domestic sphere. Indeed, broad interest in the



may be said that the inherent anonymity of domestic assemblages, which challenges the methodologies of an art or ancient historian, contributes to such biases. Domestic statuary assemblages, and especially those in provincial contexts, are easily overlooked because they can rarely be linked to individual persons or historical narratives.

The domestic statuary assemblages of the villas discussed in this dissertation are largely comprised of the idealizing mythological statuary, which is itself somewhat pervasive in the ancient world broadly, and private portraiture. There are unique obstacles to the study of both genres that merit some discussion here.<sup>43</sup>

### **I.1 Domestic Statuary Finds: Private Portraiture**

Our understanding of private portraiture as a genre is somewhat limited at present by assumptions that it is heavily influenced by imperial portraiture.<sup>44</sup> Private portraiture is regularly characterized as an imitation of imperial fashions in art historical scholarship.

As a result we assume that wealthy Romans around the Empire looked to Rome and her

---

sculptures but also the arts of the domestic sphere has increased in the last generation of scholars, see Gazda (ed.) 1991; Clarke 2002; Laurence and Wallace-Hadrill (eds.) 1997; essays by Ellis, Neudecker and Muth in Borg (ed.) 2015. But I maintain that Roman domestic settings are under-synthesized. The vast majority of analyses concentrate on the Bay of Naples (Clarke *ibid.*; Laurence and Wallace-Hadrill *ibid.*, Zanker 1998b; Bergmann 2002; Beagan 2009), and conclude that the decoration of the private sphere was a form of social status projection and elite competition with the house as a metonym for identity (cf. Wallace-Hadrill 1996; Smith 1997). For more nuanced approaches to the Roman house and social identity see Hales 2003. For new methodological approaches to domestic assemblages in the Pompeii region see also Berry 1997; Allison 1999.

<sup>43</sup> I use here the German term *idealplastik* for idealizing mythological or genre statues, in part to demonstrate how easy it has become to aesthetically-pleasing statuary of deities, mythological figures, and genre types into one large group. *Idealplastik* generally includes these, plus copies of cult statues and Hellenistic types.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Fittschen 2015 for portraiture methodologies. The top-down approach to the diffusion of culture is pervasive, even in the most thoughtful catalogs of private portraits, cf. Nogales Basarrate 2001.

emperors/empresses to dictate the aesthetics of self-representation, even in their homes. It is thus difficult not to attach a top-down narrative to analyses of private portraiture.

The impact or function of private portraiture in a domestic setting is also quite difficult to assay without the identity of either the portrait sitter or the homeowner(s). Literary sources suggest that Romans did display portraits of ancestors in their homes as markers of social status and familial standing, but archaeology rarely allows us to trace home ownership let alone statuary possession over generations.<sup>45</sup> Assumptions of familial heirloom display also veils the true complexities of a portrait tradition which can only be marked as enduring in late antiquity with major qualifications.<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>45</sup> For portraits in the Roman *domus* see Pliny *HN* 35.6-7, who discusses the portrait tradition in the Republic era, only to lament its demise in the imperial era. For a thorough synthesis of the ancient sources on the Roman funerary mask tradition and plausible realities see Flower 2003. Literary evidence does not, however, speak admirably to six centuries of private portrait traditions, see below nt. 46.

<sup>46</sup> Stewart (2007, 27-30) suggests that the infrequent mention of portraiture among late antique authors may be some indication of the medium's slow disappearance from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century on. While there are some suggestions that antique portraits and statuary offered insight into the past, and that people were aware of a past and a present (cf. Stewart (*ibid.*) cites passages in the *Historia Augusta*, for example, portraits evoking the "grace and manliness of Severus Alexander...we see even today in painting and statues" (*HA* Severus Alexander 4, 4), discourses on portraiture as objects or *topos* such as those in Tacitus, Pliny the Elder and Pliny the Younger are not attested. Stirling's work in Aquitaine (2005, 150-152), however, has suggested late antique authors still used portrait displays as their predecessors had, that is, as a poetic *topos*. Among the evidence cited is a poem of Ausonius, *Epicedion in patrem*, which figuratively paints a biographical portrait of his father, though it is unclear whether this poem was inspired by a physical portrait of Ausonius' father, or not. See also below nt. 10. Other examples cited are a description by Symmachus of painted portraits at a friend's villa in Baelae (*Ep.* 1.1), though most refer to public statuary, for example, a later 5<sup>th</sup> century poem of Rutilius Namatianus on a portrait of his father which stood in the forum of Pisa (*De reditu suo* 1.573-92). For recent synopses of the marble habit's decline in the West and public portraiture, see Witschel 2016 and Gehn and Ward-Perkins 2016. Both pieces examine the statuary evidence in late antiquity, as well as inscriptional evidence for bases. Public dedications are overwhelmingly restricted to imperial figures, such that a private portrait tradition is difficult to document. As such, the extant evidence among the villas of Aquitaine for contemporary, private portraiture is significant (see chapter 5, section IV.2).

## I.2 Domestic Statuary Finds: Idealizing Mythological Statuary

The other type of statuary common to domestic settings in the Roman era, the so-called *idealplastik* or idealizing sculptures (mythological or genre), has been studied primarily as a statuary typology in art historical scholarship, and discussed rather infrequently in specific contexts. This stems in part from early appreciation of these idealizing sculptures as aesthetic objects. Indeed, many of the *idealplastik* that now decorate museum galleries lack secure provenance, complicating analytical study.

What is more, art historical analyses in the 18<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> century tended to examine these Roman-era mythological statues not as distinct objects, but as stand-ins for lost Greek originals.<sup>47</sup> Though this is no longer the case, the larger Roman *idealplastik* corpus is still analysed primarily as evidence for Roman copying and manufacture traditions. Recent work has celebrated innovation within the copying tradition, increasing the scholarly value of these pieces,<sup>48</sup> but most studies remain art historical essays, such that the context of finds or their display is seldom discussed.<sup>49</sup> Reception studies of mythological statuary in socio-historical and archaeological contexts are thus warranted.

---

<sup>47</sup> Ridgway 1984 skillfully problematizes the study of Roman “copies” as Greek originals (*Kopienkritik*). See also Bieber 1977 and Marvin 2008.

<sup>48</sup> For recent analyses of Roman copies in a broader cultural context with less emphasis on their “Greek” ancestry cf. the edited volume of Moon 1995, which brings together a number of essays on the copying traditions surrounding Polykleitos’ Doryphoros through the post-Roman era; see also Kousser 2008, who loosely traces the iconography of Victory in the Roman Empire, though primarily in the public sphere. For thoughtful analyses of the Roman copying tradition and emulation see Gazda 1995; 2002; Perry 2002; Hallett 2005, and especially Bartman 1988 for copies in an Imperial-era Roman *domus*.

<sup>49</sup> Context has historically played a secondary role to aesthetics in Roman art history, and this is most palpable today in studies of idealizing sculptures and Roman copies. But see important discussions of such pieces in domestic contexts in landmark work by Bartman 1988; Neudecker 1988; Clarke 2003; Stirling

From finds in private contexts such as the *domus* or villa, it appears that mythological statuary often decorated homes around the Empire, but it is unclear whether it served a simple decorative purpose or stood as art objects suffused with meaning.<sup>50</sup> It is also unclear how commonplace mythologizing statuary is across place and period, and what value such imagery may have enjoyed as antiques in the later Roman era.<sup>51</sup>

With this brief survey of two common sculpture types found in domestic contexts in place, I note that most synthetic reviews of domestic statuary finds do indeed trace a specific genre of sculpture, e.g. miniatures or portraits.<sup>52</sup> I do not discount the importance of such work, but we should acknowledge its limitations, insofar as it often inadvertently neglects the larger statuary corpus and domestic assemblage to which an individual portrait or mythological statue belongs. Thus it is that this dissertation attempts to survey and study the full range of pieces within each domestic statuary assemblage, not

---

2005. See also several analyses of the Villa dei Papyri (nt. 53). From this work, however, it is clear that domestic assemblages in the Italian Peninsula generally fare better than their provincial neighbors.

<sup>50</sup> I note here that very few scholars has suggested “meaning” or motivation behind the display of idealizing statues. Rather, they are generic contra Bartman 1988; Stirling 2005 in the late antique period; also Kousser 2008.

<sup>51</sup> The status of renowned antique mythological statuary as cultural or symbolic heirlooms in the late-Roman era is beginning to receive attention in the public sphere, but study of antiques in the private sphere still lags behind. I discuss this below (chapter 1, section III.1), proposing that we examine both idealizing antique sculptures, and antique portraits, as cultural heirlooms.

<sup>52</sup> For detailed genre studies see Bartman 1992 (miniature copies); Stirling 2005 (late antique mythological statuettes); Stewart 2003, 223-260 (statuary in domestic contexts with thoughtful problematizing of public vs. private binaries); Fejfer 2008, 89-104 (emphasis on portraiture). In many cases of imperial portraiture, however, the domestic context with which it is associated appears only as an afterthought, cf. Balty and Cazes 2005; 2008; 2012; Aurenhammer 1983; Mastrondonato 2000. The variety within domestic statuary assemblages, I might add, is rarely conducive to our scholarly preference for typological and specialized genre studies, and thus work that deals with multiple genres tends to read like a catalog or survey, cf. Neudecker 1988; Clarke 2002.

necessarily to mark said assemblage as a collection, but to bring attention to the greater variety which characterizes most domestic sets.

With respect to statuary as a feature of or within larger domestic displays, it should be noted that previous scholarship has been largely confined to the Italian peninsula, in part because of the level of preservation in the Bay of Naples.<sup>53</sup> It may be said that Pompeii and Herculaneum are virtually synonymous with the Roman private sphere, and domestic archaeology of the “Roman” house broadly is dependent on evidence from this region. It is somewhat interesting that the Bay of Naples is, however, rarely studied as the provincial landscape it was.

When attention is made of the provincial context of the Bay of Naples, however, “good” art works are read as synonymous with high culture, like wall paintings of the Villa of Mysteries at Pompeii or the statuary ensemble of the Villa of Poppaea at Oplontis. That high culture, in this context, is synonymous with Rome, such that the elite *domini* must have had connections to Rome and knowledge of trends in the city. But when lesser quality art objects are found in this region, the owner is assumed to have

---

<sup>53</sup> Regional studies are largely dominated by the corpus of *domus* and *villae* in the Italian Peninsula, and especially the Bay of Naples, cf. Neudecker 1988 (villas); Dwyer 1982 (statuary in Pompeii); Laurence and Wallace-Hadrill 1997 (art in the house and in Pompeii); Clarke 2002 (art in private spheres in the Bay of Naples); Mattusch 2009 (*ibid.*); Bergmann 2002 (so-called Villa of Poppaea at Oplontis); Warden and Romano 1994 (Villa of the Papyri, Herculaneum).

been a modest provincial with a taste for art that imitates elite fashions, that is, provincial art.<sup>54</sup>

## **II. Provincial Studies and Provincial Art**

In scholarship, “provincial” art describes art produced outside of Rome or official workshops, but in common parlance it is more of a value judgement than an indicator of context.<sup>55</sup> “Provincial” is generally ascribed to sculptures that are poorly crafted, do not conform to classical proportions, or fall short of modern aesthetic ideals. Implicit in these value judgements is the underlying assumption that provincial art belongs to provincial country folk, as though everyone outside of Rome aped the capital’s denizens, looking to them to set popular styles and iconographic trends. While artists and patrons living outside of the capital(s) were probably aware of cosmopolitan tastes, the top-down approach assumes markets looked primarily towards Rome, and negates the dissemination of objects and ideas in multiple directions, effectively ignoring the agency of artists and patrons in a highly complex network of art production and exchange.<sup>56</sup>

---

<sup>54</sup> See for example discussion of the “provincial” statuettes found in the House of Octavius Quartio in Zanker 1978, re-iterated in 1998b. Zanker suggests that the entire program of the house may have been designed in imitation of villa culture. See von Stackelberg 2009 for a recent re-examination of this site.

<sup>55</sup> For the complexities surrounding the study of Roman “provincialism” in sculpture, see Stewart 2010; Johns’ contribution to Scott and Webster 2003; and essays in Brody and Hoffman 2014. “Provincial” has long been used to describe statuary or sculptural art that does not look “Roman”, even if the term is less potent as aesthetic judgement among some scholars than others. For a thoughtful approach to sculpture produced in provincial settings see Foescu 1965 (Tropaeium Traiani), Wrede 1972; 1986 (late-Roman villa of Welschbillig near Trier.) For a more vehement reactions to discussions of provincialism and “Romanization”, and the use of cross-comparative methods and creolization see Webster 2003.

<sup>56</sup> The art market is, of course, largely unknown. The evidence we have comes from provenance studies and marble analyses (nt. 139), literary sources (particularly Cicero, nts. 129, 130), and archaeological shipwrecks like Mahdia in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE (Fusch 1963; see also Ridgway 1995 for a review of the

Over the past several generations, however, the Roman world outside of Italy and Imperial Greece has emerged as an alluring subject for Anglophone scholarship, presenting challenges to long-standing ideas of Romanization and cultural dominance.<sup>57</sup> Ideas of acculturation, syncretism and fusion culture have had great effect in both art and ancient history studies, and as such discussions of ethnic and regional identities in antiquity has gained followers.<sup>58</sup> This has not, however, removed all traces of the stigma which once surrounded “provincial”, especially in the realm of art.

Indeed, scholarship still associates the bulk of “quality” statues found in provincial contexts, whether Pompeii or an Iberian villa, with imperial workshops or Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity. Such conclusions that tacitly assume taste and elite identity were manufactured in these settings.<sup>59</sup> A good deal of scholarly baggage still lingers around the term “provincial”, whether one refers to a provincial setting or

---

1992 exhibition of the material in Bonn following large-scale conservation projects). See also Coarelli 1983 for a synthesis focused on the late Republic, which combines much of this evidence.

<sup>57</sup> Revised thinking on “Romanization” has played an instrumental role in the rehabilitation of scholarly attitudes towards the provinces. In Anglophone scholarship Woolf 1998 has had a profound effect. Decent theory on Romanization has also emerged in scholarship of Roman Britain, cf. Millett 1990; Woodward, Leach and Bayley 1993; Webster 2003, but nationalism is at times only thinly veiled.

<sup>58</sup> Beyond Woolf 1998, see essays in the edited volumes by Gruen 2005, and Mattingly 2011 for thoughtful discussions of ethnic and provincial identities. Much of this work is focused on the late Republic and early Empire, that is, points of contact. For thoughtful discussions of identity in the later Empire and post-Roman era, see the recent contributions by Swift (2006) on the reuse of Roman material in post-Roman Britain, and Conant (2012) on maintaining “Roman” identity in North Africa in the 4<sup>th</sup> – 7<sup>th</sup> centuries.

<sup>59</sup> There are, however, a few analyses of domestic projects in provincial settings that tread carefully around this issue, cf. Wrede 1972 for the antique herm ensemble of the villa Welschbillig. The size of the villa (only its garden has been partially excavated) and its proximity to ancient Trevers suggests that the inhabitant may have had connection to court, even though the villa boasts a lesser quality assemblage of herm statues. This should remind us that we need not make aesthetic judgement about provincial sculpture, nor use less aesthetically pleasing statues to infer a lower class homeowner.

provincial sculpture. It falls to further generations of scholarship to lift the burden of provincial art and culture, and to reclaim the term as a marker of context.<sup>60</sup>

It is with this in mind that I mark the statues found in the villas of this dissertation as both domestic and provincial (with respect to context). “Provincial” and “domestic” are the only typologies which can contain all of these sculptures, underscoring the true richness of this understudied corpus. I make use of the simple “domestic” and “provincial” typologies here as a means of organization, but also to remind readers that there is still a significant gap between these pieces and the traditional canon of Roman sculpture. Thus successive chapters of the dissertation employ “domestic” and “provincial” with an eye towards both the rehabilitation of these terms.

### **III. Chronological Variation of Statuary Finds in the Later Roman Villa**

Within the broad category of domestic and provincial statuary are two additional chronological “types” that feature prominently in this study and therefore merit some explication: antique sculptures, and late antique or contemporary statuary. As mentioned above, some villas contain both antique and late antique sculpture. The greatest chronological variety is unsurprisingly linked to the largest extant statuary assemblage in this study, at the villa of Chiragan in southern Aquitaine. Here, excavations have documented over 120 statues; among the finds are portraits (private and imperial) from

---

<sup>60</sup> For one of the clearest discussions of style to date, and the value of such discussions, see Hodder in *The uses of style in archaeology*, Conkey and Hastoff 2003. Provincial as a style can be illuminating (Stewart 2010; Johns 2003), but in the realm of art history, studies which focus on context as opposed to style seem to be the way forward in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.



the 1<sup>st</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> century, mythological statues of all sizes from the 2<sup>nd</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, and several late antique relief series. The deposit in which these pieces were found does not allow for a complete reconstruction of their display in late antique levels of the villa's occupation, but from the late date of many portraits and several mythological statuettes and reliefs (late 4<sup>th</sup> and possibly the early 5<sup>th</sup>), it is clear that homeowners were acquiring and displaying statuary through the Late Antique period.<sup>61</sup> The admixture of material in the deposition also suggests that both antique and contemporary sculptures were possibly displayed alongside each other. Finds among other villas of Aquitaine indicate that such a mélange of antiques and later contemporary sculptures was a kind of signature of the region's homeowners.<sup>62</sup> Meanwhile in Iberia, no individual statuary assemblage is a mixture of both antique and contemporary statuary.<sup>63</sup> With such important distinctions, further clarification of “antique” sculpture is necessary.

### **III.1 Methodological Approaches to “Antiques” and “Heirlooms”**

In this dissertation I define an “antique” statue as one produced in an era that is markedly earlier than the level in which it was excavated in a late Roman villa. The antique sculptures in this study date broadly from the Julio-Claudian era to the Severan era, and

---

<sup>61</sup> For thorough discussion of this site see chapter 6.

<sup>62</sup> Most of the statuary finds in this region (save Chiragan) were found scattered throughout the site, such that we have scant remains of what must have been sizable and diverse statuary assemblages, see remarks in chapter 5, section II.5.

<sup>63</sup> No Iberian villas here provide evidence for the display of antique statuary alongside any later contemporary pieces (chapters 2-4 passim). While this may a product of archaeological survival, I think it probable that the extant assemblages reflect the preferences among homeowners or, what is more likely, various levels of access to warehoused antique sculptures versus imported late antique statues, ideas that I explore further in chapters 2-4.

were displayed in villas with late antique occupation ranging from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>64</sup> That antique marble or bronze sculptures figured in the decoration of villas in the late antique period is, however, a rather novel concept. Indeed, before stratigraphic excavation, sculptures could not be identified securely as antiques, and were in fact often used to date the levels in which they were found. As such, a Julio-Claudian portrait was thought to firm evidence for a villa's occupation in the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, and so forth. Only in recent years has modern archaeology been able to securely identify the presence of antique sculptures in later phases of occupation, for example, at villa sites like El Ruedo and Casa del Mitra in rural Baetica.<sup>65</sup>

Interestingly, the antique character of these statuary assemblages has not been given a full treatment in modern scholarship. Both assemblages are comprised of largely mythological and genre works of the Imperial era, and scholars have chosen to focus on

---

<sup>64</sup> Villas with antique sculptures in Iberia include Milreu (Faro, Portugal), El Reudo (Almedinilla, Spain), Casa del Mitra (Cabra, Spain), and Cortijo de los Robles (Jaen, Spain); another five are securely documented and cluster in southern Aquitaine: Chiragan (Martres-Tolosane, Haute Garonne), Montmaurin (Montmaurin, Les Comminges); Nérac-La Garenne (Nérac, Lot-et-Garonne); Lamarque (Castelculier, Lot-et-Garonne) and Séviac (Montréal, Le Gers). See chapters 3 and 4 for the Iberian villas, chapters 5-7 for the French sites. The bulk of the antiques date to the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century and may be associated with what is generally accepted as the floruit of statuary production in the Imperial era. I should note here that at only one of the villas in this corpus, Milreu, the antique sculptures have never been securely associated with the late antique occupation of the villa. My work suggests that they should be, see Chapter 4, section I.2. Because the 2<sup>nd</sup> century sculptures of several villas near Tarraco (Catalonia) – Els Munts (Altafulla) and Els Antigons (Reus) – cannot securely be associated with late antique 4<sup>th</sup> century habitation, I reserve the discussion of these sites for a future study, in which I suggest that the chronology of Els Munts is in need of revision. The burning level at the site is heavily entrenched in scholarly assumptions of a Celtic invasion in Tarraco in 270 CE for which there is only one piece of literary evidence and no clear archaeological evidence at Tarraco (Kulikowski 2004, 66-68); trade and city maintenance is evinced through the 6<sup>th</sup> century. For publication of the statuary see Koppel 1993; 1995; Koppel in Tarrats Bou et al. 2000.

<sup>65</sup> For El Ruedo see Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdran 1995; for Casa del Mitra Blanco, Garcia and Bendala 1972; Jimenez Salvador and Martin Bueno 1982. See also chapter 4. Apprehensions towards “antique” sculptures in the later-Roman villa, however, remains, cf. Cortijo de los Robles (López Marcos and Buzón Alarcón 2013-14) in Chapter 4.

the dominance of mythological iconographies and a probable program of elite *otium* which apparently transcends historical realities.<sup>66</sup>

Although many of the antique statues found in these villas are mythological, conclusions of this sort are too sweeping. Such conclusions assume that the value or import of mythological imagery was timeless, thus obfuscating issues of great religious change in the 4<sup>th</sup> century vis-à-vis mythological or pagan imagery, and depreciating the possible value such pieces had accrued as historic relics or cultural heirlooms. In both of these villas, for example, the display of antique statuary accompanies large programs of architectural renovations, such that the curation of these antique sculptures is significant (whether residual, inherited, or acquired in late antiquity).

Excavations at the villa of El Ruedo also record evidence for antique portraits of a private individual and an emperor. Whereas it may be possible to mark this private antique portrait as a familial heirloom, scholarship is hard pressed to interpret the dynastic portrait in a similar fashion. The assortment of antique sculptures at the site of El Ruedo – mythological, but also private and imperial portraits – parallels that known at many other villas in this dissertation. Collectively, these finds caution against assumptions that all antique sculptures found in domestic settings are familial heirlooms, handed down from generation to generation. As previously mentioned, we cannot trace

---

<sup>66</sup> I note here that a free-standing statue of Mithras Taurkothonos was found at Casa del Mitra, and a recarved portrait head of Domitian is associated with El Ruedo. Both are extremely curious finds, which I pursue in greater depth in chapter 3.

villa ownership, let alone the acquisition origins of individual items within a stratified archaeological context.

Thus in this dissertation I propose that we investigate the broader collective values of antique statues, and entertain the status that they may have held as cultural heirlooms in domestic contexts. This approach suggests that the value of an antique portrait lies not only in the historical person it represents, but in the historical epoch and cultural period to which it refers. So too may the value of an antique mythological sculpture lie not simply in its iconography, but the values that iconography gained in later years as a historical relic, or veritable effigy of Greco-Roman culture. Study of antiques as cultural heirlooms thus presumes that antique sculptures had collective values which merit our attention. Study of such values also prevents the archaeological inability to trace ownership or acquisition histories from becoming a hindrance.

Though the collective heirloom values of antiques are poorly understood in private settings, such values has been admirably queried in recent scholarship on the display of antique statuary in public contexts of the later Empire. For example, Rome is regularly depicted as a living museum of antique statues by both ancient and modern scholars alike. Statuary in places like Augustus' and Trajan's forum, the Templum Pacis, and the Roman Forum visibly honored and celebrated collective history.<sup>67</sup>

So too are many of the spoliation projects enacted by later emperors in late antiquity now synthesized as conscious appropriations of the past and history, whether

---

<sup>67</sup> See Rutledge 2012 in particular; also Strong 1973.

the infamous reuse of imperial reliefs in the Arch of Constantine in Rome, or the antique marble statuary program which was imported to adorn the new capital of Constantinople. Such projects acknowledge the continued cultural relevance of antique images in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and suggest they had bearing on a larger public.<sup>68</sup>

In this dissertation I therefore parse the status that antique sculptures likely had as cultural heirlooms in private contexts and among more private audiences. The chapters that follow wrestle with the import or impact of antique mythological or pagan iconographies in the late antique period, and the value of portraiture as a legitimizing tool amidst the sharp socio-economic growth of the Roman elite class in Late Antiquity. I also ask what attraction antique sculpture had broadly in an era characterized as a period of waning statuary production in the West.

### **III.2 Contemporary Sculpture in Late Antiquity**

Antique sculpture should also be distinguished from the contemporary, imported marble statues and statuettes that decorated several villas in this study. Of particular importance are the Aquitanian villas, where antique statuary is found alongside later imported sculptures – late-mythological works and late private portraits. Perhaps the most

---

<sup>68</sup> Jas Elsner has suggested that the reuse of antique imperial sculpture in the Arch of Constantine is propaganda financed by the Roman Senate – a tangible appropriation of a past for the creation of a historical narrative ending in Constantine’s own person (2000). Such a project celebrated Rome’s cultural history. Sarah Bassett (1991; 1996; 2014) sees a similar mindset in play in the construction of the new capital at Constantinople. Ancient sculptures were brought in from more than 25 different cities around the Empire to decorate the city, to infuse it with the cultural legacy it lacked. This antiquity would have been even more pronounced in the 4<sup>th</sup> century in Rome and Constantinople than in earlier eras, given the sharp stylistic break struck by the Tetrarchy in official imagery.

widespread type of late antique sculpture documented in late domestic contexts is the late-mythological statuette, loosely dated to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and/or the early 5<sup>th</sup>.<sup>69</sup> These pieces are known in a number of Gallic villas and two Iberian villas surveyed in this dissertation, and belong to a larger tradition of mythological statuary production in Late Antiquity that was not recognized by scholarship until quite recently.

70

Before examining mythological statuary production in the late antique period, a word on the now-defunct narrative that has delayed study of many mythological sculptures as “late antique” is necessary. For most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the narrative of Roman art history depended on notions of decline over the *longue durée*. Thus, the production of “classical” mythological statues has heralded as an invention of the Greeks, with successive later Hellenistic and Roman sculptures marked as products of a copying tradition. In the Roman Imperial era, history suggests a revival of idealizing statuary and mythological sculpture production in the 1<sup>st</sup> century, which correlates with Augustan peace and newly consolidated Roman Empire.<sup>71</sup> Production of this kind of statuary was

---

<sup>69</sup> For this genre see Stirling 2005

<sup>70</sup> The villas in this study with such late-mythological works include the villas of Quinta das Longas and Valdetorres de Jarama (chapter 2), and Chiragan, Montmaurin, Nérac, Séviac, and Lamarque in Aquitaine (chapters 5 and 6). Other important sites in Aquitaine discussed in Stirling’s work but not in this dissertation include the villa Saint-Georges-de-Montagne near Bordeaux (Stirling 1996; 2005, 30-37, see also Braemer 1982. Stirling has also noted another possible late Gallic villa with such statuary at Andilly en Bassigny (personal communication). I have chosen not to discuss these latter two villas in this study, because of Stirling’s thorough analysis of the St. Georges material, but also because neither is located in Novempopulania, which I argue evinces a distinct statuary habit and belongs to particular social landscape (see Chapter 5).

<sup>71</sup> The renaissance or revival of mythological statuary in this period belongs within a much larger narrative, and the sheer amount of extant material from the reign of Augustus and the Julio-Claudian successors is

thought to have peaked in the Antonine age, with waning production in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and the eventual disappearance of classicizing or traditional mythological imagery in the 4<sup>th</sup>.<sup>72</sup> Art of the later 3<sup>rd</sup> century and the Tetrarchy has been instrumental to the construction of this narrative, and thus “classical” in late antiquity emerges as a poorly defined catch-all term to describe any visual culture that could not be characterized as a significant and aesthetically displeasing break from earlier traditions.<sup>73</sup> Thus in early ancient studies scholarship, the blocky non-traditional proportions of Tetrarchic and early Christian sculptures were regarded as visual signs of Rome’s decline, or at best precursors to the Middle Ages.<sup>74</sup> Though this narrative is now outdated it is important to note how the decline of supposedly “classical” art parallels the purported fall of the Roman Empire and the rise of the middle ages. In the section below I therefore review landmark scholarship on large-scale mythological statuary production in late antiquity, before examining small-scale mythological statuettes.

---

such that the cultural legacy of this man, this family, and this period is undeniable. It has fascinated ancient and modern scholars alike, whether in the realm of art, literature or history. For statuary arts of the Augustan and Julio-Claudian era in particular see Zanker 1998a; Rose 1997; Kleiner 1992, 59-165.

<sup>72</sup> I note here that although the rhetoric of Roman decline is now seen as problematic, the extant material evidence for sculpture does suggest that less statuary was produced after the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century in the Western Roman Empire. It is not that statues had become undesirable, because many (antique) statues continued to decorate cities in both the East and Western Empire, see above nt. 68. The rate of new sculpture commissions, however, does drop from the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century on, especially in the Western province of the Iberian Peninsula, Gaul, and Britain (cf. Gonçalves 2007; Witschel 2016, or a simple search by location on Smith and Ward-Perkins LSA database). To my mind, it is significant that villas counter the dearth of urban evidence for statuary in the southwestern provinces. The private sphere, rather than the public, records evidence for late antique commissions of portraiture and mythological sculpture through the 4<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> century, especially in Novempopulania (chapters 5-6).

<sup>73</sup> The landmark work on Roman art in Late Antiquity as a significant break from the “classical style” remains L’Orange 1972.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Berenson 1954. For recent syntheses which suggest a greater degree of continuity between the Empire and Later Empire see Elsner 1995; 2000. See also the discussion of *paideia*, section IV.1.

### III.2.a The Production of Large Scale Mythological Statuary in Aphrodisias

Thus, the production of large-scale, mythological statuary in the 4<sup>th</sup> century was presumed non-existent until quite recently. The last two generations of excavation and research at the site of Aphrodisias have played major role in debunking these assumptions, and have revealed evidence for a strong statuary workshop tradition that persisted through the 5<sup>th</sup> and possibly 6<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>75</sup> In the realm of large-scale, mythological sculpture, the work of Charlotte Roueché and K.T. Erim has been particularly important. In 1982, Roueché and Erim published three inscriptions of late antique sculptors' signatures on three statuary bases in Aphrodisias.<sup>76</sup> The inscriptions designate a certain high priest (ἀρχιερέυς) and κόμης named Flavius Zeno, and a διασημώτατος named Flavius Andronicus, as individuals who made (ἐποίει) and set up (ἀνέθηκεν) public statuary.<sup>77</sup> Roueché and Erim date the inscriptions to the second

---

<sup>75</sup> For recent synopses of excavation at Aphrodisias and statuary finds in particular see edited volumes by Roueché, Erim and Smith 1990; Smith and Erim 1991. Before these stratified excavations, most large-scale mythological statues known to originate in Aphrodisias by the artists' signatures were dated no later than the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, see Squarciapino 1943. The discussion that follows details Roueché and Erim's 1982 landmark article and suggestions for large scale mythological production in Late Antiquity, but I note here that Erim's work on the sculptural reliefs of the Sebasteion had already marked the school of Aphrodisias as having a significant workshop tradition, distinct from others. Study of the reliefs attests to significant developments in the 1<sup>st</sup> century –use of the running drill, for example– that are not documented in other areas until generations later (see Smith 1987 for synthesis of the reliefs).

<sup>76</sup> Two of the inscriptions published by Roueché and Erim in 1982 (Pl. VIb and VIIa) were first discovered in 1913, but never published or synthesized. They had been found in the excavations of the large court along the east side of the Hadrianic Baths (Roueché and Erim 1982, 103-09 for the text of the inscriptions and the important prosopographic study). The third (Inv. no. 64.278) was found in the 1964 excavation on the west side of the Bouleuterion. The ongoing excavations at Aphrodisias began in 1961, led by K.T. Erim of New York University, and are now under the direction of R.R.R. Smith of Oxford.

<sup>77</sup> Roueché and Erim suggest that the claim to have made the statues (ἐποίει) which were dedicated is not specious; the individuals may have been sculptors (since Aphrodisian sculptors are known to have often signed their work on the statues themselves, see Squarciapino 1943), or the owners of a statuary workshop.



quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century based on the official ranks of the individuals and their titles, and the style of the inscribed letters.<sup>78</sup>

Prosopographic study of Fl. Zeno and Fl. Andronicus led the scholars to a set of sculptors' signatures in Rome, on statue bases of the so-called Esquiline Group, fragments of five life-size mythological sculptures and assorted bases found on Rome's Esquiline Hill in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Among the fragments of the Esquiline group are five inscriptions on statuary bases that identify a Flavius Zeno as a high priest and *perfectissimus* of Aphrodisias, who made and dedicated several large mythological statues associated with these bases (Φλάβιος Ζήνων ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ διασημώτατος Ἀφροδισεὺς ἐποίηι).<sup>79</sup> Two additional inscriptions in the Esquiline assemblage name a Fl. Andronicus of Aphrodisias as another dedicator, and four others refer to a Fl. Chryseros,

---

That both Fl. Zeno and Fl. Andronicus claim to have made the statues set up in Rome (see below on the Esquiline group) is significant, and points to the high rank that local elites, and even sculptors or workshop owners were able to achieve in the Late Antique period. Roueché and Erim note that the titles – Fl. Zeno as ἀρχιερεὺς and κόμης – “are unusual for a provincial official, but not impossible” (1982, 114). The high municipal ranking of these provincial individuals may be correlated to administrative reforms of the burgeoning bureaucracy. The designation of διασημώτατος or Latin *perfectissimus* is associated with men of a provincial or municipal rank in the Constantinian era, though before Constantine *perfectissimus* was only used among imperial officials in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (for recent discussions of titular rank in greater depth in the Constantinian era see Heather 1994; 1997).

<sup>78</sup> The lettering of the Fl. Andronicus inscription (Inv. no. 64.278) is elongated and lightly cut, and comparable to an inscription found in the Hadrianic Baths which dates to 337-350 CE. There is no local comparanda for the two Zeno inscriptions, but lunate sigma and omega of Pl. VIb are in the style of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Comparanda for the style of these letters can be found further abroad in examples around Caria from the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries. The official rank of the men as *perfectissimus* also suggests a 4<sup>th</sup> century date (see above nt. 77). Though the cognomina Zeno and Andronicus were common in Aphrodisias, no other inscriptions attesting to these individuals were known to Roueché and Erim in the city.

<sup>79</sup> Though not all five inscriptions are preserved in their entirety, see Roueché and Erim 1982, 104. Here again, διασημώτατος associates this individual with an elevated rank. All five of the inscriptions for Fl. Zeno in Rome on the Esquiline bases follow the same formulae

also of Aphrodisias.<sup>80</sup> The Esquiline statues had long been identified as Aphrodisian products by these signatures, but by their size and subject – life-size, mythological figures –, 20<sup>th</sup> century scholarship had assumed that the pieces dated to the later 2<sup>nd</sup> century (figs. 5-10).<sup>81</sup> Only Roueché and Erim’s discovery and careful prosopographic research has securely associated the Esquiline group with the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century; doing so has had a substantial impact on the field and on the recognition of a continuing mythological statuary tradition in Late Antiquity.<sup>82</sup>

Following Roueché and Erim’s work, scholars such as Bente Kiilerich, Niels Hannestad and Marianne Bergmann re-analyzed the purportedly “baroque” traits of the Esquiline sculptures – stylized drapery, excessive anatomical detail, non-traditional proportions and extensive use of the drill – as probable characteristics of a later Aphrodisian sculpture tradition of life-size mythological statuary which continued through Late Antiquity.<sup>83</sup> Other works in the same stylistic vein have come to light in

---

<sup>80</sup> “Φλάβιος Χρυσέρως Ἀφροδισηδὺς ἐποίησεν”; four examples with this name and this inscribed formula are extant (though some are fragmentary and do not preserve the text entirely). Two other examples referring to Fl. Andronicus are extant: “Φλάβιος Ἀνδρόνικος”; *ibid.* See Roueché and Erim 1982, nt. 13 and 14 for relevant bibliography.

<sup>81</sup> Because of the non-classical proportions of these figures and an excessive amount of anatomical detail, the statues had been relegated to the depots of the Nys Carlsberg Glyptothek soon after their purchase in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and remained there until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>82</sup> As hypothesized by Squariciapino (1943, 38-43), but unverified until Roueché and Erim 1982. In this study in particular, the inscriptional evidence for dedications in Rome by 4<sup>th</sup> century Aphrodisian sculptors of municipal rank remains the clearest evidence for a trans-regional art market and for itinerant artists in the West.

<sup>83</sup> Kiilerich 1993; Kiilerich and Torp 1994; Hannestad 1994; Bergmann 1999. See also Moltensen 1990. Bergmann suggests that this mythological statuary tradition may be correlated to the foundation of the new capital at Constantinople, which would have led to increased demands for statuary (similar suggestions have been put forth by Stirling 2005 127-29 and Smith 2002 *passim*, though with less emphasis on Constantinople. I note here, however, that a degree of uncertainty remains as to the duration of this life-size

recent years, and, like the Esquiline group, have been dated to the Late Antique period: the Silahtarağa group associated with late-Roman *domus* outside of modern Istanbul (figs. 11-13);<sup>84</sup> a set of life-size mythological statues found in Antioch;<sup>85</sup> classicizing large-scale sculpture from a probable mithraeum in Sidon (fig. 14),<sup>86</sup> and quite possibly several relief series from the villa of Chiragan, which are discussed in greater detail in chapter 6 (figs. 228-239).<sup>87</sup> Increasing evidence for what appears to be a strong tradition of large-scale mythological statuary production in the later-Roman East is slowly contributing to synthesis of the continuity of such statuary production, and the relevance of this medium and of mythological iconographies in Late Antiquity.<sup>88</sup> Large scale late-mythological sculpture finds in the West more broadly, however, are few and far

---

mythological statuary tradition. At present, few life-size or larger works are dated beyond the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>84</sup> The Silahtarağa sculptures were first published by Chaisemartin and Orgen in 1984 and dated (like the Esquiline group) to the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century. The fragments document a number of life-size statues: multiple anguipeds, an Artemis, a female statue (Selene?), a Hercules and an Apollo. In 1994 Kiilerich and Torp suggest that the date of the pieces should be pushed back to the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, based on Roueché and Erim's 1982 study and increasing evidence for late antique statuary production among the excavations of Aphrodisias (cf. Smith 1990; 2002; see also Aphrodisias Papers vols. I-V in the JRA).

<sup>85</sup> Brinkerhoff 1970. The catalog for these pieces (now in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston) includes a Meleager figure, Dionysius, Ares, Apolo, a satyr and an Aphrodite. The pieces have been loosely dated to the late 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> century based on the pottery of the stratigraphic context in which they were found.

<sup>86</sup> Barratte 2001. See also Bergmann 1999, 24-25; Hannestad 2012, 89-93.

<sup>87</sup> See also Bergmann 1999, 28-42.

<sup>88</sup> Initial hesitation to such a tradition is couched in historiography and the purported sharp contrast between these classicizing late antique statuary and art of the Tetrarchy and later Byzantine Empire. The historiography is eloquently summarized in Kiilerich 1993; Kiilerich and Torp 1994. I note also that there is a palpable bias in Anglophone scholarship towards Aphrodisias as the center of statuary production in late antiquity. Aphrodisias was no doubt important, but other centers of production (Ephesus, Dokimeion and Side, Constantinople, branch workshops in Rome, etc) do warrant investigation.

between.<sup>89</sup> In the West, the smaller late antique mythological statuettes mentioned briefly above are more common than large scale mythological statuary.

### **III.2.b The Small-scale Late-Mythological Statuette Genre**

Study of these smaller statuettes as later Roman arts is, however, contemporaneous with Roueché and Erim's work in the 1980s, and should be associated within a larger Anglophone narrative of Late Antiquity's rise as a distinct field. These late-mythological statuettes stand approximately 80 cm in height on average and were likely designed for display in niches or on tables or shelves. It has been suggested that these small mythological statuettes constitute yet another branch of the Late Antique period's Eastern statuary workshop traditions. Elaine Gazda's 1981 publication of one of these statuette, a Ganymede and Eagle group found in Carthage, has been integral to synthesis of this genre (fig. 15). Gazda dates the piece to the early 5<sup>th</sup> century, based on both the stylization of the figures and the archaeological context in which the fragments appeared.

<sup>90</sup> Almost simultaneously in 1982, François Braemer marked several mythological statuettes found in the villa Saint-Georges-de-Montagne east of Bordeaux as

---

<sup>89</sup> The villa of Chiragan and its extensive assemblage of large-scale, figural relief sculptures is thus quite significant. For discussion of these reliefs see chapter 6.

<sup>90</sup> The Ganymede statuette was found in the 1977 excavations of a cistern beneath the house of the Charioteers in Carthage, see Gazda 1981, 135. The statuette was broken into 17 fragments distributed throughout the deposit, suggesting that the fill in the cistern derives from a single event. Numismatic evidence in the deposit, other similar deposits around the city, and historical reports of a city cleaning in 533 CE, suggest to Gazda that the cistern deposit probably dates to first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

manufactures of the Late Antique period (figs. 16, 17).<sup>91</sup> Both Braemer and Gazda draw attention to a stylistic vocabulary which recent finds mark as characteristic of this later genre, some of which are shared among larger sculptures like the Esquiline group

As hallmarks of late antique manufacture Gazda cites the rubbery anatomy of the nude Ganymede, the schematization of his drapery, the subtle use of the drill and the facial geometry of youth and the eagle. As technical marks of the late antique small-scale statuette tradition, she highlights bridge work between fingers, the high polish of pieces, the geometric composition of group figures and relative lack of depth in composition, and the addition of ancillary figures (here, a small dog). Braemer independently saw the same qualities in two statuettes of Diana and Venus from the villa Saint-Georges-de-Montagne, now heralded as iconic of late-mythological statuary: a schematization of drapery, stocky anatomy of human figures, extensive use of the drill, a marked frontality and the flatness of the figures alongside a general lack of spatial depth in the statuette.<sup>92</sup>

A broader synthesis of the late-mythological statuette genre was then published in 2005 by Lea Stirling, specifically in the context of Aquitanian villas of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>93</sup> Stirling's analysis goes beyond stylistic identification to situate the display of

---

<sup>91</sup> Braemer 1982.

<sup>92</sup> Braemer marks the so-called Diana of Bordeaux statuette (now in the Musée de Bordeaux) and a statuette of Venus now in the Louvre as late works; he loosely dates the pieces to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (1982, 116-125).

<sup>93</sup> Stirling's 2005 "Learned Collector: Mythological Statuettes and Classical Taste in Southern Gaul" builds on her 1995 doctoral dissertation and a number of articles published in the late 1990s (Stirling 1996; 1997). Since 2005 she has continued to work on late-mythological statuettes (Stirling 2007; 2014a; 2014b) though not exclusively and has expanded her research interests to Roman North Africa and the site of Leptiminus in Tunisia (a Tunisian-Canadian-American archaeological project co-directed by the University of Michigan, the University of Manitoba, and Tunisia's Institut National du Patrimoine).

these pieces in a historical landscape. She attributes the popularity of the imported sculptures among Gallic villa owners in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries to a quintessentially late antique elite “collecting” habit. Stirling’s discussion of collection mentions the other statues in these Aquitanian villas passim – heirloom private portraits, imperial portraits, antique mythological statues, contemporary portraits, and assorted architectural sculptures – but her focus is late-mythological small-scale statuary. Her work remains the most thoughtful and thorough contribution to our understanding of both this genre and the statuary villa phenomenon. Still, there are reasons to question and scrutinize her conclusions. Despite the regional focus, she posits that a pan-elite culture of classical *paideia* underlies collection and display of these statuettes throughout the Empire.<sup>94</sup> This does not, however, account for the concentration of finds in and among Gallic villa assemblages.<sup>95</sup> It is also unclear whether the principles of collection and *paideia* that Stirling proposes would apply to the large number of antique statues and portraits found in the same assemblages.

Any constraints on Stirling’s study of the late-mythological statuary genre as opposed to the broader assemblages of antiques and portraits in Gaul, however, are those naturally imposed by our discipline, which emphasizes synthesis of individual typologies.

---

<sup>94</sup> Stirling’s chapter 6, “Learned Collectors across the Empire”, pages 165-227.

<sup>95</sup> In villas of the Roman West, only three sites outside of Gaul record late-mythological statuary: the villas of Quinta das Longas and Valdetorres de Jarama in Iberia, and the villa of Woodchester in the South Cotswolds. It may be that these statuettes were traded widely throughout the West, but the evidence for such a market is inconclusive (see discussion in chapter 5, section III.1, III.2). Outside of Gaul, most finds belong to urban contexts: in Ostia, Rome, Northern Africa, and the London Mithraeum. Finds of these statuettes are more common in the East, Athens in particular. See Stirling 2005, 165-227; also 2008 for Corinth.

Such specialization within Roman sculpture has defined a plethora of typologies and styles and in doing so has set the stage for analytical study, but rarely do we do so in the context of a complete sculptural assemblage or a landscape of display.<sup>96</sup> Thus in Gallic villas, late-mythological sculptures are placed in dialogue with other statues only superficially, and beyond Stirling's significant work, further analysis of unique concentration of diverse statuary finds in these villas is warranted.

### **III.2.c Non-Mythological Statuary in Late Antiquity: The Portrait Habit?**

A final genre or type of late antique statuary find must be discussed briefly here, and that is the contemporary portraiture known primarily in the Gallic villas of this study. I have already alluded to portraiture's role as a veritable figurehead for *Romanitas* in Roman sculpture studies, and the problems surrounding synthesis of such pieces in domestic spheres.<sup>97</sup>

Portraiture has long held eminent place in the hierarchy of Roman sculpture. The sheer number of identifiable extant portraits in the ancient world has permitted scholars to chart cultural evolutions in style and self-portrayal for more than 600 years of Roman dominion. Only in the last generation of scholarship has the *longue durée* and emphasis on the art historical evolutions in Roman portraiture subsided somewhat. Recent socio-historical studies emphasize self-representation and reception, whether in state art, the

---

<sup>96</sup> Though this is becoming increasingly more common in studies of the sculptural environment of Rome, where there are ample archaeological and literary sources to reconstruct the landscape of public statuary display (cf. Rutledge 2012; Russell 2016).

<sup>97</sup> These portraits are discussed in chapter 5, section IV.

provinces, or the funerary sphere.<sup>98</sup> That being said, the study of portraiture remains heavily biased towards art historical and catalogue publication.<sup>99</sup>

If we acknowledge a continuum in the Roman portrait tradition, we should also acknowledge a change in the portrait habit in late antiquity. The later Roman era evinces fewer late antique portraits. Those that survive do not necessarily belong to a distinct tradition, but their rarity does mark a palpable change. Our understanding of later Roman portrait traditions has benefited greatly from excavations in the East and in Aphrodisias in particular, and in Anglophone scholarship the work of R.R.R. Smith has been extremely influential. Smith's research is both stylistic and socio-historical in methodology. He has highlighted stylistic and iconographic changes in later portraits, linking them to a continuum of the Roman portrait tradition. As such, Smith has created a sort of bookend for "Roman" portraiture, bringing attention to public honorific statuary whether in Rome, Aphrodisias, Ephesus, or other urban centers. Smith has suggested that portraiture in Late Antiquity fulfilled an important role and satisfied demands for a burgeoning elite class of public servants. Demand for portrait statues and busts, Smith

---

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Rose 1997 for imperial portraiture and dynastic commemoration; Peterson 2006 for freedman portraiture; see the discussion that follows on R. R. R. Smith's work on public honorific portraiture in Late Antiquity. That said, the continuing or changing functions of portraiture in the late antique period is somewhat underexplored outside of the Eastern Empire, see thoughts in Stewart 2007.

<sup>99</sup> Particularly in Germanophone and Francophone scholarship. In Late Antiquity see Schade 2003; Balty and Cazes 2005; 2008; Balty et. al. 2012; Rosso 2006.



argues, evinces the presence of late antique sculpture workshops specializing in this genre, and the power which public portraiture retained through the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>100</sup>

Smith's arguments, however, are safely rooted in public contexts, which are largely restricted to Rome and the Eastern Empire. The wealth of evidence for late antique portraits in these spheres contrasts sharply with a palpable dearth of the same in West from the late-3<sup>rd</sup> century on, whether in public or private contexts. In the Iberian Peninsula, late-3<sup>rd</sup> century portraits and/or inscriptional evidence appear only occasionally in urban settings and are almost always associated with the imperial family.<sup>101</sup> In Gaul, the evidence for late antique portraits is nearly non-existent *except* in the private sphere of villas in Novempopulania, where multiple late-Roman portrait heads have been found at several sites.<sup>102</sup> The role that contemporary portraiture played in the private sector is not well understood, and thus it is unclear whether the rich tradition of

---

<sup>100</sup> For Smith's recent work see articles in 1990; 1997; 1997; 1999; 2002; 2016; ed. 2006; 2016. On either side of Smith's work see Bergmann 1977 and Wood 1986 for portrait traditions in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (largely restricted to imperial portraits) and for portraiture in the post-Constantinian and Theodosian era see Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1966; Dresken-Weiland 1991; Meischner 1991; Schade 2003. See also Prusac 2011 and Lenaghan 2016 for recutting and portrait reuse in the late antique period.

<sup>101</sup> For epigraphic habit and study of public dedications in Gallia, Hispania and Raetia see Witschel 2016; see also Gehr and Ward-Perkins 2016 for the northern *limes*, the Danube provinces and Balkans, and de Bruyn and Machado 2016 for North Africa. The situation in North Africa is somewhat similar to Hispania, in that extant dedications are largely reserved for imperial persons in both regions. There is, however, more evidence extant in North Africa – “only Italy and Rome lag behind in numbers [of imperial dedications]” (de Bruyn and Machado 2016, 62).

<sup>102</sup> Late antique heads have been found at the villas of Séviac, Lamarque, and Chiragan (chapter 5, discussion section IV.2). The Chiragan assemblage boasts several 3<sup>rd</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> century female portraits as well (chapter 5, section IV.2; see also Appendix 6.2) For recent publication of late antique portraits at the villa Chiragan see Bergmann 2007; Balty and Cazes 2008; at the villa of Séviac see Balty's art historical catalog in Fages and Balmelle *forthcoming*. See also brief mention of this concentration in Witschel 2016, and the LSA database and the edited 2016 volume of Smith and Ward-Perkins for brief notes on the Chiragan and Séviac finds. The current scholarly consensus is that all of these portraits were imported to Gaul from workshops in Rome or further East; the underlying assumption is that Gaul did not have workshops with the talent to execute (private) portrait commissions.

late antique private portraits in Novempopulania's villas marks an anomaly, the habit of a particular historical landscape, or merely excellent archaeological preservation. I note that all of the villas in Novempopulania with contemporary late antique portraiture also housed antique portraits (imperial and private), such that a tradition of portrait display in Late Antiquity merits discussion. I explore the socio-historical landscape of such a portrait *mélange* and the particular import of this genre within larger assemblages of mythological and idealizing antique and contemporary statues in chapters 5 and 6.

#### **IV. Objects in Context**

With a review of (largely Anglophone) art historical scholarship on the many statuary typologies and chronologies present in this study, I now turn our attention to current analyses of these objects in context.<sup>103</sup> This next section explores the cultural context of (largely mythological) statuary displays in the villas of Late Antiquity, and a final section will review the scholarly context that surrounds interpretations of statuary finds as collections.

I remind readers of the cultural context surrounding the late antique villa as the site for statuary display. The introduction reviewed the curious clustering of finds in the estates Hispania and southern Gaul, and the broader cultural context of these villas, in

---

<sup>103</sup> I admit that this dissertation does privilege Anglophone scholarship, but is part because Anglophone art history is among the most analytical and oriented towards social history and archaeological context. French, Spanish, and German scholarship does generally maintain the traditional divide between art history and archaeology, though recent catalogs of the Chiragan imperial portraits do discuss the excavation history of the site admirably, cf. Balty and Cazes 2005, 21-69.

that they belong within a larger late antique villa boom. Current analyses of that boom correlate villa building with the growth of the imperial bureaucracy and its elite in the later 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries. As previously noted, this dissertation suggests that it is now time to use the vast corpus of excavated late Roman villas to explore the archaeological evidence for different regional patterns of various habitation groups within the villa-owning elite class. Before doing so, however, I wish to acknowledge an additional factor predisposing analysis of private statuary assemblages as the domain of a particular type of late-Roman elite, and that is the assimilation of mythological imagery – in statuary but also mosaics and other arts – with elite expressions of *paideia*. In the section that follows, I examine the role that *paideia* has played, and continues to play in Late Antiquity, and the impact it has had both on our understanding of mythological vs. pagan statuary, and on the cultural vs. religious identity of the elite who owned these objects.

#### **IV.1. *Paideia* and the late Roman Elite**

Peter Brown is generally credited with coining “Late Antiquity” and the discipline in the 1970s, and his work continues to have a lasting impact.<sup>104</sup> Among Brown’s many contributions to this field has been the construction of a conceptual bridge between the

---

<sup>104</sup> Brown is regarded as coining the term “late antiquity” and the field more broadly with the 1971 publication of his book, *The World of Late Antiquity*. His novel approach and lack of judgement towards this later material is evident by comparison with other scholars, cf. L’Orange 1972; Kitzinger 1967. Brown’s focus on the 4<sup>th</sup> century and Christian literature must be noted as bringing attention to a period that earlier philologists and historians had long dismissed as inferior. His early work shows great interest in the development of Christianity and culminated in a dissertation (1967) on Augustine of Hippo. More recent work focuses on different expressions of Christianity and late antique society more generally, cf. 2012.

classical world and the early Christian Empire. Brown emphasized classical education, or *paideia* as the cultural foundation of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries among elites, whether Christian or pagan.<sup>105</sup> An individual could not rise to an elevated social position in later Roman society, let alone to an office in either the government or the church, without an education. The late antique education system, scholars suggest, largely mirrors that of the High Empire in that *paideia* is structured around Cicero and Virgil, Homer and Plato, philosophy and rhetoric; history and epic.<sup>106</sup> Scholarship's stress on the universality of this education system among the elite in late antiquity in particular has marked *paideia* as the anchoring mechanism for change in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>107</sup> We assume that in

---

<sup>105</sup> For *paideia* as the backbone of classical education and among grammarians and rhetoricians and in literary culture more broadly see Kaster 1997; Roberts 1989; also Hagith 1993. *Paideia* was the literary system that formed Christianity's Jerome and Augustine as much as figures like the pagan senator Symmachus and Ausonius. In *Confessions* (Book 3) Augustine suggests that his love of oratory, rhetoric, and Cicero posed occasional problems for his faith. For Augustine see Brown 1967; 2000. For Symmachus, Ausonius, and the West more generally Brown 2014; also Hagith 1993; for *paideia* as a motivation behind the late antique classicizing statuary tradition Killerich 1993; Bergmann 1999; Stirling 2005. In other areas of late antique scholarship, *paideia* is a strong undercurrent and Brown's legacy is evident, see Hagith and Kaster above but also Elsner 1995; Bassett 2004; Bowes 2008). This is not to dismiss that the ways in which successive scholars have built on Brown. Elsner (1995; 2000; 2014) looks to a cult of relics as somehow essential to the transformation and Christianization of the later Roman world. He sees changing attitudes among Christians towards cultural relics as something immaterial and ephemeral as particularly important. Bowes too has added nuance to late-Roman elite culture in the Christianization of the West in her study of villas and the role that Christian *domini* played as a strong if subtle disciples of the "new" faith (2008).

<sup>106</sup> Kaster (1997) paints 4<sup>th</sup> century grammarians and rhetoricians as the guardians of language, suggesting that these figures grew more relevant and important in Late Antiquity because they maintained contact with "high Roman culture." Kaster suggests that 4<sup>th</sup> century Romans did not relate to the ancient texts in the same way that, for example, a 2<sup>nd</sup> century Roman did, due to a greater degree of distance from the original material. Distance from the original sources material is thought to be apparent in late poetic trends, which Roberts (1989) refers to as the jeweled style: poetry and epistles are formulaic and quote directly from ancient texts. In doing so they evince an antiquarianism or historic quality that would have differed from spoken and quotidian 4<sup>th</sup> century Latin, see also Adams 2007.

<sup>107</sup> Underpinning this argument is the suggestion that elite society *was* late antique society, and that the elite class are responsible for shaping the socio-historical landscape. This argument stands largely because we lack evidence for other social classes in the late Roman world. Its elite have left the greatest mark on both

times of religious and administrative upheaval, that is, the rise and fall of the Tetrarchic system, the creation of Constantinople as a new capital, and the adoption of Christianity as the official religion of Empire, the later Empire's elite capitalized on *paideia* as a normalizing presence and a means of social cohesion.

Presentation of *paideia* as a means of coping with social change has had profound effects on our understanding of villa estates in the Roman West. Prior to late antique scholarship, the post-3<sup>rd</sup> century was presented as a break from the classical world because of its acceptance of Christianity, a religion with a set of beliefs and practices that were fundamentally different from traditional Roman religion. Earlier scholars saw a great divide between the 4<sup>th</sup> century's Christians and pagans, and thus it was presumed that villas with mythological mosaics or statues evinced the pagan sympathies of their *domini* as staunch traditionalists.<sup>108</sup> The rhetoric surrounding *paideia* has eased this purported divide and is now used to explain the prominence of "pagan" imagery in a 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> century Roman context, such that mythological imagery is now rarely read as a sign of religious belief and rather as visual symbols of one's social standing and education.<sup>109</sup> In current scholarship, we no longer mark villa owners as a Christian or pagan by their

---

the literary and archaeological record. Research is increasingly directed towards the non-elite in the Roman world more broadly but there is much work to be done.

<sup>108</sup> For earlier reactions to this imagery as a pagan revival see Bloch 1963. Archaeology has brought to light increasing evidence for shades of gray in the black/white pagan/Christian debate; sites like Lullingstone with a house church and mythological mosaics suggest that pagan imagery may have been less charged than previously assumed (Meates 1972; Bowes 2008; 2012). See also essays in Lavan and Mulryan 2009. It should be noted that the pagan/Christian divide that dominated scholarship in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century was largely inferred from evidence for Antipagan Legislation under Theodosius, and the existence of purportedly "stalwart pagan holdouts" in Rome like Symmachus.

<sup>109</sup> As I have already mentioned with Stirling 2005.

mythological mosaics and statues.<sup>110</sup> Religious beliefs have been largely set aside in discussions of iconography; we assume that late-mythological images and objects manifest *paideia* as opposed to religious belief, and therefore that the elites who owned them belonged to a shared cultural system. I have already suggested that current attitudes towards *paideia* as the impetus for mythological statuary ownership may be somewhat simplistic, in that it does not account for the sheer variety and great antiquity within the mythological statuary of Late Antiquity. I might also add that *paideia* is rarely cited in discussions of non-mythological antiques, like portraiture, though such analyses are perhaps warranted, for example, in southern Aquitaine where antique portraits of the philosopher-emperor Marcus Aurelius are prevalent among domestic finds. Again, however, it is the sheer variety within extant assemblages that complicates studies exempt from typologies.

#### **IV.2 Collection studies in the Ancient World**

In what remains of this chapter, I review the model that is now widely used to synthesize the diversity of most archaeological (but also literary) statuary assemblages. Whereas earlier scholarship was content to mark sizable assemblages of diverse, domestic statues as inherently “eclectic”, recent scholarship has largely abandoned this term in favor of

---

<sup>110</sup> Indeed, most studies of the dichotomies across paganism and Christianity are dependent on literary and/or historical evidence. For example, the Theodosian Code (compiled 429-38) suggests that laws had to be enacted in late antiquity to preserve public antique statuary from destruction; for a succinct discussion see Stirling 2005, 158-63. See also d’Annville 2015. Archaeological evidence is often less amenable to verification of these black and white narratives, cf. essays in Lavan and Mulryan 2009; Bowes 2008.

synthesis of ancient collections.<sup>111</sup> This brief discussion of the scholarly context of domestic statuary discussion will therefore conclude with a review of collection studies in the ancient world, for indeed, this dissertation does aim to contribute to these conservations.

Before reviewing some of the collection literature which exists in ancient studies, I pause to reflect here on what I perceive as a growing problem within archaeological discourse in particular, that is, the over-simplification of statuary assemblages as “collections” or “collected objects”.<sup>112</sup> “Collection” is a fraught term that most of us rarely define, especially in archaeology.<sup>113</sup> Various analyses have cast the sculptural

---

<sup>111</sup> For “eclecticism” in Roman art, one need look no further than analyses of Pompeian houses, cf. Zanker 1998b for the scholarly disdain which frequently surrounds eclecticism. In more recent scholarship, eclecticism has become almost matter-of-fact (Bergmann 2002; Clarke 2002; Beagan 2009).

<sup>112</sup> The villas in this dissertation have all, at one time or another, been referenced as ancient collections, by myself and others. Personal unease with the use of the word “collection” has developed over the course of my research, prompted largely by stimulating discussions with Vassilki Gaggadis-Robin of the Centre Camille Jullian. I note that though some scholars may disagree with me, others evidently share similar qualms. I note here a conference that is roughly contemporaneous with the completion of this dissertation: Beyond “Art Collections”: Owning and Accumulating Objects from Greek and Roman Antiquity to the Early Modern Period (Pisa November 17-19, 2016).

<sup>113</sup> With respect to previous scholarship, Stirling (2005) refers primarily to “collectors” rather than statuary “collections” in her book, though her rhetoric implies the latter. The same slippage appears *in passim* in 2014’s *Museum Archetypes and collecting in the ancient world* (ed. Wellington Gahtan and Pegazzano). Literary sources shed light on collecting habits and motivations, and these sources are employed to tacitly suggest that archaeological assemblages are collections. The vocabulary used for the statuary assemblages is not collection, but object groupings, art holdings or object accumulations, vocabulary which highlights a slippage in ancient collecting studies: scholars are uneasy with the use of “collection” as a synonym for assemblage. *Museum archetypes* is the most recent collection of essays on collecting, an overview of the scholarship on public, private, and virtual collections in Greek and Roman antiquity. The monograph is an important contribution to ongoing research but it exposes our utter reliance on literary sources for collecting as a cultural phenomenon. I should note here that theoretical study of “collection” is in its infancy. Collection is understood by some as a form of obsession (van der Grijp 2007) and by others as a physical manifestation of more complex human desires vis-à-vis possession (Baudrillard in Cardinal and Elsner 1994). Collection also figures in commodification studies developing from Marxist theory, Appadurai 1988; Kopytoff 1986; see also object theory, Gosden 2005. For the history of art collecting and ancient art in particular Alsop 1982; Haskell and Penny 1982.

assemblages of many villas surveyed in this dissertation as collections - Chiragan, El Ruedo, Valdetorres de Jarama and Quinta das Longas; there is, however, no consensus on what “collection” entails, let alone similarities across these assemblages that might generate a clear definition of collection.

Chiragan’s statuary assemblage was formally marked as a “collection” in 1901.<sup>114</sup> Though this proposition was set forth a century ago, modern scholarship does not find it outdated. To my mind, the size and depth of the assemblage (over 120 extant statues) suggest that it is indeed a collection of sorts, with obvious evidence of curation, but it should not stand as the model for collection in archaeology. If it were to become that model, no other statuary assemblage could rightly be called a “collection”.<sup>115</sup> At El Ruedo it has been suggested that some 80% of the sculptures stood as a collection, organized by a program of *otium*. However, statues which do not fit into this program – namely portraits – are left out of the narrative, and it is unclear what relationship they had

---

<sup>114</sup> Joulin, 1901; see also Bergmann 1999, 26-43; 2007. “Collection” as the logical conclusion to synthesis of this assemblage is frequent, see various previous analyses discussed in Chapter 6. The 1901 identification of the villa as a collector’s paradise is indebted (in part) to the cultural background of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and its collectors’ attitudes towards aesthetics and antiquity. The statuary objects of this villa are precisely those that early modern collectors sought to possess. This does not mean that Chiragan was not home to a collector. Rather, we must re-contextualize the villa in its ancient landscape. If we trace the biography of this assemblage to the present era, the Chiragan assemblage does have the aura of a collection in our modern understanding of the word. Its statuary comprises 95% of the figural sculpture on display in Toulouse’s Musée Saint-Raymond and was instrumental in the museum’s creation in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century (see Balty and Cazes 2005, 11-21; before the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century the pieces were housed in Toulouse’s Musée des Augustins, now primarily reserved for arts of the middle ages and early modern sculptures). Approximately 60-80 marbles are on display at any given time, while the rest are housed in the storage depots and graciously open to researchers. Other marble objects in the museum are relatively scarce (a few objects from ancient Tolosa and several funerary stelae and inscriptions from the city and surrounding area).

<sup>115</sup> Chiragan is somewhat of an anomaly, and thus whether or not it proves any rules of “collection” is fodder for in-depth discussion, chapter 7.



to the purported collection.<sup>116</sup> At the two Iberian villas with late-mythological statuettes, Quinta das Longas and Valdetorres de Jarama, “collection” is as much about the quality of the pieces as it is about the mythological iconography and meaning.<sup>117</sup> The statuettes look similar to material from Eastern workshops, such that both point to owners of a similar elite background and have been linked to the trans-elite world which Lea Stirling highlights in Aquitaine, despite obvious differences in chronology and location among the villas.

For Aquitaine, Stirling cites figures like Ausonius and the *paideia* of late antiquity as evidence for elite interest in statuettes as collectable objects, correlating their circulation in the West (as Eastern imports) with elite demand.<sup>118</sup> Stirling herself makes several valid points, but her work has taken on a life of its own and has permitted postulations that any and all statuary assemblages in late antique “private” contexts evince elite collection, regardless of whether the statues are late-mythological imports or not.<sup>119</sup> In archaeology, however, the impetus to collect is inherently difficult to identify and must be assessed on a case-by-case basis.

As a field of inquiry collection studies are a product of the last generation of research, rooted in study of the origins of early modern collections and the rise of

---

<sup>116</sup> El Ruedo see Vaquerio Gil and Noguera Céltran 1995, 133-34; 1997 *passim*. Studies of program in ancient art history are drawing increasing criticism amidst rising interest in reception studies and acknowledgement of changing meanings and viewing audiences over time.

<sup>117</sup> Valdetorres de Jarama (Puerta, Ángel Elvira, and Artigas 1994); Quinta das Longas (Carvalho, Nogales Basarrante and Almeida 2004); see Chapter 2 for a discussion of both.

<sup>118</sup> Stirling 2005, pages 138-64 in particular.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. Videbach 2015; Jane Fejfer on December 21, 2015 at LMU’s Archäologisches Kolloquium.

museology.<sup>120</sup> Modern collection studies presume that certain objects (especially artistic or aesthetic objects) have intrinsic value(s), whether inherent or applied. A collection of objects does not exist in and of itself, and is rather the product of human impetus and agency. Thus study of early modern and contemporary or museum collections pays special attention to the socio-historical profile of persons involved in the formation of said collection, whether the named entity is an individual, institution, or place.<sup>121</sup> The last two generations of ancient studies scholars have joined this discussion and their dependence on the aesthetic and cultural habits of early modern and contemporary collecting is apparent.

#### **IV.2.a Literary Testimony on Collecting in the Roman World**

By virtue of the agent-object connection, ancient studies are heavily dependent on literary sources to shed light on the people who collected, and on the social history of collecting in the Roman world. Most collecting scholarship focuses on the Roman Republic and early Empire for which we have a great deal of source information. Roman conquest,

---

<sup>120</sup> The study of art collections begins with interest in Renaissance collections, the bibliography of which is extensive, cf. Weiss 1980; Alsop 1982. Study of collections and collection practices also plays an important role in the study of museums (cf. Oxford's *History of the Journal of Collection Studies*) and ongoing debates of cultural property and the place of universal museums (cf. Cuno 2008). Many of the United States' premier museums of ancient art – the Getty Institute, Penn Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology – have flourishing programs of cultural heritage studies, advocating education about the place of collecting culture in an increasingly nationalistic world.

<sup>121</sup> Studies of the “collector” are pervasive in early modern and contemporary collection studies, which immediately puts ancient scholars and archaeologists in particular at a disadvantage. With respect to art, interest in the collector is rooted in the industry itself and the role played by patrons of the art from the Renaissance to the present era.

*spolia* and booty have been read as the forebears of Roman collection practices.<sup>122</sup>

Conquest in the East during the Republic coincides with the influx of Greek and Hellenistic culture and foreign arts. Huge slippage between private and public collecting seems to have developed in this era, and parallels broader discussions of public and private in the Roman world.<sup>123</sup>

Public collections are perhaps easier to identify in both literature and archaeology, and provide important evidence for collecting as a habit of and for the Roman people. We know from reports in the age of Roman conquest that *spolia* and war booty were regularly displayed in public venues like temples and shrines, where they were dedicated in honor of the gods and for the benefit of the local populace.<sup>124</sup> In the late-Republic and early Imperial era, sources argue, greater efforts are made to make “art” available to the public.<sup>125</sup> Museum-like spaces are created through dedications by the Republic’s political

---

<sup>122</sup> Beard 2007; Miles 2008.

<sup>123</sup> Literature of the late Republic has received inordinate amounts of scholarly attention, and Cicero’s *Verrines* has played a particularly important role, cf. Lazzeretti 2014; Bournia 2004, 269-303; Miles 2008, 105-51; 2014; Liverani 2014. See also Gruen 1994, chapter 3 for thoughtful scholarly analysis of private collecting in the Republic as something more than moral decline.

<sup>124</sup> The earliest report of Roman conquest and the dedication of spoils is Livy’s account of the conquest of Veii under Camillus in 396, which brought Juno to the Capitoline. Janus entered Rome in the conquest of the Falerii in 241. Conquest, in these examples, is couched in *evocatio*, see Gruen 1994, Miles 2008, 24ff. Both see *evocatio* as a veil for conquest, though they acknowledge that religious undertones were present from the beginning. Josephine Shaya has recently suggested (2014) that the tradition of dedicating spoils has Greek precedence. We should take care to note that in the Roman world, the influx of artistic booty likely coincides with the production of new arts in both Rome and the Hellenistic world (see Pollitt 1986 for what is still an excellent survey of art in the Hellenistic Age). Whether the production or importation of then-contemporary art works was inspired or influenced in part by the influx of war booty, however, is another question in itself.

<sup>125</sup> Particularly instrumental to this argument is the evolving landscape of Rome under Augustus (see Zanker 2002; Haselberger 2002) and the work of Agrippa at the Saepia Iulia amidst the purported suggestion that private collections be made public for the good of the people (Plut. *Luc.* 39; Pliny *HN* 35.26). Ann Kuttner’s work has shown, however, the Romans in the late-Republic looked to Hellenistic

frontrunners, and from the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BCE on entire structures gain new importance as (among other things) settings for art: the Theater-Portico of Pompey,<sup>126</sup> the Saepta Julia, the Porticus Octavia, the libraries of Asinius Pollio, and the Forum of Augustus. In the Imperial era, these structures continued to stand, alongside later Imperial fora, public gardens and bath complexes as venues for communal art collections, the display of which reified Rome as capital of the world and its citizens as culturally dominant.<sup>127</sup> I note, however, that all of these collections are securely associated with a place, time, and named persons.<sup>128</sup>

It is harder to synthesize a history of private collecting in the Roman world, given literary biases and a relative dearth of domestic archaeology. Modern scholarship relies heavily on Cicero for attitudes towards private collecting, whether derived from his prosecution of Verres or from his personal correspondence.<sup>129</sup> His letters to Atticus about the decoration of his villa in Tusculum are particularly illuminating, in that they point to channels of acquisition, that is, art agents and an exported statuary market, and *decorum*

---

courts as models of both private and public collection and benefactions, well before Augustus (Kuttner 1995; 1999; 2014).

<sup>126</sup> See Gleason 1994 and Kuttner 1999 for particularly thoughtful analyses of Pompey's theatre complex as a public space for art and culture.

<sup>127</sup> For Rome and its "museums" see Strong 1973; Rutledge 2012.

<sup>128</sup> So too is the function of such venues as "museums" entirely dependent on modern scholarship and museography, see above nt. 87.

<sup>129</sup> Cic. *Verr.*; *Ad Att.* i.6; i.8, i.10. In the prosecution of Verres, Cicero is careful to paint Verres' collecting habits as egregious, in that he takes objects from public settings and away from a wider audience. See bibliography in nt. 123; also Valenti 1936. See also Lafon 1981 for "habits" of Republican villa decoration as gleaned from literature.

as the motivation behind decoration schemes.<sup>130</sup> Yet whether Cicero's ideas are applicable to other elite in the Late Republic, let alone in periods beyond the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE is unclear.<sup>131</sup>

In the Late Republic and Imperial era we glimpse a spectrum of collector-types and personal preferences among the biographies of Rome's cultural elite: Lucullus and the adornment of his country estates,<sup>132</sup> Hortensius and his taste for Corinthian bronzes,<sup>133</sup> and Novius Vindex and his pedigreed Hercules statuette,<sup>134</sup> to name a few. Other texts satirize selfish and aspiring collectors, from the most infamous freedman of literary Rome, Trimalchio,<sup>135</sup> to the Emperor himself.<sup>136</sup> In late antiquity, Ausonius has

---

<sup>130</sup> Cicero writes to Atticus that a *Hermathena* would be appropriate (*dignum*) for his Academy, while a bacchant statuette would not (*Ad. Att.* i.9, i.11). Certain genres of statuary, Cicero seems to suggest, serve as appropriate decorative elements *if* the genre is suitable for the setting.

<sup>131</sup> The precise means by which statues, paintings, and silver objects were acquired is seldom noted, such that Cicero's letters to Atticus are an anomaly. However, art acquisition under Cicero is not portrayed as the work of an ardent collector by any modern means, contra Valenti 1936. Cicero's interest in *decorum* lacks the aesthetic drive we ascribe to collectors in the late antique or early modern period, again calling for a more nuanced look at *ancient* habits of collecting.

<sup>132</sup> The fishponds, dining habits, and many villas of the Late Republican general Lucullus were infamous (Plut. *Luc.*; Pliny *HN* IX.80; Varro *De Res Rus.* 1.2.10 (Lucullus' *pinacotheca*). Plutarch's life of Lucullus is particularly interesting in light of the public/private collection debate in the late Republic, because Lucullus' eccentric private life in no way overshadows his professional military accomplishments. Plutarch suggests that this was merely the other side of the coin. His biography is written nearly two centuries later, but this adds weight to Gruen's argument that cries of moral decadence are a project in and of themselves, with art objects a mere pawn in a larger debate (1994). See also Miles 2008, 208-26 for discussion of Lucullus.

<sup>133</sup> Pliny the Elder (*HN* 34.38) mentions Hortensius' *lust* in a larger discussion of Corinthian bronzes and the desire they incited among collectors. Pliny mentions that Hortensius carried a sphinx around with him in his pocket, as did the ex-consul Gaius Cestius. The emperor Nero carried a round an Amazon statuette. Pliny the Younger mentions that Corinthian bronzes had become harder to come by in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century. His friend Spurrina liked Corinthian bronze dinnerware, though did not consider himself a collector (Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 3.1)

<sup>134</sup> Mart. *Epi.* 9.43-44; 12.69; Stat. *Silvae* 4.6

<sup>135</sup> Petr. *Sat.* 26-78 (Cena Trimalchionis).

<sup>136</sup> Tiberius is infamous for having taken the famous Apoxyomenos of Lysippos off public display only to place it in his bedroom, until public outcry reached such heights as to compel him to return the statue

been presented as a model for the later collector-type based on occasional references in his poetry to objects that stood in his home, and several epigrams on famous art works like Myron's heifer.<sup>137</sup>

Taken together, a summary of these literary portraits would suggest that private collections were indeed the purview of the wealthy Roman elite. So too were art objects at times acquired for particular reasons or inherent values (ancestry or genealogy, symbolic meaning, material value), or as generic evocations of *decorum* and appropriateness.<sup>138</sup> As literary projects in their own right, however, we must acknowledge that synthesis of these private collections is dependent on the individuals with whom they are associated and. Rarely in the literary evidence on collections are we given

---

(Auetonius, Tib. LVXX, 2). Nero is presented as both a greedy collector and "artist" in biographies (Sue. Nero; Tac. Annals XIII, 3)

<sup>137</sup> But links between these poetic instances of art emulation and statuary ownership, and physical collections of larger objects or even a collecting habit are unsubstantiated. Stirling discusses several of Ausonius' epigrams on Myron's heifer (*Epig.* 63-71) and the Knidia of Praxiteles (*Epig.* 22, 45-47, 50, 51, 62) in her book (2005, 148), but even she notes that these pieces are a better demonstration of Ausonius' *paideia* and training as transliterations of Greek epigrams (see Cameron 1993, cited in Stirling *ibid.* nt. 67) than concrete evidence for his identity as a collector or interest in collecting. Some of the statuary he presumably had in his villa is, moreover, inferred from extant poems, cf. a literary epitaph dedicated to his father, written in the 1<sup>st</sup> person and thus presumably at the base of a portrait bust (*Epicedion in patrem*). The poem should be read as a literary project, however, because it is far too long to affix to the base of a portrait bust or statue. Only one poem refers directly to a marble statue of Liber Pater that stood in his villa, and thus evinces the ongoing display of mythological statuary in the home (*Epig.* 32). But this piece is also an ekphrastic literary project, even if it may have referred to a real object that stood in one of his villas.

<sup>138</sup> For an excellent discussion of this see Bartman 1991. However, simple case studies illuminate the complications which arise in mapping this collection literature onto archaeology. Ancient sources suggest that collecting in the private sphere was an elite habit. Yet if we look to the extent art objects, the plethora of Roman mythological statue copies in many scales suggests that what we call "art" appealed to a broad spectrum of Romans, and was available in a commercial market (for copy and emulation see Gazda 1995; 2002; Perry 2005; for small scale bronze copies and commercial production see Bartmann 1992). A tour of domestic sites across the Empire and in the shadow of Vesuvius suggests that most statues had no innate "art" value that we can identify. Most statues in the archaeological record are generic, to say nothing of the cheap quality and inferior manufacture of a good many extant statues found in the *domus* of Pompeii or Herculaneum. If these objects evince "collection", the habit is not as highbrow as we have assumed.

information about collecting as a practice, that is, the means by which objects are acquired and the role of consumer and commercial culture across society. And rarely is their explicit evidence that the objects in private contexts were conceptualized as collections. A good degree of inference is necessary when working with modern assumptions about collection and the ancient world.

#### **IV.2.b Problematizing “Collections” in Archaeology**

Thus, while the literary testimony on collecting is vast and provocative, there are inherent problems with mapping this evidence onto extant material culture. As archaeologists we have no rubric for the identification of an object as collected as opposed to acquired, or a collected object as opposed to a functional object. I strongly assert that there are differences. With respect to statuary, marble analysis may provide clues of the markets for art production,<sup>139</sup> and occasionally there are repairs that suggest conservation efforts.<sup>140</sup> These repairs are usually found on sculptures excavated in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, however, and it is often difficult to identify ancient repairs from more recent 19<sup>th</sup> century museum conservation efforts.

The objects themselves can only tell us so much. Within a statuary assemblage of mixed chronologies it is difficult to know whether the pieces were purchased or inherited

---

<sup>139</sup> Studies of marble petrography are *en vogue*, for important recent work see De Nuccio and Ungaro 2002; Pensabene 2014.

<sup>140</sup> Hannestad (1994, 129-135) has suggested that several portrait busts in the Chiragan assemblage show signs of repair; whether these are ancient or modern restorations of the 19<sup>th</sup> century is debatable. Modern curators at the Musée Saint-Raymond have suggested that the vast majority of the restorations are modern, but see a portrait of Trajan for probable repairs carried out in antiquity (Balty et al. 2012, no. 4, 115; discussion follows in chapter 6, section VI).

individually, or as a complete set. To conjecture whether an inheritance or purchase occurred at a single moment or over a longer period of time is also difficult.<sup>141</sup> Often the archaeological context does not allow us to reconstruct their display,<sup>142</sup> such that any genre groupings as well as attributed meanings and programs may be incidental. Furthermore, the nebulous “qualitative” aspects which scholars ascribe to collections actually reflect a series of modern assumptions on ancient aesthetics and taste that we may not be qualified to make. If we approach collection as a quantitative term – a set of objects – it does not exist in and of itself, but only in archaeological discourse; we have only the statues that survive and little to no knowledge of others that may now be lost.<sup>143</sup> If we allow “collection” to exist simply as a convenient term for a grouping of statues, the point is moot. Collection implies curation and human participation in its formation.

If we consider “collection” as an active, human impetus, mental acquisition processes are fundamental to its construction. The role of the agent in object acquisition is, however, extremely difficult to reconstruct. Looking at a statue we can only infer the desires and motivations leading to its acquisition; so too the subsequent efforts of cataloging, arranging, attribution of values or meanings, and careful preservation as

---

<sup>141</sup> This is also separate from issues surrounding the anonymity of most villa *domini*, and the archaeological evidence that most villas were occupied in several phases over the course of two to four centuries. Associating objects with a single collector, or even a collector’s spirit, is problematic.

<sup>142</sup> The find contexts vary from site to site. At the villa Quinta das Longas, 95% of the statuary fragments were found lumped together in a corner of the *pars rustica*. At the villa Valdetorres de Jarama, some fragments suggest the villa was sacked or pillaged, at a period after the natural demise of the site (Chapter 2, section V). At villas like Montmaurin and Nérac, statuary finds are strewn in destruction layers (Chapter 5 *passim*). Occasionally, the shape of a sculpture – a relief for example, allows a better hypothesis about their display. I discuss find contexts for each villa’s statuary in greater depth in the chapters that follow.

<sup>143</sup> The modern teleology of collection is a state of flux. Collection is an unfinished process, and when finished ceases to be a collection (Baudrillard 1994).



opposed to residual possession. If we mark a sculpture as collected we imply that some elements of curation were present. But to merely surmise curation from a recovered statue or group of statues requires the sort of mental gymnastics that archaeology discourages, especially in anonymous domestic contexts.

Yet collection studies have import in that they acknowledge the human agent in discussions of sculpture displays, domestic assemblages and archaeology more broadly. If we wish to identify a statuary assemblage as a collection, however, we must place greater emphasis on curation as a practice, whether through studies of conscious art acquisition or conservation.<sup>144</sup> Thus this dissertation aims to identify instances of curation, before it marks any particular statuary assemblage as “collections”. At the same time, identification of statuary collections is not the supreme objective of this study. Rather, its primary interest lies in the social factors at play in the possession and display of such objects in late antique domestic contexts. When possible, I therefore do not identify statuary as a single entity, but alongside of other object assemblages in each villa, and other villas in the region, to reconstruct the patterns or networks in which sculptures may have moved, or been viewed and appreciated. This multi-scalar analysis is designed to bring attention to the variety of ways that sculptures functioned in different late-Roman villas or clusters of villas, and to their particular clustering in regional pockets of villa habitation. Doing so sets the stage for discussion of principles organizing private

---

<sup>144</sup> See Bourdieu 1977 for the *habitus* and its theoretical underpinning.

possession of statuary in Late Antiquity, whether or not we can securely reconstruct the display of such objects as intended collections.<sup>145</sup>

---

<sup>145</sup> I examine evidence for “curation” on a case-by-case basis in this study. Regional analysis supports suggestions of a late antique collecting habit, but cautions against labelling every statuary assemblage as a collection.

## CHAPTER TWO

Late-Mythological Statuary in Two Villas in Hispania: Case Studies in Context  
 Quinta das Longas (Elvas, Portugal) and Valdetorres de Jarama  
 (Valdetorres de Jarama, Spain).

In the introduction to this dissertation I suggest that differences among statuary assemblages and villas in the late Roman world should be interpreted as evidence for greater variation within Late Antiquity's elite class. The densely populated landscape of Iberian villas makes a strong case for such claims. Since the 1970s survey and excavations in the Peninsula have brought to light many late antique villas.<sup>146</sup> Elaborately decorated estates with apsidal halls, peristyle gardens, and mosaic pavements have been documented in all corners of the Peninsula, though they are especially prominent along the Mediterranean coast and in the central Spanish plateau.<sup>147</sup>

The *pars urbana* and its décor, however, is no longer at the forefront of scholarship on these estates. Rather, archaeological study of other aspects of the Roman villa has gained importance in recent years, in Iberia and in the West broadly. For

---

<sup>146</sup> Some villa sites were excavated in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (cf. Milreu in chapter 4) but work of the 1960s and 70s marks the rise of stratigraphic excavation and increased international interest in the Peninsula. The seminal catalogs of Iberian villas (as documented by survey and/or excavation) were published by Gorges (1979) and Fernández Castro (1982). For Portugal see also Alarçao 1988, 62-72. Chavarría Arnau's 2007 catalog is the most recent and is restricted to late-Roman villas with discussion of various aspects of the estate beyond the *pars urbana* (religion, economy, necropoleis, etc; see also Chavarría in Bowes and Kulikowski's 2005 edited volume). In the last generation, however, scholarship has begun moving away from villa catalogs, in part because of the problems that surround "villa" as a catch-all term for a large variety of rural domestic sites now uncovered in excavation (see discussions of the "villa" in Spanish archaeology see Gorges 1979, 11-12, 109-33; 2008).

<sup>147</sup> That a great many villa sites have been documented should come as no surprise. Coastal Iberia had had contact with the Mediterranean world for more than 800 centuries by the late antique era. Scholarly conjecture suggests that Iberia's villas were first built in the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, coinciding with the Augustan Peace, but there is little archaeological evidence to support this - the majority of extant villa sites date to the late antique period and are often built atop pre-existing structures, wiping out evidence for earlier iterations.

example, interest in the economic function(s) of the estate has led to excavation of extant *partes rusticae*, adding nuance to our understanding of the villa's role in agricultural production, animal husbandry, and the manufacture of goods for exportation, whether garum, wine, oil and salt.<sup>148</sup> Scholarship in Iberia has also examined the villa as a lens into various socio-cultural landscapes, through investigation of its part in the spread of Christianity or the organization of post-Roman era settlement groups.<sup>149</sup> This work has greatly expanded understanding of the villa as a dynamic rural fixture, but curiously, the methodologies driving studies of economics, religion, and cultural change in the later Roman *rus* are less commonly applied to the decoration of these estates.<sup>150</sup>

Thus studies of villa décor continue to favor traditional art historical methods, looking to extra-regional comparanda for stylistic analysis of various architectural shapes, mosaics, and statues. Sculptural catalogs, for example, tend to survey the

---

<sup>148</sup> For the rural economy see Chavarría Arnau 2007, 79-84; Teichner 2008; Bowes 2013; see also Peña 2005-06 for oil and wine production. For site based studies see Torre de Palma for wine production and animal husbandry (though the latter is based largely on a series of mosaics of horses, with the names of the animals inscribed, for the mosaics see Lancha, André and Abraços 2000; see also Dunbabin 1999, 320 for the popularity of charioteer mosaics in Hispania); Vilauba for animal husbandry and oil production (Castanyer i Masoliver, Tremolada i Trilla, and Agusti 1999); São Cucufate for wine production (Alarcão, Etienne and Mayet, 1990). Discussion of the *pars rustica*, production, and the villa as an economic estate also appears passim in chapters 3 and 4, but the villas surveyed in this chapter provide no evidence for production structures *in situ*.

<sup>149</sup> See Fernández 2013 for a basic summary and bibliography of new work in the later and post-Roman eras with special emphasis on the evolution of symbioses across rural and urban landscapes; also Fernández 2010. For the role of the villa in the spread of Christianity see Bowes 2006; 2008. For a brief survey of post-Roman era occupation, reuse of villa sites, and Visigothic settlement see Chavarría Arnau 2007, 153-56 and passim in individual site entries; see also the edited volume by Ramos i Martínez and Puigferrat i Oliva, 1999. Site specific studies have proved useful in study of Visigothic settlement patterns, cf. Milreu (Teichner 1994; Sidarius and Teichner 1997). For necropoleis built on or near villa sites in post-occupational periods see Chavarría Arnau 2001; 2007, 117-24; Carmona Berenguer 1990 (for El Ruedo, Baetica); M. Garcia, J.M. Macias and I. Teixell, 1999 (for Els Munts, Tarraconensis).

<sup>150</sup> Though it should be noted that regionally-based projects are forthcoming, cf. the *Villae Baeticae* project dir. by R. Hidalgo Prieto which aims to provide a comprehensive regional catalog of sites.

Peninsula broadly and focus on popular iconographies, often assimilating Imperial and late-Imperial sites and even domestic and urban finds.<sup>151</sup> Detailed analysis of individual objects or sites is somewhat lacking and most conclusions fall short of impact, in that statues are considered elite projections of *otium* or generic aristocratic identity, regardless of place or period. Such conclusions do not take into account the particulars of the archaeological evidence. Late-Roman villas with free-standing sculptures form but a small percentage of the larger Iberian corpus, and we should therefore not assume that statue collection and display was a broad habit among elite *domini*.<sup>152</sup>

Even within the small number of extant statuary assemblages associated with late Iberian villas, the variety of statue types – contemporary mythological sculptures and antique portraits and idealizing statuary – marks our simplistic understanding of sculpture as an elite object incomplete. In this chapter and the two that follow, I therefore present

---

<sup>151</sup> Balil 1978-88 for sculpture in Spain; Gonçalves 2007 for a catalog of Portugal's Roman sculptures; for recent broad synopses of statuary from the Peninsula see Nogales Basarrate 2014; Jiménez and Rodà 2015. See also Koppel 1993; 1995 for statuary in villas across the Peninsula. Regional analysis is occasionally facilitated by the organization of Spanish archaeology at provincial levels, cf. studies of Tarraco and the vicinity (Koppel 1992; 1995; 2000; Koppel and Rodà 1995); Emerita Augusta (Nogales Basarrate 1997; Nogales Basarrate and Creus Luque 1999). Case studies and analyses have also emerged in recent publications of conferences organized around *Escultura Romana en Hispania*; seven volumes have been published to date and the most recent (VII) dedicated to Alberto Balil (Acuña Castroviejo and Casal García, eds. 2013).

<sup>152</sup> Of the 124 conjectured villas in Chavarría Arnau's catalog (2007), only five have multiple statuary finds (see no. 16 Els Munts; no. 69 El Ruedo; no. 70 Casa del Mitra; no. 109 Milreu; no. 124 Valdetorres de Jarama). I should note here that the later statuary habit in Iberia, especially in civic contexts, stands in stark contrast to what is known of the High Imperial era. The late 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries are the floruit of statuary production and display in the Peninsula, and particularly in major urban centers like Tarraco and Emerita. From the 3<sup>rd</sup> century on less statuary is produced in Hispania and even fewer are imported. This does not, however, suggest that statues no longer stood in urban centers. Rather, cities were still bedecked, but with antique statuary. The 3<sup>rd</sup> century decline is thus applicable to statuary production in the Peninsula, and not necessarily to statuary displays. For the purported decline see Gonçalves 2007, summary 29-33; see also Witschel 2016 for the decline of the epigraphic habit vis-à-vis public statuary dedications.

various aspects of the late-Roman statuary habit among regional groups of villa owners in Hispania. I am interested in the subtle distinctions which previous surveys have disregarded somewhat, and in the different micro-landscapes in which villas with statues concentrate. This chapter is dedicated to discussion of two sites that have been placed in dialogue in recent years as the only villas with late-mythological statuettes known in the Peninsula: Quinta das Longas in eastern-central Lusitania (100 kilometers from ancient Augusta Emerita near modern Elvas, Portugal) and Valdetorres de Jarama in the Spanish plateau (25 kilometers NE of ancient Complutum, 40 kilometers NE of modern Madrid).

These two villas are located more than 500 kilometers apart, a distance that hardly speaks to their owners as neighbors (fig. 18), yet the two are regularly discussed as a pair because they are the only sites at which late-mythological statuettes are extant.<sup>153</sup> In fact, an anguiped torso, a well-known late-Roman type securely associated with the East's late-mythological sculpture tradition (cf. fig. 13), was found at both sites. As such, both sites have been placed in dialogue with Lea Stirling's work on Gallic villas and late-mythological imported statuary, and therefore with the purported phenomenon of late antique collecting and elite *paideia* in the Roman West.<sup>154</sup>

To understand the statuary ensembles of Quinta das Longas and Valdetorres de Jarama as participants in a trans-regional cultural system of display and homeownership,

---

<sup>153</sup> For this pairing see Stirling 2007; 2014; Basarrate 2014.

<sup>154</sup> Stirling 2005 178-185; 2007; 2014; see also Nogales Basarrate 2014. Stirling includes Valdetorres in her discussion, but Quinta das Longas was excavated after Stirling's book went to publication. The site's excavators first made comparisons with the Valdetorres des Jarama material (Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004; Nogales Basarrate 2014).

however, somewhat obfuscates the complexities of each site and different micro-regional landscapes that each villa inhabited. The greatest common denominator between Quinta das Longas and Valdetorres is, in fact, the anomaly of each villa within Iberia, given the palpable dearth of these late-mythological statuettes in the Peninsula. As the only two Iberian sites with late-mythological statuary over 500 kilometers apart, Quinta das Longas and Valdetorres de Jarama raise questions about the networks in which late-mythological statuary moved, and the various levels of access to such objects enjoyed by the Peninsula's *domini*. If statue collecting was a widespread practice among the elite in Late Antiquity, we should ask why only two villas out of more than 100 securely excavated sites in Iberia furnish evidence for this type of statuary collection, and to what end.<sup>155</sup> Thus in this chapter I discuss both sites but the objective here is analysis of each assemblage in its particular domestic context. I ask what bearing rare, imported statuary had on local audiences, and how synthesis of each villa's participation in local systems complicates our understanding of elite identity as rooted in a nebulous, global society, or, brings attention to the other face of the coin, so to speak. This chapter begins development of such questions with the statuary assemblage of the villa of Quinta das Longas.

---

<sup>155</sup> Though these villas are the only extant sites with late-mythological statuary, it is possible that this is the simple consequence of archaeological recovery. In the post-Roman area, many of the architectural and sculptural remains of villas were used as building materials or been burned for lime (cf. Munro 2012). At the same time, many Iberian villas have been recovered in good condition and show minimal sign of explicit destruction.

## I. The Villa of Quinta das Longas

At the turn of the millennium, a sizable hoard of late antique sculpture was discovered in the villa of Quinta das Longas near modern-day Elvas, Portugal.<sup>156</sup> The site had been known since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century but formal excavations did not begin until 1989-90 following its accidental rediscovery.<sup>157</sup> More than a decade of excavation has revealed a *pars urbana* with two major phases of occupation. The site seems to have been settled in the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE (Villa I), but the majority of preserved structures date to a late antique phase(s) (Villa II).<sup>158</sup> This is not uncommon in the Iberian Peninsula, since most late antique villas were not built *ex novo* and document late 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century renovations atop pre-existing structures.<sup>159</sup> At Quinta das Longas the revised architectural plan, ceramics, and numismatic finds suggest that Villa II was occupied from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> / early

---

<sup>156</sup> The sculptures from this villa were uncovered in the 10<sup>th</sup> season of excavation at Quinta das Longas in the summer of 2001. The study of the sculptural material is a joint effort between Portugal's UNIARQ-Universidade de Lisboa and Mérida's Museo Nacional de Arte Romano (Nogales Basarrate et al. 2002; Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004) by virtue of the villa's location near the Spanish border.

<sup>157</sup> In 1881, Victorino d'Almada reported a large mosaic and assorted glass and ceramic fragments he had found while building structures for his vineyard. In 1901 fragments of ceramics, mosaics, canalization, marble plaques, and architectural sculpture from Quinta das Longas were published in a catalog of the Archaeological Museum at Elvas (Pires 1901, 217, 222-224). The mosaic fragments were also included in the 1934 inventory of Roman mosaics in Portugal (da Serpa Pinto 1934, 177). The finds were used to identify the site as a residential Roman villa well before it was formally excavated (Gorges 1979, 467; Alarção 1988, 154). For a brief summary of the site's early history prior to its excavation and the survey conducted in 1990 see Carvalho 1994, 239-240.

<sup>158</sup> The date of Villa I is based on evidence for imported ceramics – Italian *sigillata* and fine wares produced in Emerita Augusta (Carvalho and Almeida 2003, 114-115; Almeida and Carvalho 2004, 375-379). Amphorae fragments from the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries (Beltrán IIb, Dressel 14, Dressel 20) were also found in survey but as superficial finds they cannot be used to date securely the foundation of Villa I (Almeida and Carvalho 1998, 142-44). Villa I seems to have had a different orientation from Villa II, but later constructions hinder a full reconstruction. Surviving wall courses attest to the use of different masonry techniques in Villa I – fewer fragments of ceramics and mortar are incorporated in earlier walls (Almeida and Carvalho 1998, 138-39, Carvalho and Almeida 2003, 114-15; *ibid.* 2004, 372; Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004, 109).

<sup>159</sup> See discussion of this chronology in Chavarría Arnau 2007; Bowes 2010.



4<sup>th</sup> century into the early 5<sup>th</sup>.<sup>160</sup> Villa II was reorganized at least twice in this period but those renovations cannot be dated with any precision.<sup>161</sup>

The site sits on a natural terrace overlooking the right bank of the Chaves River which ultimately feeds into the Guadiana. The land surrounding this site was likely very fertile given the uninterrupted flow of the Chaves even in the dry season.<sup>162</sup> The larger alluvial plain – the Guadiana River Basin – is one in which many Roman sites have been documented, though few have been explored systematically.<sup>163</sup> The region is thus suited to agricultural production, although no production facilities have been securely identified at Quinta das Longas; at present only the villa's *pars urbana* has been identified.<sup>164</sup>

---

<sup>160</sup> The peristyle plan of Villa II is typical of rural late-Iberian villas, though its decorative scheme of elaborate water features, marble sculptures and *opus sectile* is exceptional. The numismatic evidence for the *durée* of occupation includes coins from the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century through the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century. Only three coins can be dated to post-364 CE with security (Almeida and Carvalho 2004, 373). Occupation into the 5<sup>th</sup> century, however, is suggested by a stratified trash dump on site with a homogenous deposition of ceramics dating from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century to the early 5<sup>th</sup> century (Almeida and Carvalho 2004, 379-382; Carvalho and Almeida 2005).

<sup>161</sup> Excavators Almeida and Carvalho (2004 373-74) mark this occupation period as relatively short compared to other excavated villas in the region, but such claims are null. In this particular region, only Quinta das Longas and the nearby villa of Torre de Palma (Heleno 1962; Maloney and Hale 1996) have been excavated in depth. Torre de Palma is one of the few sites in Iberia which rich evidence across the 1<sup>st</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup>; non-occupational use of the site is also documented in a post Roman era (for the basilica see Malony and Hale *ibid.*) Other villas in this zone are known primarily by survey and have not been formally excavated (Gorges 1979, 462-67). For the late 3<sup>rd</sup> / early 4<sup>th</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> century as standard chronology in Iberian villas, Chavarría Arnau 2005; 2007.

<sup>162</sup> Carvalho and Almeida 2003, 116-117.

<sup>163</sup> For sites in the area see Gorges 1979, 462-67; see also Lancha and André 1992; Heleno 1962.

<sup>164</sup> No production facilities have been securely attached to this site, thus the extent of the estate is unknown. On the left bank of the Chaves creek, however, survey uncovered evidence (ceramics and the base of a small marble column) which may suggest another site (Carvalho and Almeida 2003, 117). This may be a distinct site, and is not likely a *pars rustica* given the column base. Further excavation is necessary. It is possible, given the column fragment, that structures here were built to mirror the *pars urbana* of Quinta das Longas, perhaps as another extension of residential quarters or a bath complex. For structures straddling the river, opposite the *pars urbana*, see the late Gallo-Roman villa of Juraçon and its baths in southwestern Novempopulania (Pyrénées-Atlantiques), Balmelle 2001, no. 21 for further bibliography).

The rurality of the area is emphasized by its distance from major Roman cities like Ebora and Emerita Augusta. The Lusitanian capital lay nearly 100 kilometers east of Quinta das Longas, roughly a two or three-day journey.<sup>165</sup> Ebora, another important city for trade and connection with southern Lusitania, was 95 kilometers to the southwest.<sup>166</sup> That said, the site is located an important crossroads for terrestrial transport (fig. 19). Indeed, this micro-region lies in a highly trafficked rural intersection of three different *civitates* (the *Conventus Emeritensis*, *Conventus Pacensis*, and the *Conventus Scallabitanus*). Central Lusitania's most important inland routes ran through this region and link it to Emerita to the east, to Olisipo's ports in the west, and to major cities in southern Lusitania like Ebora and Pax Iulia, as well as to important local marble quarries 40 kilometers south of the site in the Vila Viçosa region and Estremoz.<sup>167</sup>

---

<sup>165</sup> The Quinta das Longas – Emerita Augusta connection has been stressed repeatedly in scholarship, especially when the decorative assemblage is under discussion (Nogales Basarrate et al. 2002; Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004; *ibid.* 2011; see also Carvalho and Almeida 2003; Almeida and Carvalho 2004). Prior to the statuary finds, however, scholarship placed this site in the cultural sphere of the *Conventus Pacensis*, associating it with the villas of southern Lusitania (Gorges *ibid.*). The current emphasis on Emerita underscores the urban/rural hierarchy and top-down approaches that dominate scholarship.

<sup>166</sup> Ebora is cited by Pliny the Elder (*HN* 4.117) as one of the most important cities in the *Conventus Pacensis*. Ebora (modern Évora in Portugal's Alentejo) gained renown as Ebora Cerealis in the middle ages, an acknowledgement of the rich agricultural lands which surrounded the city. Ebora may have played an important role in facilitating exchange between Atlantic ports and inland markets in the high Alentejo and Pax Iulia, and in southern Algarve (Sillières 1990, 85-88).

<sup>167</sup> For this highly trafficked road system and the villas within this region see Lancha et al. 2000, 29-34. For the road system in Lusitania more broadly Sillières 1990 (emphasis on the Lusitania-Baetica route and Pax Iulia-Beja); also Gorges and Rodríguez Martín 2000.

## I.1 Site Plan and Marble Décor

With this strategic location in mind, I turn now to the villa of Quinta das Longas and the layout of the site in the late antique period. The *pars urbana* was organized around a central rectangular peristyle (fig. 20, 21). The complex of rooms around this peristyle features multiple apsidal halls and reception spaces, hydraulic engineering and water features, and a decorative program that gives prominence to marble.<sup>168</sup> The formal entrance at the eastern edge of the complex leads to a large vestibule paved in black and white geometric mosaics (no. 19, fig. 20). This vestibule opens onto a columned peristyle decorated with polychrome geometric mosaics; fragments of this pavement are preserved in the southern half of the peristyle galleries.<sup>169</sup> The southern gallery opens onto a suite of rooms which includes two large apsidal halls (no. 5 and no. 12) both paved in polychrome geometric mosaics. The western wing was entirely devoted to a large room paved in *opus signinum* with triple-bayed apses to the north, west, and south. Its entrance was framed by marble columns, and excavators have suggested that it may have functioned as a summer triclinium. The northern wing of the villa is arguably the most elaborate and innovative. At the northwestern corner is a large rectangular room with a

---

<sup>168</sup> For the architectural plan of Villa II in greater depth see Carvalho and Almeida 2003, 115-16; Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004, 110-113; Oliveira et al. 2011, 905.

<sup>169</sup> For the mosaics of Quinta das Longas see Oliveria et al., 2011. Mosaics at Quinta das Longas were black and white, or polychrome geometric and floral designs, restricted to the peristyle and rooms off the southern gallery and eastern entrance. These pavements have not yet been studied by specialists, in part because most Iberian mosaic scholars concern themselves with polychrome figural mosaics (cf. Lancha et al. 2000).

reflecting pool in the center (no. 7). This *espejo de agua* was no more than 50 cm deep and paved with 11 cm squares of alternating black and white marble *opus sectile* tiles (fig. 22). In the rubble of this pool marble plaques with geometric bas-relief décor were found; they likely served as parietal revetments.<sup>170</sup>

The use of decorative architectural marble plaques and *opus sectile* pavements here is significant. Prior to the excavation of Quinta das Longas no *opus sectile* was known in Lusitania outside of urban contexts.<sup>171</sup> The black and white tile pattern of the reflecting pool seems to have been used extensively throughout the north wing of this villa, linking together a suite of rooms. The room with the reflecting pool (no. 7) was connected to a portico overlooking the Chaves River. It too appears to have been paved with this same *opus sectile* floor pattern – the entrance to this corridor from the peristyle gallery (no. 21, fig. 21) preserves imprints of marble pavements. This portico leads east to a large apsidal hall (no. 23) at the northeastern corner of the complex, also paved in black and white *opus sectile* and outfitted with a small central pool fed by the large water tank in the peristyle garden.<sup>172</sup> This apsidal hall has been identified as a nymphaeum

---

<sup>170</sup> These reliefs are mentioned only passim (Carvalho and Almeida 2003, 117). Images have not been published and presumably await publication of the monograph. The 1901 catalog of the Museu Municipal of Elvas records an additional relief fragment with vegetal decoration found at the site in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Pires 1901, no. 31, 217). There is no stratigraphic context for this fragment, thus it is unclear whether it should be associated with the other fragments found in room no. 7, or with another space decorated in parietal marble revetments.

<sup>171</sup> *Opus sectile* pavements are known to have decorated the Forum at Conimbriga, the theatre at Olisipo, and a number of houses and civic buildings in Augusta Emerita (see below nt. 174 for discussion of Casa de los Mármoles). For *opus sectile* in the Iberian Peninsula see Péres Olmedo 1996. For the prominence of architectural marbles in Quinta das Longas, see also Carvalho and Almeida 2003.

<sup>172</sup> The tank of the central garden peristyle measures 5 by 3 meters and is 1 meter deep. Piping found beneath the floor links the tank to the pool of room no. 23 (Carvalho and Almeida 2003, 116).

based on its central pool and additional rooms to the east with water tanks, where the statues were found. Thus this northern suite of rooms, from the large reflecting pool to the nymphaeum, is marked by a symbiosis of marble decoration and water features.

The black and white *opus sectile* pattern used in pavements throughout the complex seems to denote spheres of importance, in that it only appears in spaces earmarked for reception or entertainment: all of the rooms along the northern corridor, and one additional apsidal hall along the southern corridor (no. 12). This hall is peculiar in that it is the only room in the complex with both polychrome geometric mosaics and black and white *opus sectile* pavements. The central mosaic floor is made of richly colored glass and limestone *tesserae* and has been dated stylistically to the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, providing the *terminus post quem* for later renovations and the aggrandizement of this room. At some point after the mosaic was laid, an earlier entrance to the hall from the east was walled off, such that the only entrance to the room was now located on the peristyle. This restriction of access created a visible hierarchy for those entering the space – marble adorned the most important part of the room, the apse at the far eastern end.<sup>173</sup> The black and white *opus sectile* in the apse was likely added at the same time as access to the room was restricted, perhaps signaling a changing function for

---

<sup>173</sup> An additional entrance to the room (no. 12 on plan, see fig. 20) was located on its eastern end near the entrance vestibule of the villa (no. 19 *ibid.*), but renovations walled up this entrance and restricted access to a vestibule entry (no. 11, *ibid.*) off the peristyle. Based on the stylistic dating of the mosaic *terminus post quem* of 325 CE, this renovation occurred in the mid-to-late 4<sup>th</sup> century. For the mosaic of room 12, see Oliveira et al. 2011, 906-07. This mosaic is the most complex in the villa, both technically and stylistically, and supports identification of this space as important, perhaps for reception.

this space. It is possible that this room was renovated to allow for a more hierarchical reception of guests or clients.

Interestingly, there is comparanda for similar black and white marble *opus sectile* pavements in a well-known late antique *domus* in Mérida, Casa de los Mármoles (figs. 24, 25). The construction of this house is dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, but renovations were carried out, as at Quinta das Longas, in the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>174</sup> The arrangement of marble tiles here is more varied and diverse than Quinta das Longas, but the similarities may be significant. At Casa de los Mármoles as at Quinta das Longas, marble was apparently the preferred style of paving. There is no evidence at this *domus* for any of the mosaic floors which are much more typical of Emerita's *domus*, and it stands as the only extant domestic structure in the city with *opus sectile* pavements.

With this evidence, and the chronological parallel in mind, it is tempting to see connections between Mérida's Casa de los Mármoles and the villa of Quinta das Longas. These similarities may evince the use of single local atelier, or a common *dominus* who claimed ownership of an urban *domus* and a rural estate in a highly traditional manner. Though we cannot verify these claims, the marble pavements used at both sites do speak to dominant, rather unique *domini/us*, given the rarity of architectural marbles in other *domus* of Emerita, and other villas in Lusitania.<sup>175</sup> I will return to aspects of this

---

<sup>174</sup> For Casa de los Mármoles in late antiquity see Alba Calzado 2004; Arce, Chavavarría Arnau and Ripoll 2007.

<sup>175</sup> I grant that *unique* is a strong statement, but so is the use of *opus sectile* in a region where mosaic pavements are virtually pervasively. For the prevalence of figural mosaics among the extant villas of Extremadura see the figural mosaics of Torre de Palma (Lancha et al. 2000) and Santa Vitória do Ameixial

momentarily, but for the present I turn our attention to the significant set of free-standing marble statues also found at Quinta das Longas, which were likely displayed in the same rooms paved in marble.<sup>176</sup>

## **II. Marble Statuary at Quinta das Longas**

The free-standing marbles of the villa were found grouped together against the wall of room no. 24, just east of the apsidal hall / nymphaeum no. 23 (fig. 25).<sup>177</sup> A sculpted panther was also found on the floor of the nymphaeum, and has been read as evidence for the original display of some of the statues here.<sup>178</sup> All the extant statuettes are fragmentary, therefore the statuary set of the later Roman villa was undoubtedly larger than the recovered assemblage. The statues were not found in a heap but carefully placed along the wall of room no. 24. It is unclear if they were gathered from a single display or from multiple rooms, and no stratigraphic material was found alongside them to date the deposition. They may have been removed from display in a post-occupation period following the abandonment of the villa, or displaced during spoliation of the villa in the

---

(Torres Carro 1978). For the use of mosaic pavements in ancient Mérida see Álvarez Martínez 1990; see also Dunbabin 1999, 144-59 for the mosaic tradition of Hispania.

<sup>176</sup> It should be noted that no such objects were found in the excavations of Casa de los Mármoles. Several exedra off of the central peristyle of the *domus* do furnish evidence for small niches, but these are quite superficial and could have only held small, shallow statuettes (see fig. 23).

<sup>177</sup> The sculpture was first published in 2002 (Basarrate et al. 2002), and in catalog form by Basarrate in 2004 (Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004). Much of the material is now on display in Lisbon's Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, but some fragments remain in the museum's reserves and await the publication of the site monograph (Carvalho, personal communication). For the context of these finds see discussion pages 116-17 in Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004.

<sup>178</sup> Carvalho and Almeida 2003, 120; see also Basarrate in Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004, 137-39. The arm that belongs to the statue of Venus was found earlier in the 1996 excavations (Carvalho and Almeida 2003, 121).

18<sup>th</sup> century (though again, the careful arrangement of the fragments is perplexing).<sup>179</sup>

Small fragments found in the *nymphaeum* of the aforementioned panther and an arm of Venus may point to the hurried removal of these statuettes, but to what end we can only guess. Because the remaining figural statuettes are nude – a male anguiped and a female goddess - Trinidad Nogales Basarrate has suggested that the recovered assemblage may betray the fragments rejected by 18<sup>th</sup> century Christian pillagers.<sup>180</sup> It should be noted that marble had a significant presence in the areas of the villa that suffered the most damage (room nos. 1, 7, 21 and its corridor, 23). The marble may have been looted as a building material for construction in the surrounding area.

Even in its fragmentary state this assemblage provides unparalleled evidence for late antique statuary in domestic displays of Roman Lusitania. The fragments attest to a variety of free-standing mythological figures and possible group statuettes. The fragments are sculpted in a fine grain white marble and surfaces are highly polished. As the evidence stands, the visible harmony among the statuettes evinces a “collection”, at least by modern aesthetics – stylistic similarities impart a cohesion to the extant statuary. A classicizing style is apparent in all extant fragments, suggesting that they belong to the genre of late mythological statuettes highlighted by Elaine Gazda and Lea Stirling in

---

<sup>179</sup> Evidence of the villa’s spoliation in the 18<sup>th</sup> century is attested by a crucifix with an inscription referring to the Catholic cult of Señor Jesus da Piedade, found in a stratified context of the most recent destruction layer. A rural hermitage was built for the cult of Señor Jesus da Piedade in 1779 near Elvas; building materials from the ancient villa may have been used in its construction (Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004, 114).

<sup>180</sup> Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004, 114-16.



Anglophone scholarship.<sup>181</sup> Like small-scale late-mythological works found in Gaul, Carthage, and the Roman East, the Quinta das Longas statuettes resemble products of Asia Minor's workshops in both style and excavation.<sup>182</sup> Before discussing the significance of these imports in a Lusitanian domestic context, let us examine the fragments in some detail.

### II.1 Stylistic Analysis of the Statuary Assemblage

At least eight different figures can be reconstructed. Two stand out as the largest and most complete: free-standing statuettes of a male and an idealized Venus figure. The head and torso of the male figure are intact and enough remains of his bottom half to securely reconstruct an anguiped (fig. 26).<sup>183</sup> The figure is nude, and musculature in the chest and

---

<sup>181</sup> Gazda 1981; Stirling 2005; see also chapter 1, section III.2.b.

<sup>182</sup> Aphrodisias has been suggested as the origin of these pieces (Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004), as one of confirmed centers of late antique statuary production (Erim and Roueché 1990; Erim and Smith 1991; Smith, 1990; 2006; see also Squariciapino 1943; Kiilerich 1993; Hannestad 1994; Bergmann 1999; passim in Alto Bauer and Witschel, ed. 2007). For the Esquiline group, now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek in Copenhagen see Roueché and Erim 1982; Kiilerich and Torp 1994; discussion in chapter 1, section III.2.a. Study of the Esquiline group has helped define the late antique Aphrodisian style as long, lean, and expressive. Roueché and Erim's work with this statuary set has encouraged scholars to push back the dates for a number of important statuary groups, such as the Silaharağa group now dated to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century (Chaisemartin and Orgen 1984; Kiilerich and Torp 1994). Other centers of production in the East are less well known but should not be ignored. Ephesus is known to have had a strong portrait tradition in late-antiquity (Inan and Rosenbaum 1966). Late- mythological statuettes in particular have been linked to workshops in Constantinople associated with the Theodosian court (Gazda 1981; Stirling 2005, 127-129), though there is also evidence of mythological statuettes produced in Dokimeion and Side somewhat earlier, c. 300 CE (Filges 1999).

<sup>183</sup> Inv. no. 2006.355.1, MNA. Height 54 cm. Basarrate in Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004, 118-123, fig. 5; Gonçalves 2007, 292-93, no. 130B. When the sculpture was first published the figure was tentatively identified as a satyr (Carvalho and Ribeiro 2002, 497, no. 181). The figure's knobby abdominal muscles and jutting pelvis bones are similar to other extant late-mythological statues; see for example the reliefs of Hercules at the villa of Chiragan in southern Gaul (Chapter 6, sections III.2-3), and the Satyr (Inv. No. 619) and Poseidon (Inv. No. 622) of the Esquiline Group, now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek in Copenhagen (see Moltesen 2002, 352-72, no. 123-131 for catalogue and bibliography). That said, the rib muscles of the

abdomen is carefully articulated. His lower appendages terminate in two anguiped branches, suggesting either a giant or a triton. The right leg is broken at mid-thigh but the left is preserved and decorated with a vegetal leaf pattern where the limb meets the statue base. The right arm is missing but the position of the shoulder suggests it hung close to the body. The left arm, however, is bent at the elbow and extended away from the body as though the anguiped is reacting to something or someone over his left shoulder. The giant's body and head also twist to the left, suggesting a responsive or reactionary movement. The figure looks up over his left shoulder with visible *pathos* in his face. His hair is pushed straight up off his forehead and falls back in a cascade of long locks, deeply channeled with the drill. Two additional anguiped tail fragments were found in the assemblage and likely belong to this figure (figs. 27, 28).<sup>184</sup> The tails spiral and taper towards their ends (which no longer preserved), their very shape underscoring the kinetic movement of anguiped.

The expressionist carving of the hair, the flexed *rectus femoris* and prominent musculature, and the flattened, stylized visage suggest a late antique date, which is corroborated by numerous parallels of anguipeds among extant late-mythological sculptures. Fragments of several anguiped torsos sculpted in dark marble were found at Silahtarğa outside modern Istanbul in the 1980s, and have been recently dated to the

---

Quinta das Longas giant are perhaps less bumpy than is typical of larger Aphrodisian sculptures (see discussion of these "bumpy" muscles in Hannestad 1994; Bergmann 1999, see also Pl. 34).

<sup>184</sup> Inv. nos. 2006.355.2; 2006.355.3, MNA. The tail fragments measure 14.5 cm and 15 cm, respectively. Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004, 123, fig. 8; Gonçalves 2007, 293-94, no. 130C, 130D. These two tail fragments cannot be joined to the extant anguiped (Nogales Basarrate et. al 2004, nt. 86).

second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century (fig. 13).<sup>185</sup> Within the Iberian Peninsula a headless anguiped statuette in grey-black marble was found the villa of Valdetorres de Jarama in the central Meseta (fig. 54).<sup>186</sup> The statues from both sites have been studied as products of Eastern workshops. There are, however, notable differences among the Quinta das Longas statuette and other extant anguipeds. The Valdetorres and Silahtarağa sculptures are sculpted from dark marbles and lower anguiped extremities are covered in scales, whereas the Quinta das Longas torso is made from a white marble and is highly polished, its smooth anguipedal limbs decorated with a vegetal motif. It is possible that these characteristics mark the latter as triton, as the site's excavators have suggested. A triton has been deemed appropriate for this particular context, that is, in a villa where the architecture and manipulation of water plays a prominent role. The Quinta das Longas' anguiped does not, however, closely parallel extant late tritons such as those in the Venus group from Saint-Georges-de-Montagne in Aquitaine.<sup>187</sup> Most late antique tritons are accessory figures and lack the emotive quality seen in the Quinta das Longas anguiped. I

---

<sup>185</sup> Chaisemartin and Orgen 1984, 44-45, No. 100, pl. 31-32. For the revised dating of the Silahtarağa sculptures to late antiquity see Kiilerich and Torp 1994.

<sup>186</sup> M.A.N Inv. no. 1977/72/1, Puerta et al. 1994, 182-83, fig. 1, 2. See below for further discussion.

<sup>187</sup> Debate over the identification of this figure persists. The piece has been linked to a Domitianic era statue of a Triton blowing a conch shell trumpet now in the Ny Carlsberg Copenhagen (Basarrate et al. 2004, 121-22; LIMC Tritones 45). The positioning of the Copenhagen triton's body and head mirrors that of the Quinta das Longas statuette, and his lower extremities were also adorned with vegetal leaf decoration. This statue, however, is two centuries older than the Quinta das Longas fragments. See also the triton in the Venus group from Saint-Georges-de-Montagne (Musée du Louvre Inv. No. MA 3537; Braemer 1982, 116-19; Stirling 2005, 30-34).

am therefore inclined to identify this figure as a giant, in part because of the reactionary posture which parallels the giant of Valdetorres de Jarama.<sup>188</sup>

The other intact torso found at Quinta das Longas belongs to a nude female whose body has been joined to an idealized head discovered at the site in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century by agricultural laborers (figs. 29, 30).<sup>189</sup> The statuette is clearly identifiable as a late antique variation of a Hellenistic type – Venus adjusting her sandal.<sup>190</sup> Venus' body is young and idealized with small rounded breasts, a petite lower abdomen and a soft, plump derrière. Her left arm is broken at the shoulder but the right is preserved to the forearm.<sup>191</sup> With this arm she reaches across her body towards her lower left leg, raised to allow for the adjustment of her sandal. Both legs, however, are missing and were broken just below the knee joints. The face has been severely damaged but it still possible to make out features of an idealized face. Her gaze is directed to the right and off into the distance. She pays no attention to her sandal, with her faraway, steady gaze seemingly a counterbalance to her twisted body.

---

<sup>188</sup> If so, the display scenario may have been similar to what has been suggested for the Valdetorres de Jarama giant, see below (section V.1). The Quinta das Longas anguiped, moreover, is fully sculpted in the round, and was not likely displayed in a niche.

<sup>189</sup> Inv. no. 2006.355.4, MNA. The head measures 12 cm in height; the torso 39.5 cm. The head was initially published in the *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani*, Portugal and dated to the Antonine era (de Souza 1990, 51, 71, no. 141). It was found in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and kept in the depots of the Biblioteca-Museu de Elvas until it was joined with the torso found at Quinta das Longas in 2003 (Basarrate in Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004, 126-27; Gonçalves 2007, 290-91, no. 130A).

<sup>190</sup> For this type see LIMC Aphrodite 462ff with variations; LIMC Venus 182ff. Nogales Basarrate stresses the importance of the type as a middle Hellenistic genre (in Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004, 127), but this seems forced. Venus statues and statuettes (the sandal-adjusting type and many others) were produced throughout the Hellenistic, Roman, and late-Roman eras.

<sup>191</sup> The position of the left shoulder suggests that the upper arm was raised perpendicular to the body, as was typical. In marble the arm would have rested on a prop of some sort, usually a tree stump to judge from extant examples, LIMC *ibid.*

Numerous late-Roman parallels for the Venus of Quinta das Longas are extant, though most have been found further afield in Asia Minor.<sup>192</sup> Two statuettes that mirror the twisted body and small breasts of the Quinta das Longas Venus have been dated to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century: an Aphrodite from Sidon (fig. 31), now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, and another with a Cupid found outside Sidi Bishr, now in the Museum of Alexandria (fig. 32).<sup>193</sup> In both of these statuettes the goddess' face is typical of idealized late-mythological statuary, with heavy eyelids, pronounced brow ridges, small lips and a soft jaw. Though the head of the Quinta das Longas Venus is damaged, her pupils appear to have been drilled with a single puncture and her brow ridge is not as strong as in the aforementioned examples of Sidon and Sidi Bashir. Nor does her body have the stocky proportions of the Sidon or Sidi Bashir Aphrodite, or of late 4<sup>th</sup> century statuettes in general.<sup>194</sup> She is longer, leaner, larger and more classically proportioned than most extant late-mythological female figures (fig. 30). Her body proportions are

---

<sup>192</sup> Noglaes Basarrate compares the Quinta das Longas Venus torso with a statuette of Venus adjusting her sandal found in a large cache in Antioch (Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004, 128). The Antioch Venus has been dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, occasionally to the early 3<sup>rd</sup>. This piece was first discovered in 1934 (Brinkerhoff 1970, 38, no. 53) and is now in the Museum of Art in Baltimore (Inv. 1937.151). The Antioch statuette is smaller than that of Quinta das Longas; her breasts are less round, and her body does not twist and curl into itself, nor was her right arm outstretched. These differences suggest, to my mind, that we look to later mythological statuary for comparanda, and consider variation within the copying tradition.

<sup>193</sup> Basarrate compares the Sidon Aphrodite with the Quinta das Longas torso (Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004, 128), while noting that it is later in date and typical of late-mythological statuettes. Aphrodite of Sidon, Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. Mendel 313; Aphrodite of Sidi Bishr, Greek and Roman Museum of Alexandria, Inv. 24956 (after Stirling 2005, 100).

<sup>194</sup> This iconographic type remained popular in late antiquity. The pose of the Quinta das Longas Venus' body is, however, more volumetric than the other late-mythological types taken as representative of the genre, cf. the Venus of Saint-Georges-de-Montagnes (fig. 17 in this dissertation), or the Ganymede of Carthage (fig. 15 in this dissertation); for synthesis of style and chronology in late-mythological statuettes see Stirling 2005, 91-137. The Venus statuette of Saint-Georges-de-Montagnes plays a major role in Stirling's definition of the late-mythological style of statuette.

more in line with large-scale mythological figures like the Diana and Selene of Silahtarağa (also marked as Aphrodisian works, figs. 11, 12). The Silahtarağa figures have been tentatively dated to the mid-to-late 4<sup>th</sup> century (Kiilerich and Torp 1994), and we may thus entertain a conservative date in mid-to-late 4<sup>th</sup> century for the Quinta das Longas Venus. Though this work belongs to the late-mythological statuette tradition, the rather conservative proportions of the figure acknowledge multiple workshops in different places and decades working within the late-mythological tradition.<sup>195</sup>

## II.2 Additional Figural Fragments

Another small female head found at Quinta das Longas is sculpted in the same stylistic vein as this Venus (fig. 33).<sup>196</sup> This female's languid expression is typical of late 4<sup>th</sup> / 5<sup>th</sup> century goddesses, but the carving of her coiffure and facial features is more delicate and carefully modelled than later examples known in the West. Her heavy eyelids rest under delicately ridged brows and balance a slim nose, weak jaw, and softened cheekbones. The hair is centrally parted and gathered in a low bun at the nape of the neck with a *taenia*.

---

<sup>195</sup> There are, however, various degrees of stylistic variation within mythological statuettes considered "late antique works of the 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> century". Such variations may reflect a variety of workshop traditions in multiple places around the Empire, or more simply, the evolution of this genre over multiple centuries. Dates are thus difficult to pin down, see discussion in Stirling 2005, *ibid*.

<sup>196</sup> Inv. no. 2006.355.5, MNA. Height 12.5 cm. Basarrate in Carvalho 2004, 134-35, fig. 16a, 16b; Gonçalves 2007, 294-95, no. 130E. For comparanda see many of the late antique goddess heads found in southwestern Gaul: a goddess from Chiragan (Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse, Inv. no. 30354); a female head in Bordeaux (Musée d'Aquitaine, Inv. no. X177), a goddess' head in Arles (Musée d'Arles Antique, inv. FAN 9200). See Bergmann 1999, Pl. 56. For facial features common to late antique mythological statuettes, see Stirling 2005, 98-102; for subgroups within the proposed late-4<sup>th</sup> century date, 112-114. In general the Quinta das Longas head differs from other extant examples – the eyelids are less puffy and the features more classically modelled.

This small head has been identified as a nymph or muse, based on two other fragments in the assemblage, one of which preserves the left hand of a female holding a fragmentary scalloped shell, perhaps a nymph or consort of Venus (fig. 34).<sup>197</sup> At 9.5 cm this hand is too large to be that of a secondary attendant in a group statuette with the aforementioned Venus, and therefore must have belonged to an individual statuette or to the protagonist of another group ensemble.<sup>198</sup> Statues of nymphs holding shells were often fountain fixtures, and the display of this sculpture may be associated with one of the many pools or fountains in the villa.<sup>199</sup>

Another fragment of a female's left hand is carved in the same style and on the same scale as the previous but presumably belongs to a statuette of the muse Urania (fig. 35).<sup>200</sup> The hand holds a spherical globe with images of the moon and sun; fabric at the wrist suggests she wore a long-sleeved garment. We do not know whether this statuette stood alone or was part of a larger set of muses.<sup>201</sup> Though the statuary medium is unique, muses were a common theme in all media throughout the Roman era, and in Late

---

<sup>197</sup> Inv. no. 2005.355.8, MNA. The hand holding a fragment of a shell also measures 9.5 cm by 8.5 cm max. width by 4.5 cm max. depth. Nogales Basarrate et al., 2004, 128-29, fig. 11; Gonçalves 2007, 297-98, no. 130.

<sup>198</sup> See for example the Venus of Saint-Georges-de-Montagne, see above **nt. 37**.

<sup>199</sup> The interplay between water and architectural features in the northern gallery of the villa Quinta das Longas has already been addressed above, but I note here that sculptures likely figured in displays in the areas paved in marble, whether as fountain attachments or in niches.

<sup>200</sup> Inv. No. 2005.355.6, MNA. Nogales Basarrate et al., 2004, 132-33, fig. 15; Gonçalves 2007, 295-296, No. 130F. The piece measures 9.5 cm by 8.5 cm max. width by 4.5 cm max. depth (Nogales Basarrate et al., 2004, 132-33, fig. 15; Gonçalves 2007, 295-296, No. 130F).

<sup>201</sup> If the Urania statuette were part of a larger chorus of the muses, they would have significantly constricted space (for movement and for display) by virtue of their three-dimensionality. The lack of other fragments which can be associated with muses cautions against the presence of all nine in statuary. Single statues of a muses are actually quite common; when all nine muses appear in tandem, it is more commonly in two-dimensional arts, cf. discussion of the mosaic of Torre de Palma in this chapter.

Antiquity they were an especially popular trope in mosaics of the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa.<sup>202</sup> At the villa Torre de Palma only 20 kilometers northwest of Quinta das Longas, a mosaic panel of the nine muses decorated the entrance to one of the villa's reception halls (fig. 36).<sup>203</sup> The posture and dress of both the two-dimensional Urania at Torre de Palma and the three-dimensional statuary fragment of the Quinta das Longas Urania suggest a common typology for representations for this muse across media. This fact is important in assessing the reception of this statuette, that is, its clever fusion of traditional iconography in a foreign medium.

On a technical level the craftsmanship and proportions of this fragment of Urania's hand matches the others discussed above, and evince an overall cohesion among the Quinta das Longas fragments, though not necessarily a singular iconographic program beyond mythological imagery. The different statuettes or statue groups here are linked in material, modeling, technical execution, and finish. These formal qualities, however, have played a secondary role in discussion of the iconographic programs which the statuary fragments may have fulfilled. Excavators hypothesize ten different sculptural cycles, but the fragments themselves caution against restrictive thematic groupings.<sup>204</sup>

---

<sup>202</sup> The most numerous and varied examples of muses in mosaics of the Roman west date to the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries. Janine Lancha suggests that the display of muses became a way to demonstrate allegiance to pagan and Roman cultural values (Lancha 2003; Lancha, André and Abraços 2000). Interest in the muses in the late antique period is thus associated with *paideia* (cf. Hannestad 2002, 86).

<sup>203</sup> Lancha, André and Abraços 2000, no. 2, 162-67. Here Urania also wears a long-sleeved tunic and holds an as-yet unidentified object in her left hand, perhaps a compass or small globe.

<sup>204</sup> Proposed groupings include an aguipedal group, a cycle of Venus, a cycle of nymphs, a cycle of muses, two hunting groups (of Diana and of a male figure, perhaps Meleager), a possible cycle of Fortuna, an unidentified mythological couple, a cycle of Bacchus (related to his triumph, perhaps), and a marine cycle



For example, the Venus and a nymph with a shell might have been displayed together as a pair or not; the finds context does not allow us to reconstruct displays and the evidence need not be pushed to such ends. Our willingness to divide sculptures into iconographic categories unintentionally disregards important formal properties which in this case speak to the commission or purchase of the Quinta das Longas statuettes as a set. The extant evidence suggests that all of the statuettes were sculpted in the same style, seemingly by the same workshop in a single or seriated production over a short period of time. Only late-mythological imported statue/ttes of this stylistic type have been found at Quinta das Longas. Thus while it may be difficult to mark the purchase of these objects as the act of a collector, the visible unity among the statuettes does suggest that they were purchased from the same atelier.

All that is clear in terms of iconographic program is the predominance of figural sculpture, and females in particular to judge from two additional fragments. One additional fragment preserves a woman's right hand holding a baton-like cylindrical object between the thumb and ring finger, with the index and middle fingers extended (fig. 37).<sup>205</sup> Like the other hand fragments it is broken at the wrist. The cylindrical object

---

(Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004, 139-142). Excavators do admit that some fragments might belong to a variety of iconographic cycles and that destruction and looting has plagued the establishment of anything beyond hypothetical groupings.

<sup>205</sup> Inv. no. 2006.335.9, MNA. Basarrate et al. 2004, 125, fig. 9C; Gonçalves 2007, 298, No. 130I. Though perhaps a stretch, the cylindrical object also might be part of a snake's body, suggesting a representation of the goddess Hygeia. Representations of Hygeia abound in late-Roman villas, at El Munts (Koppel 1995; 2000), and Chiragan (Martres-Tolosanne, see chapter 6 (shield medallion section III).

might belong to a fragment of part of a ship's rudder,<sup>206</sup> signaling a statue of Fortuna/Tyche. An additional fragment of a female's left forearm and hand cradles what may be part of a cornucopia (fig. 38).<sup>207</sup> Statues of Fortuna/Tyche are frequently found in late-Roman villa collections, both in the Iberian Peninsula and across the Pyrenees in the villas of southern Gaul.<sup>208</sup> The figure of Tyche seems to have been a popular type from the Hellenistic era well into the Late Antique period, and remained prominent in urban contexts.<sup>209</sup> The pervasiveness of Tyche statues in Late Antiquity, and of other figures here like Venus, Urania, and the anguiped may be significant, signaling the purchase or acquisition of such statuary as dictated less by individual preferences than by market availability.

---

<sup>206</sup> Basarrate in Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004, 123-24, fig. 9A. It should be noted that this fragment, as a ship rudder, could relate to the anguiped fragments if the male anguiped was a triton, but its small size (4 cm x 6.5 cm max. width x 0.5 cm max. depth) suggests otherwise.

<sup>207</sup> Inv. No. unknown, MNA. Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004, 124, fig. 9B. This fragment is currently not on display at the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia in Lisbon, and interestingly absent from Gonçalves discussion of the Quinta das Longas collection in his recent volume on sculpture in Portugal (2007, no. 130, 290-304). Basarrate describes the object as part of a shank or rod, perhaps related to the ship rudder (2004, 124-125). If we associate this fragment with a statue of Fortuna/Tyche, I am inclined to associate the object with a cornucopia given that the cornucopia is held in the goddess' left hand in the vast majority of Fortuna/Tyche representations.

<sup>208</sup> A 2<sup>nd</sup> century statuette of the goddess was found in the late antique baths of the Roman villa of El Munts, near Tarraco (Koppel 2000, 387). Just across the Pyrenees a late portrait tondo at Chiragan depicts a female wearing a mural crown, either Tyche or Cybele, and has been dated to the late antique period (chapter 6, shield medallion section III). For their connection to Aphrodisian workshops see also Bergmann 1999, 26-43, 45.

<sup>209</sup> For Tyche in the Hellenistic era see Pollitt 1986, 2-4 in particular. For late-urban contexts see Poulson 2014, who suggests that Tyche's cosmopolitan air and urban identity remained important well into late antiquity

A final fragment belonging to a female statuette indicates a paired group (fig. 39).<sup>210</sup> The left hand of a female rests atop the right hand of a male who holds a small object in his hand. The female hand is slimmer than her male companion's, and her fingers are more delicate and elongated. Both the male and female were nude as far as the fragments suggest; the female arm is preserved to the elbow and the male's arm to his right bicep. The couple has not been unidentified. The pose is too relaxed for a dancing satyr and nymph, and too affectionate for the Venus and Pan group suggested by Nogales Basarrate.<sup>211</sup> Two female nymphs have also been suggested.<sup>212</sup> I think it more likely that this fragment belongs to a statuette of Cupid and Psyche, who were frequently depicted in later visual arts, most famously in a late-mythological statuette from a house in Ostia (fig. 40).<sup>213</sup> If these male and female hands belong to such a paired group, this fragment belongs to yet another popular late-Roman statuary type and adds to evidence for the instrumental role of workshop traditions in the commission or purchase of "collectable" late-mythological statuary.

Rounding out the extant fragments of human figures is the nude left leg of a male (fig. 41). The calf muscle is highly articulated and the figure is barefoot, suggesting a

---

<sup>210</sup> Inv. no. 2006.355.7, MNA. The fragment measures 6.5 cm max. width by 10 cm max. height by 5.5 cm max. depth. Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004, 136-37, fig. 18; Gonçalves 2007, 296-97, no. 130G.

<sup>211</sup> Suggested by Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004, 136-37.

<sup>212</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>213</sup> This statuette (Inv. no. 180, Ostia Museum) stood in a room elaborated decorated with *opus sectile* pavements and marble wall revetments, which is an interesting decorative parallel to the marble program at Quinta das Longas. The house in which it stood is one of the few in Ostia with contemporary sculpture, and was built in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century (for its excavation see Becatti 1948, 6-8). For discussion of the late-mythological group as such, see Stirling 2005, 169-72.

male deity or mythological character.<sup>214</sup> The emphasis on the inner calf muscles suggests that the subject was engaged in physical activity. Basarrate associates this piece with the fragmentary tip of a *venabulum* and posits a hunting group statuette, perhaps Meleager, citing the popularity of hunting scenes in late-Roman mosaics of the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>215</sup> But this fragment may also belong to a late Venus/Adonis statuette type, as Lea Stirling has conjectured for several fragments at the villa Montmaurin in southern Aquitaine.<sup>216</sup>

### II.3 Landscape Fragments and Small-scale Animal Figures

Other fragments, namely tree branches and leaves in various sizes, may belong to this hunting statuette group or to the landscape setting of multiple group statuette (figs. 42-44).<sup>217</sup> These tree fragments are finely sculpted with delicate cut-outs in the leaves, and thin, sharply angled branches. They recall arboreal decoration seen in late Diana groups, such as the Diana from Saint-Georges-de-Montagne in northern Aquitaine now in

---

<sup>214</sup> Inv. no. unknown, MNA. Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004, 136, fig. 17B, 17C; like some of the other fragments, this one is not on display at the MNA in Lisbon, and is not described in Gonçalves' 2007 publication on Roman sculpture in Portugal.

<sup>215</sup> Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004, 135-36, 142, fig. 17A. This fragment (9.2 cm in length) is among those missing in Gonçalves' 2007 volume, and presumably kept in storage in Lisbon's MNA. One of the most celebrated late-Iberian hunting mosaics could be seen at the villa El Hinojal, 18 kilometers west of Emerita Augusta. Like the villas Quinta das Longas and Torre de Palma, it too lay along the road leading west from the capital to the Atlantic ports, but was much closer to the capital Emerita Augusta. The mosaic at El Hinojal dates to the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century, but the male figure it depicts does not seem to be mythological but the villa's owner by the figure's dress.

<sup>216</sup> Stirling 2005, 4-47; see also chapter 5 for the villa Montmaurin, section II.4.

<sup>217</sup> Inv. nos. 2006.355.4266; 2006.355.4267; 2006.355.4628, 2006.355.4269, MNA. Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004, 131-32, fig. 14A and 14B. For landscape motifs in late-Roman mythological statuettes see Stirling 2005, 104-05.

Bordeaux (fig. 16), and the Diana from Cherchel in Tunisia (fig. 45).<sup>218</sup> The piecework of the Quinta das Longas arboreal fragments is executed admirably, very much in same technical style of the Cherchel and Bordeaux statuettes.<sup>219</sup>

I close this discussion of the Quinta das Longas statuary assemblage with three remaining fragments of animal figurines which may or may not be associated with larger statuette groups, hunting or otherwise. One fragment preserves a dog attacking what appears to be a stag (fig. 46).<sup>220</sup> The dog's body is lean and muscular, his large left paw outstretched as he lunges forward at the stag. His ears are pointed and sharp teeth are visible in an open mouth. Around his neck is a ruff of fur and a collar. These characteristics are typical of dogs in late 4<sup>th</sup> / early 5<sup>th</sup> century statuettes, according to Lea Stirling. Dogs with curved, beak-like mouths, pointed ears, and taut bodies are accessory figures in many other statuary groups (cf. the Diana of Cherchel (fig. 45); the Ganymede of Carthage (fig. 15)).<sup>221</sup> In her brief discussion of animals in statuette groups Stirling concludes, "So distinctive are the animals, particularly the dogs, that the presence of an animal rendered thus is a secure indicator of a late fourth-century or early fifth-century

---

<sup>218</sup> For the statuette of Diana of Bordeaux (Musée d'Aquitaine, Inv. 71.16.1) see Stirling 2005, 30-37. For the Diana of Cherchel (Inv. S.7) see Landwehr 1993, no. 26, Pl. 34-35. Landwehr dates the piece to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century but the stocky build of the figure, the stylized drapery, the lack of depth and the high polish suggest a late antique date. These comparanda were first suggested by Basarrate in Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004, 131-132.

<sup>219</sup> Stirling 2005, 104-05; see also Bergmann 1999, 61-63 and *passim*.

<sup>220</sup> Inv. no. 2006.355.12, MNA. Basarrate in Carvalho 2004, 129-31, fig. 12; Gonçalves 2007, 300-301, no. 130L

<sup>221</sup> For the Diana of Cherchel, see above nt. 218 and fig. 45 in this dissertation; Nogales Basarrate was the first to make this comparison. For the Ganymede of Carthage see Gazda 1981, and fig. 15 in this dissertation.

date”.<sup>222</sup> In both the Diana group from Cherchel and the Ganymede group from Carthage, however, the dogs’ eyes are drilled and their heads are lifted, but this is not the case with the Quinta das Longas fragment. In the fragment at Quinta das Longas, the canine’s pupils are unmarked and the head is level as he sidles alongside his prey. It may be that the Quinta das Longas fragment was executed somewhat earlier than the examples cited by Stirling, in the mid-to-late 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>223</sup>

The body of a small panther, found in the nymphaeum (room no. 23) and separated from the larger cache of statuary, has already been mentioned in passing (fig. 47).<sup>224</sup> This panther’s face has suffered some abrasions and his legs are no longer extant. The sculptor has given the impression of the animal’s pelt with rough whorled hair on the left side of his body, directed at the viewer.<sup>225</sup> The right side of the animal’s body, however, is unfinished and a broken strut suggests it was an accessory figure in a larger statuette. The panther wears a collar (like the aforementioned dog), and may have

---

<sup>222</sup> Stirling 2005, 105-106.

<sup>223</sup> The sweeping 4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> century date attached to most late-mythological statuettes is problematic but few have been found in stratified archaeological contexts and/or alongside datable evidence. The only fixed, non-stylistic date we have for works of this genre comes from a Mithraeum in Sidon, where three statuettes including a Mithras Tauroktonos were found. Inscribed bases suggest a date of 389 CE (Baratte 2001; Stirling 2005, 91-95). On a rather different note, it is interesting that these cultic images are considered products of a larger late-mythological genre with little to no religious valence. Further study of these mythological images and the cultic material of Sidon is necessary, however, to probe any suggestion of religious symbolism inherent in this imagery. For a discussion of Mithras in a non-cultic, domestic setting in late antiquity see chapter 3, section III.3.

<sup>224</sup> Inv. no. 2006.355.13, MNA. The panther measures 13 cm max. length by 10.5 cm max. width by 3 cm max. depth. Basarrate in Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004, 137-39, fig. 19A; Gonçalves 2007, 301-02, no. 130M.

<sup>225</sup> This whorled pelt differs from other known examples of late antique panthers, as at Valdetorres de Jarama where the panther’s pelt is sleeker and shorter (see below, discussion in section V.2).

accompanied a Bacchus.<sup>226</sup> A statue base from the Roman sanctuary at Maiden Castle has recently been dated to late antiquity by its molding and by the arrangement of figures no longer preserved, but among them is a panther, to judge from the animal's paws, and a standing male figure, perhaps Bacchus.<sup>227</sup>

A final fragment preserves a truly exotic animal: a griffin (fig. 48).<sup>228</sup> The beak and neck ruff of feathers are lightly chiseled. The animal's neck is long and slim and carefully sculpted on all sides, suggesting that this fragment may not belong to an animal but to the figurehead of a ship, as suggested by Nogales Basarrate.<sup>229</sup> Excavators are at a loss as to what iconography this fragment might belong, but its technical execution nevertheless secures its belonging within the assemblage.

#### **II.4 A Consciously Curated Collection?**

The Quinta das Longas sculptures were first published by Trinidad Nogales Basarrate, who argues that the iconography and subject matter derive from Hellenistic sculpture, and that this Hellenizing aura adds programmatic cohesion to the assemblage as a whole.

She further suggests that most fragments can be related to mythological cycles in which

---

<sup>226</sup> Nogales Basarrate suggests that this figure could have been part of a Bacchic triumph, citing the mosaic of Torre de Palma as evidence of this motif's popularity in the domestic sphere (in Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004, 138-39). In the Torre de Palma mosaic, there is a tiger with a thick colored coat that is similar in texture to the whorled pelt of the panther, but it is tiger nonetheless. Although Bacchus' Triumph was a popular motif in mosaics and sarcophagi, free-standing statuary groups of this scene are not common.

<sup>227</sup> For the Maiden Castle statuette see CSIR Great Britain, Cunliffe 1982, no. 98, pl. 26.

<sup>228</sup> Inv. no. 2006.355.11, MNA. Basarrate in Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004, 139, fig. 19B; Gonçalves 299-300, no. 130K. The piece measures 17 cm tall by 5 cm wide by 1.5 cm deep; it is broken at what appears to be the insertion point.

<sup>229</sup> The sleekness of the fragment corroborate this suggestion, advertising both the swiftness of the ship and the art of sculpture.

water plays a large role (Venus, nymphs, tritons), making them suitable for display in the villa's nymphaeum.<sup>230</sup> The extant iconographies, however, are well within the realm of domestic sculpture from the known Roman world and do not exhibit any dependence on Hellenistic models which departs from the norm. Nor does water play a stronger role than is typical of most Greco-Roman mythological cycles.<sup>231</sup> That said, in this particular villa a symbiotic relationship between water and marble does exist on multiple levels and may have a special significance. Fountains and pools are located in rooms that are paved in architectural marbles and possibly decorated with low-relief parietal marbles and statuary, judging from their findspots. The importance of a marble program here has been somewhat overshadowed by the discussions of iconographic programs and Hellenistic “influences” on the extant repertoire.<sup>232</sup>

Program(s) aside, formal analysis of the marble statues marks them as a collection. Although the marble's origin has not been confirmed with petrographic

---

<sup>230</sup> Basarrate in Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004, 144-45 and passim. Such an argument, however, presumes that architecture dictates collection and acquisition. We cannot fully reconstruct the display of these statuettes based on their findspots. Because it is unclear when the villa was pillaged and when the statues were removed, scholars have depended largely on aesthetic analysis (Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004, 113-15, 117-18).

<sup>231</sup> A large number of imperial and late antique villas preserve elaborate water displays. Systematically excavated examples of late *domus* and *villae* with extensive hydraulic engineering in Portugal include the villas Milreu (Faro), Cerro da Vila (Vilamoura), and Pisões (Beja), and the urban *domus* House of the Fountains (Conimbriga). Scholars suggest that the use of water for recreational purposes or display was *en vogue* as means of projecting elite seigneurial status (see for example Zanker 1979; 1998). The symbiotic relationship between water and marble in this villa thus may be significant.

<sup>232</sup> Rather than focus on the Hellenistic origin of some mythological sculpture types, analysis of these statuettes and their role in the villa should develop in dialogue with work on late antique sculptures and reproductions. Recent work in the field of Roman copies has highlighted emulation, innovation and subtle variations as of value to both patrons and sculptors, undermining the supposition that Roman sculptors were slaves to earlier styles and traditions, let alone the Middle Hellenistic period; see for example Bartman's discussion of two Pothos statues found in an imperial *domus* in Rome (Bartman 1988), and Gazda 2002 for the historiography of the Roman copy tradition.



analysis, visible analysis suggests that the same bright white marble with small crystals is used in all of the fragments. Stylistic similarities and technical execution of the objects also make a strong argument for their origin in a single workshop, likely in the East. The faces of the extant figures are marked by prominent brow ridges and heavy eyelids shading half-circle pupils. The inner tear ducts are deeply drilled but the drill is not used with a heavy hand on principle. Flat chisels, rasps and smoothing abrasives are used throughout for shaping small mouths with full lips, soft faces and flattened cheekbones. Surfaces are highly polished. All of the statuettes are under life-size, suggesting that the statuettes were designed for display at eye level or in niches. Body proportions are consistent throughout. Extant female hands are 9.5 cm in length, with long fingers and carefully delineated fingernails. Their size is proportional to the preserved figural fragments of the anguiped torso and Venus (54 cm and 52 cm with heads at 12 cm). As previously noted, the bodies of both the Venus and the anguiped do not share the rubbery physique of celebrated late-mythological works like the Diana of Bordeaux and the Ganymede of Carthage, and have a greater depth. Thus the careful modelling of the Venus figure and anguiped statuette at Quinta das Longas suggests an earlier date than most late-mythological statuettes, likely in the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century (fig. 49).

However, the similarities among statues in this villa does not mean that all the statuettes were expressly designed as a collection. It is more prudent to mark the sculptures as executed by the same workshop and purchased (or commissioned) at a

single moment, or over a short period of time from the same atelier or market.<sup>233</sup> With such a market in mind, it should be noted that nearly all of the Quinta das Longas statuettes can be associated with popular late antique tropes; they may not have been commissioned expressly for this villa, but rather, produced for and purchased in a larger art market. Goddesses like Venus, plus nymphs, muses, the anguiped, possible hunting groups and a Cupid/Psyche are all known late antique statuary types, circulated throughout the West in the later 4<sup>th</sup> century. The popularity of such images we may therefore ascribe either to elite consumers, or to the workshops, or to the markets that traded statuary (or all at once).<sup>234</sup>

In any case, the display of imported Eastern statuettes in a villa like Quinta das Longas raises questions about the means by which such objects were acquired in late-Roman Iberia. The relative dearth of late antique statues in Hispania seems to signal limited access to these objects. It seems possible that Quinta das Longas' *domini* enjoyed greater access than other villa owners to sculpture, or to marble more broadly, or had a greater interest in marble, to judge from its use in architectural pavements. With this in mind, the next section broadens discussion to examine the connections and networks in

---

<sup>233</sup> If this latter is true, we must grant some agency to the pieces themselves – the display of a few statuettes may have prompted desire to accumulate more of the same

<sup>234</sup> The role of the workshop in manufacturing aesthetic taste in Late Antiquity, however, has not been explored, and is an avenue which merits greater attention than this dissertation can give it. Most studies focus on production in the East as the circulation of these objects is difficult to trace. Findspots from Britain to Iberia, to North Africa, Gaul, and Rome are known (Stirling 2005, “Collectors across the Empire” pages 165-227).

which this estate may participated, marking questions of access or interest as integral to understanding of this marble collection.<sup>235</sup>

### **III. Exploring the Rural Landscape Inhabited by Quinta das Longas**

The micro-region in central eastern Lusitania wherein the villa Quinta das Longas is located is an area of rolling hills and fertile plains, seemingly conducive to settlement to judge from the archaeological evidence for Roman villa estates. Indeed, survey has suggested at least 10 domestic sites within a 10-25 kilometer radius of Quinta das Longas (fig. 19).<sup>236</sup> Although few have been excavated systematically, those that have, like the villas of Torre de Palma and Santa Vitória do Ameixal, provide rich evidence of decoration, albeit in the form of polychrome figural mosaics.<sup>237</sup>

Recent scholarship has attempted to explain this densely populated, wealthy rural landscape as a product of its location at the western edge of the *Conventus Emeritensis*, the political, judicial, and cultural territory of Lusitania's capital Emerita Augusta

---

<sup>235</sup> I acknowledge the difficulty of doing so given the broad chronology of the villa (late 3<sup>rd</sup>/early 4<sup>th</sup> – early 5<sup>th</sup>) and late-mythological statuary (4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> century). Stylistic dating of the Quinta das Longas statues suggests the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, so my discussion refers broadly to the 4<sup>th</sup> century and to the latter half of that century when possible.

<sup>236</sup> Heleno 1962 first identified three “villas” within a 30 kilometer radius of Torre de Palma– Carrão, Santa Vitória de Ameixal and Granja. The first large-scale survey of the area was completed by Jean-Gérard Gorges (1979, 462-67). Recent survey work by Luso-Franco researchers has focused on the villa of Torre de Palma (Monforte, Portugal, 20 kilometers northwest of Quinta das Longas) and in doing so has increased the number of documented sites in the area (Lancha and André 1992-93; 2000, 33). See also Lancha, André and Abraços 2000, 29-34, for a brief discussion of the geography and villas known at the western limits of the *Conventus Emeritensis*.

<sup>237</sup> For the mosaics of Torre de Palma see Lancha, Andre, and Abraços 2000; for the mosaics of Santa Vitória a do Ameixal see Torres Carro 1978; Guardia Pons 1992. This site is less well known, see Gorges 1979, 478 no. 28; Alarçao 1988, Vol II Fasc. III, 6/201. No new excavations have been carried out at Santa Vitória since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century; the site is known only partially, with only the baths extant.

(modern-day Mérida).<sup>238</sup> We have already seen that there is indeed comparandum in Emerita for marble *opus sectile* pavements similar to those at Quinta das Longas. While there is no doubt that the geographic position of Quinta das Longas to the capital at Emerita is important, tacit biases about the *rus*' subservient relationship to the *urbs* are such that it is easy to presume the villa's dependence on Emerita. While it is quite possible that Quinta das Longas' *domini* did have political careers, professional contacts or economic relations with Emerita Augusta, there are dangers in asserting this city's all-powerful influence over this villa and rural settlement in the region more broadly.<sup>239</sup> It is true that Emerita Augusta was an important commercial and cultural center well into late antiquity, as both the capital and a central node in inland exchange across Lusitania to Baetica and Tarraconensis.<sup>240</sup> But the physical boundaries of the *Conventus Emeritensis* and the extent of its sphere of influence remain somewhat unclear.<sup>241</sup>

---

<sup>238</sup> Carvalho and Almeida repeatedly makes claims for a connection between Quinta das Longas and Emerita. Rather than cite hard evidence of such connections, they focus simply on Emerita as the largest major city in the vicinity of Quinta das Longas (2003, 114; 2004 *passim*; Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004 *passim*). The excavators do not mention Eborá (see above nt. 166), contra Alarçao 1988, Vol. II 6/190. Discussions of the villa's sculptures and decoration more broadly are also focused on the *Conventus Emeritensis* (Alvarez Martínez and Nogales Basarrate 1992; Nogales Basarrate and Creus Luque 1999; Nogales Basarrate 2014), par contra other scholars who situate the region's villas in the *Conventus Pacensis* (cf. Gorges 1979, 55; Lancha, André and Abraços 2000).

<sup>239</sup> Carvalho and Almeida claim the villa's connection to Emerita repeatedly, though rather than cite hard evidence they focus on Emerita as the largest major city in the vicinity of Quinta das Longas (2003, 114; 2004 *in passim*; Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004 *in passim*).

<sup>240</sup> The city was founded by Augustus in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE as a veteran colony and Lusitania's capital from the beginning (see Keay 1988, 47-71). Many civic buildings (theatre, amphitheater, Temple of Diana, circus, forum) were built during the Augustan period, and architecture and sculpture from the city has a marked Roman character (Nogales Basarrate 2004). For example, evidence for the Forum Augustum of Mérida mirrors the statuary program of the Augustan Forum in Rome. In the late antique period, the status of Emerita Augusta did not change with Diocletian's reorganization of Hispania's provinces and it remained a vibrant center of regional politics and economics through the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Epigraphic evidence and archaeological excavation have brought to light evidence of rebuilding in a number of civic buildings

In any case, arguments for Emerita's powerful sway somewhat disregard the physical location of Quinta das Longas in a veritable fringe region at the crossroads of three different *civitates* (the *Conventus Emeritensis*, *Conventus Pacensis*, and the *Conventus Scallabitanus*), providing access not only to Emerita but also to the equally distant city of Eborac. This rural region was highly trafficked one, with connections to any number of important Lusitanian cities.<sup>242</sup>

With this in mind, I remind readers that previous scholarship has not settled on an explanation for the villa boom in late antiquity. Exploration of urban-rural dynamics

---

into the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and ceramic production and mosaic workshops continue to thrive. Studies of Emerita, however, remain focused on the city in the Imperial era, cf. the 2004 edited volume by Dupré Raventós.<sup>241</sup> Interest in Augusta Emerita was revived in the 1970s, with great emphasis on the city and its monuments from foundation through Early Empire. Work on the *Conventus Emeritensis*, however, is somewhat lacking. We only have evidence of the southern and eastern limits of the *Conventus Emeritensis* from Pliny (*HN* 4.117) and assorted epigraphic finds (Gorges and Rodriguez Martin 2000; see also Sillières 1990 for central/southern Lusitania in particular). Alvarez Martínez and Nogales Basarrate 1992 for a brief historiography of work in the *Territorium Emeritensis*. Nearly 100 kilometers and a multiple-day journey lay between Quinta das Longas and Emerita. Beyond the possible marble pavement parallel, the material evidence for Emeritensian products at Quinta das Longas is quite slim. There are no mosaics of Emeritensian production or influence, unlike Emerita's urban *domus* and suburban villas (Almeida 2000). It is unclear, at present, whether Emeritensian ateliers should be held responsible for the bi-chrome and polychrome geometric and vegetal mosaics at Quinta das Longas, although the assumption is present in Oliveira et al. 2011). Some geometric motifs used in the Quinta das Longas mosaics are common at Emerita and throughout Lusitania (fleurons, peltas, etc), but others show African influence (scales). Emerita's mosaic ateliers flourished in the 2<sup>nd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> centuries, and perhaps into the 5<sup>th</sup>. Thus it is possible that Emerita's ateliers laid pavements in Quinta das Longas, but their repertoire was strongly focused on polychrome figural mosaics, which do not appear at this villa (Alvarez 1990). Several geometric pavements in villa II have been dated stylistically to the early 4<sup>th</sup> century, one of these in the room with the apse paved in *opus sectile* (room no. 12, fig. 20). Ceramic finds from Emerita are also but a fraction of the larger assemblage. The presence of Emeritensian products is most significant when it comes to ceramic lamps and fine wares (Carvalho and Almeida 2004, 376), but this is universally true of the 1<sup>st</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> centuries and does not amount to a significant number within the entire ceramic assemblage.

<sup>242</sup> Oleoculture dominates today, and some degree of continuity with production in antiquity should be inferred. Archaeology has founded extensive evidence for presses, though it is not always clear whether they were used for oil or wine. Both have been documented at sites like São Cucufate (modern Alentejo, Alarçao et al. 1990) and Milreu (Teichner 2008, see chapter 4). See also Carvalho 1999 for corpus of sites with wine and/or oil production in modern Portugal; they are more common in the Alentejo and Algarve.

merit greater attention, but to do so, greater study of rural landscapes and interactions taking place in these landscapes are warranted. In the case of Quinta das Longas, it may therefore be appropriate to analyze the centrifugal character of this distinct rural locality, and the villas within it.<sup>243</sup> Let us begin by reviewing the roads that run through this micro-region, and the commercial and cultural opportunities that such connectivity would have provided an estate like Quinta das Longas.

### III.1 Commercial Networks to and Through the Crossroads

Recent excavation and surveyed has confirmed a number of routes listed in the Antonine Itinerary for terrestrial transport in Lusitania. Two different routes connected the interior with the Atlantic coast (fig. 50).<sup>244</sup> The northern route ran east from Olisipo through the Tejo valley, and then northeast to the inland port of Scallabis. At Scallabis, the road forked, with one fork extending south/southeast on a course that led through the Ebro valley past Quinta das Longas and neighboring estates towards Emerita.<sup>245</sup> The Antonine Itinerary also details yet another road from Olisipo, departing to the south past the estuary of the Tejo River through the Setubal Peninsula and on to the city of Eborac in the *Conventus Pacensis*, where this road met up with traffic coming from the Algarve

---

<sup>243</sup> This type-down narrative, moreover, presumes that the Empire controlled macro-economic trade and that individual producers and consumers played a minor to non-existent role. This debate is ongoing. With respect to the urban/rural relationship, recent examinations of the late-Iberian urban sphere, however, have attempted to complicate this long-standing assumption, cf. Kulikowski 2004; Fernández 2013.

<sup>244</sup> See above nt. 167.

<sup>245</sup> The northern fork leads southeast by way of Ad Septem Aras, while the southern fork might have even gone directly past the villas of Torre de Palma and Quinta das Longas (Almeida and Carvalho 2004, 383-5).

through the Alentejo. At Eborá, two different roads lead northeast past the nexus in which Quinta das Longas lies, and on towards Emerita. These two roads were used, like the others, for the transport of imported goods, but these two have special importance in that they likely served the transport of local marbles, quarried in the nearby Vila Viçosa region and Estremoz quarries. Both of the two roads leading northeast from Eborá pass these quarries, and rejoin as a single road just west of Quinta das Longas.

That inhabitants of Quinta das Longas benefitted from commerce moving along all of these roads is suggested by the villa's domestic assemblage. Imported ceramic finds in Villa II include fineware from both the Tejo (presumably circulated via the north route) and the Sado valley (south route).<sup>246</sup> Several amphorae for garum and fish products suggest that traffic from the Atlantic ports also passed through the area.<sup>247</sup> The extensive use of local marble in *opus sectile* pavements at Quinta das Longas also suggests a certain degree of dependence on local commerce, or even control over such networks given the rarity of architectural marbles more broadly. Thus, we may ascribe a

---

<sup>246</sup> Almeida and Carvalho 2004. The southern route was the preferred military route in the Late Empire, while the northern route had a more ancient character, having been used since the early moments of Roman conquest and presence in the area. It may have played a larger role in economic exchange. The imported products evidenced at Villa II, however, are less diverse than those of Villa I (*ibid.* 384), perhaps underscoring a rise in local economics. The role of trans-regional economic networks in the late antique Empire has received a great deal of attention, but local economic networks, being harder to identify and trace in the ceramic evidence, have not.

<sup>247</sup> See Almeida and Carvalho 1998 for superficial finds, and 2005 for these finds in a late antique excavated context. Superficial finds include fragments of Baetican amphorae (Class 19 Beltran IIb) and Lusitanian amphorae (three fragments of Class 20/21 Dressel 14 type C). Most fragments, however, belong to late Lusitanian fish amphorae class 23 (Almagro 51C), dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> century. Some were found in superficial survey, others in the excavation of a trash dump associated with Villa II (Almeida and Carvalho 2005). That most fish product amphorae fragments belong to class 23 (Almagro 51C) is not uncommon; similar finds are known at other large villas in Lusitania, cf. São Cucufate (23% of the amphorae belong to this type, see Alarçao, Étienne and Mayet 1990).

heightened level of access to goods and to marble in particular by virtue of the Quinta das Longas estate's location at an important crossroads.

### III.2 Macro and Mirco-Economics at Play

That this area was dynamic region in and of itself is further suggested by the evidence for locally produced goods and micro-economic exchange. The stratified excavation of a trash dump at the site dating to late antique occupation (Villa II) suggests that the inhabitants' consumption habits were dependent on local production of wine and olive oil; this is not atypical of rural villas, but it is rarely read as evidence for functional independence and estate operation *in situ*.<sup>248</sup> It should be noted that although a number of amphorae sherds relating to imported fish products were found, not a single late antique amphora can be related to known olive oil containers, and only one sherd can be associated with wine transport.<sup>249</sup>

The complete ceramic profile (imported fineware, several amphorae, and a plethora of local ceramics and *dolia*) therefore suggests the villa's participation in both macro- and micro-economic networks throughout its late antique occupation, with special emphasis on the latter. The dominant role played by local producers and goods stresses the quotidian existence of villa habitation at Quinta das Longas, that is, a lived reality which seldom appears in discussions of its imported statuary and decoration. Thus, if the

---

<sup>248</sup> Carvalho and Almeida 2005.

<sup>249</sup> *ibid.* 379-84. A large number of *dolia* were found at the site, and support storage of locally manufactured goods. Whether the villa produced its own wine or oil, however, is unclear. A millstone was also found at the edge of the site, which may suggest grain production (Almeida and Carvalho 2004, 382).



villa's statues were indeed imported via trans-regional markets, we should remember that such markets were specialized and were not the same local markets on which Quinta das Longas' inhabitants were dependent for day to day subsistence, nor even for the local marbles used in architectural décor.

Thus we might associate the location of this estate with a heightened level of access to a great many commercial systems, and to an extensive inland transport network. Such extensive intra- and extra-regional connections mark the rural cosmopolitanism of the landscape inhabited by the Quinta das Longas villa, and suggest an independence that should be explored further as a rising feature of the late Roman countryside.

### **III.3 Estate Décor at the Crossroads**

The marriage of macro- and micro-economic interactions present in this geographic area should also be considered as a possible factor impacting the elaborate decoration of villas here, in that many choices were available to the region's *domini*. Quinta das Longas is the only estate with extant free-standing statuary, but it is far from the only villa site documented in this region. Previous scholarship, however, has been loath to place the statuary of Quinta das Longas in dialogue with neighboring estates because these other villas seem to have been decorated primarily with polychrome figural mosaics rather than statuary. But different choices in decorative media should be explored rather than avoided. Given the many options and possible markets to which homeowners here enjoyed access, differences highlight the variety that rural *domini* here enjoyed.

On this note, there are several interesting iconographic parallels among Quinta das Longas and neighboring estates that transcend the mosaic or statuary genre, speaking to a shared interest in contemporary mythological imagery. For example, other neighboring estates employ the same mythological iconographic repertoire in their mosaics.<sup>250</sup> Torre de Palma is the most thoroughly excavated villa in the region and has long been renowned for the exquisite late-Roman mosaics which decorated its reception spaces (fig. 51). Many of the mythological figures in the Torre de Palma mosaics appear as free-standing statues at Quinta das Longas. In the villa's purported triclinium are panels of the nine muses, ten assorted Bacchic pairs (with nymphs and Venus and other kissing couples), and a large scale panel of Bacchus' Eastern Triumph (fig. 52).<sup>251</sup> According to experts, these mosaics were laid by an itinerant workshop strongly influenced by, if not directly connected to North Africa. Thus the iconography of these mosaics, like Quinta das Longas statuettes, is familiar and has clear regional currency.

The pavements of Torre de Palma, moreover, like the imported statuary of Quinta das Longas, also have an exoticism as contemporary mythological images produced by “foreign” artists. *Domini* here may have used foreign or exotic imagery to project

---

<sup>250</sup> At the villa of Santa Vitória do Ameixial, approximately 40 kilometers west, the baths were adorned with similar mythological scenes and seafaring episodes. Extant mosaics at this villa, like Torre de Palma, date broadly to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> – mid-4<sup>th</sup> century. For the mosaics of Santa Vitória do Ameixial see Torres Carro 1978; Guardia Pons 1992.

<sup>251</sup> For Torre de Palma see Lancha and André 1992-93; 2000; Lancha 2003. Many of the mosaic pavements from Torre de Palma have been removed from the site and are currently housed in Lisbon's Museu Nacional de Arqueologia. While our discussion will focus on the figural mosaics, this villa and Santa Vitória do Ameixial were also adorned with geometric, floral, and vegetal pavements, as were select pavements at Quinta das Longas.

seigneurial status in local peer polity dialogues. While an interest in exotic luxury arts may not be particular to this micro-region and its estates, its presence in multiple media does signal certain advantages of this location.

That said, if we acknowledge that polychrome figural mosaics like those of Torre de Palma were infinitely more popular than statuary in Hispania, Quinta das Longas stands as the only villa in Lusitania bedecked with both statuary and marble pavements. Mosaics do appear in Quinta das Longas, but they are of a lesser importance than the local marble used to pave the most important and luxurious spaces where the imported statuary was likely displayed. With this in mind, I now explore possible motivations behind the marble program evident at Quinta das Longas.

#### **III.4 The Marble Program of Quinta das Longas**

The significance of this marble program, I argue, is twofold. In the first place, marble had long been a marker of elite status and power, and it had not lost such standing by late antiquity.<sup>252</sup> The display of imported contemporary mythological sculptures alongside *opus sectile* pavements surely distinguished this estate and its *domini* from neighbors, therefore securing alpha elite status. I note also that the villa's unique marble program evinces the macro- and micro-economic interplay which stands as a hallmark of this estate and possibly its *domini*. The black and white marble *tesserae* used as floor

---

<sup>252</sup> Marble pavements are known from only one other domestic setting in central Lusitania, the so-called *Casa de los Mármoles* in Merida (see above nt. 174).

pavements likely comes from the local quarries that were only 40 kilometers west of the villa site. The *domini* must have been in pre-eminent local standing to acquire such material, and may even have played a direct role in managing the commerce of local marble. Indeed, this villa is the only one in the region with extensive marble decoration. I now review the implications of this, with respect to both the acquisition of imported statuary and its display.

With respect to acquisition, if these contemporary statues were indeed traded in imperial-wide art markets, they were likely not too difficult for Quinta das Longas' owners to procure, given the enviable location of the villa in physical transport networks and its apparent high standing. But the extant evidence in Hispania suggests that late-mythological sculptures were perhaps *not* traded extensively; too few sites in Iberia furnish evidence for these objects.<sup>253</sup> Such scarcity may evince the circulation of these objects in much smaller, selective circles, to which the Quinta das Longas *domini* must then have been privy to, perhaps on account of their competency with or connections to local marble commerce. It is possible that this villa's *domini* enjoyed more immediate access to imports than other Iberian homeowners and had first dibs on exotic luxury goods, especially if they were in some way directly involved in trade and exchange of

---

<sup>253</sup> It is important to note that studies of urban *domus* in Hispania are few and far between, but this is not particular to the Iberian Peninsula (for an overview of late antique housing and recent bibliography see Ellis 2007, and see Arce, Chavarría Arnau and Ripoll 2007 in the same volume for housing in the late antique Peninsula). At present, no late-mythological statuary has come to light in urban contexts, such that these two villas stand alone. One late-Roman site in Merida, "Casa Basilica", furnishes evidence for the addition of two apsidal rooms, one with statuary niches. But late-architectural renovations do not immediately imply new sculptures, as chapters 3 and 4 will show. This site is now interpreted as a *schola* or *collegium* (Arce, Chavarría Arnau and Ripoll 2007).

local marbles or other commercially traded goods. It is rare that we entertain the identity of an elite villa *dominus* as a successful merchant or businessman, but such a profile is possible for this particular estate.<sup>254</sup>

Since modes of acquisition are difficult to verify, however, it may be best to conclude discussion of this site and its marbles by exploring the impact their display had on local audiences, and visiting elite, whether of Iberia or elsewhere. I have already marked this villa's evident fascination with marble – both contemporary imported statues and local architectural marbles – as singular, in this region and in rural Lusitania.<sup>255</sup> It is possible that the use of marble floors and statuary in this villa, and marble floors in Casa de los Mármoles in Mérida speaks to a relationship between the two sites, though this cannot be verified at this time. For the present, however, it is the conspicuousness of the rural villa's marble program that demands attention. The decision to bedeck the estate with marble may be read as the signature of a particular elite *dominus*' identity, but also as concrete evidence for rural estates as sites of reception and social status projection,

---

<sup>254</sup> I note here the evidence for sculptors or workshop owners as high-ranking municipal officers and landowners in Aphrodisias. Inscriptions associated with 4<sup>th</sup> century statuary bases mark a Fl. Zeno as a high priest and κόμης (Roueché and Erim 1982). “κόμης” is a transliteration of the Latin *comes*. This is significant in that it marks the high status of a sculptor or workshop owner, and further suggests that promotion to municipal office was correlated to Zeno's economic success. On the other hand, it is also possible that Quinta das Longas' owner(s) purchased these objects himself in a foreign market, given apparent interest in marble more broadly. Access to foreign markets may have been an accessory of bureaucratic service. Historians suggest that in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, many curial elites gained senatorial status through imperial service and served as court functionaries in Trier, Milan, Rome or the East for a short period of time. If a Quinta das Longas' *dominus* served in such capacities, the late-mythological statues may have been purchased abroad and brought back to Lusitania with relative ease, given their small size.

<sup>255</sup> This apparent fascination may be some of the only material evidence we have in the late-Roman world for statuary acquisition or collection as a product of individual agency or personal preference, and thus not entirely dependent on market availability.

especially if this villa was the property of a local elite based in Mérida or Eborá. In this scenario, the marble program's importance likely lay in its ability to speak to the social mobility of Quinta das Longas' *domini*, but in a context that simultaneously suggests social stability, and seigneurial landownership.

I will explore these ideas further at the end of this chapter, but at present I turn to the only other site with extant late-mythological statuary in Hispania, 500 kilometers to the east in the Spanish plateau at Valdetorres de Jarama. I introduce Valdetorres de Jarama as an additional case study for the display of rare contemporary marble statues in Iberia, but I note that the goal of this discussion is not synthesis of both sites and/or their *domini* as participants in a global phenomenon of late-mythological statuary collecting. Rather, I mean to query the curious importance these displays seem to have had in rural villas, and investigate how that setting in particular contributes to our understanding of the villa as a venue for reception and entertainment, and quite possibly a physical extension of a local (likely urban based) elite's dominance. The next section discusses the sizable statuary assemblage of Valdetorres de Jarama, but before carrying out formal analysis of these finds, it begins with synthesis of the site in which they were found.

#### **IV. Valdetorres de Jarama**

The site of Valdetorres de Jarama has been synonymous with sculpture and collecting from the moment of its discovery. Archaeological work was prompted by the accidental find of a fragmentary torso sculpted in a dark marble in 1977, and many more statuary

fragments appeared in the excavations that followed, which is interesting because Roman-era statuary were virtually unknown in the Madrid province before the discovery of this site.<sup>256</sup> Valdetorres de Jarama sits on the eastern terrace of the Jarama River along an ancient road running south to the town of Complutum (Alcalá de Henares, about 35 kilometers away), the only sizable settlement in the region.<sup>257</sup> The city was founded at the intersection of several roads leading to Tarraco and to Emerita, which likely added to its prosperity and longevity.<sup>258</sup>

---

<sup>256</sup> The casual discovery of this site occurred during road construction outside the small town of Valdetorres de Jarama (province of Madrid, Spain); several structures in the southwestern sector of the site were destroyed in the process. Local authorities reported their discovery to the Museo Arqueológico Nacional of Madrid (M.A.N.) in November of 1977 and formal excavations began at the site in September of 1978. A total of five campaigns were carried out through June of 1982, financed by the Excma. Diputación Provincial de Madrid and jointly directed by Javier Arce (C.S.I.C.), Luis Caballero (M.A.N.), and Miguel Angel Elvira (Universide Complutense). For summaries of the site's discovery and the excavation methodologies see Arce, Caballero, and Elvira 1978; 1986; 1997; Puerta et al. 1994; see also Baquedano 1982. Prior to 1977, few Roman-era statues have been found in the autonomous province of Madrid. The only extant statue was a head of Silenus found without context near a *villa* at Villaverde; the head is now in the Museo Municipal, Madrid. The importance of the Valdetorres site and its marbles is thus stressed repeatedly in scholarship. The M.A.N. in Madrid is responsible for the storage of excavated finds from the villa and graciously permitted me to examine pieces on display and in their depots.

<sup>257</sup> Complutum was founded in the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE and renovated extensively in the later 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup>, with Roman occupation documented through the 5<sup>th</sup> century (Rason Marqués 1995). For Complutum in the later Roman era see *ibid.* 173-82; García Moreno and Rascón Marqués 1999. From Complutum one could travel to Tarragona and Caesaugusta, within the central *meseta* and ultimately to Emerita. A small road leading north from Complutum linked the city with the small town of Talamanca (modern-day Talamanca de Jarama) and passed by the site of Valdetorres de Jarama (seven kilometers south of Talamanca) (Arce, Caballero and Elvira 1995, 321). From Talamanca this same road led further north into Hispania Tarraconensis and ultimately connected with Tarragona.

<sup>258</sup> From Complutum one could travel to Tarragona and Caesaugusta, within the central *meseta* and ultimately to Emerita. A small road leading north from Complutum linked the city with the small town of Talamanca (modern-day Talamanca de Jarama) and passed by the site of Valdetorres de Jarama (seven kilometers south of Talamanca) (Arce, Caballero and Elvira 1995, 321). From Talamanca this same road led further north into Hispania Tarraconensis and ultimately connected with Tarragona.

#### IV.1 Valdetorres de Jarama: a Villa?

Excavations at Valdetorres de Jarama uncovered the foundations of a large octagonal complex, which likely belong to the *pars urbana* of a late-Roman villa (fig. 53). The building is organized around a central octagonal courtyard and is essentially symmetrical. A peristyle surrounds the central courtyard, providing access to the ring of rooms in the complex. Four large apsidal rooms were oriented in the cardinal directions (sectors 1, 3, 5 and 7). Rectangular rooms along the other four sides of the octagon were subdivided into two smaller rooms (sectors 2, 4, and 6), with the exception of northwestern side where the entrance was presumably located (sector 8). Eight irregularly shaped rooms were built at each corner of the peristyle between the apsidal halls and rectangular rooms to maintain the complex's overall octagonal shape.<sup>259</sup>

The thoughtful and artistic planning of this architectural complex depends on the octagonal form and is a veritable showpiece in late Roman architecture. It appears in habitation contexts and is used frequently in bath complexes, but also in religious structures and *mausolea*. In Iberia the Lusitanian villas of Rabaçal (near Coimbra) and Abicada (near Portimão) both had central octagonal peristyles, but closer to Valdetorres,

---

<sup>259</sup> For a full discussion of the architectural plan and construction techniques used at this site see Arce, Caballero and Elvira 1995, 321-25. Excavations also documented evidence of planning errors at foundation levels suggesting that the complex had to be re-planned and rebuilt soon after construction first began (*ibid.* 321).



the form was used in the late antique mausoleum at Las Vegas de Pueblanueva (Toledo).<sup>260</sup>

Given ample evidence at Valdetorres de Jarama for ceramics, inlaid ivories, and a large assemblage of sculptures, scholars have tentatively identified this particular octagonal complex as a residential villa, c. 400 C.E.<sup>261</sup> But the site lacks some essential elements for long-term habitation.<sup>262</sup> For example, there is no evidence of storage space, and no conduits or tanks for water have been identified. Excavation shows that none of the rooms were heated, let alone paved. The floors were rather made of packed earth. A small number of loose mosaic tesserae were found, but the absence of mosaic beds suggests that these should be associated with parietal décor; other walls were painted with simple geometric designs.<sup>263</sup> In general, however, the walls were not made of high quality durable materials but of small boulders and lime, and would therefore have been

---

<sup>260</sup> For a discussion of the use of this architectural form at Valdetorres de Jarama and relevant comparanda see Arce, Caballero, Elvira 1986; 1995, 337. For the villa Rabaçal and further bibliography see Chavarría Arnau 2007, no. 100; Las Vegas de Pueblanueva, *ibid.*, no. 123; for the villa Abiçada, Teichner 2008, 417-447. For this form in late antique religious contexts more generally, see Bowes 2008.

<sup>261</sup> The dating of this complex is based largely on ceramics and coins found on site, and C-14 data which suggests a date of 420  $\pm$  50. Twenty-four coins were found in excavation and apart from three isolated finds, they all date to 4<sup>th</sup> century. Fifteen of these were minted 375-395 CE, during the reign of Theodosius (Arce, Caballero, and Elvira 1995, 330). Ceramics suggest a *terminus post quem* of the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century for the site's occupation; most are *Terra Sigillata Hispanica Tardia*. Other evidence includes glass fragments, loosely dated to the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century, and a number of imported ivories dated roughly to the 4<sup>th</sup> – mid-5<sup>th</sup> century (Arce, Caballero and Elvira 1995; see also Carrasco and Elvira 1994 for the ivories and section VI of this chapter).

<sup>262</sup> Arce 1993; 2006, 12.

<sup>263</sup> A few fragments of loose mosaic tesserae were indeed found in excavations of plot 3b near the central peristyle (see fig. 52), but without mosaic beds Arce et al. propose parietal décor. Other areas furnished fragments of painted stucco. The few frescoed walls found *in situ* (3b and 5b) are simple geometric designs of rhombuses (Arce, Caballero, and Elvira 1997, 326-37).

susceptible to destruction.<sup>264</sup> The complex seems to have been inhabited for only a short period of time in the late 4<sup>th</sup> and/or early 5<sup>th</sup> century. Excavator Javier Arce has suggested that it may have been the site of rural markets (*nundinae*), or an inn of sorts (*statio* or *mansio*), rather than a Roman villa given certain inadequacies for long term settlement.

In any case, the archaeology suggests that this short occupation period coincides with the display of contemporary imported statues. Scholars agree that the individual who commissioned the patio's construction was the very same individual who chose to decorate the space with statuary, "as a form of art that was both refined and uncommon" in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century (Elvira and Puerta 1989, 194). Partly for this reason, the sculptural assemblage has long been regarded as a collection.<sup>265</sup> As individual objects, however, the statues are thematically and aesthetically diverse and cannot be linked with ease to a single atelier as in the case of Quinta das Longas. At least 13 statues have been identified at Valdetorres, and fragments suggest sculptures in four different marbles of assorted colors – a dark grey-veined marble, a black marble, a white fine-grained marble, and a coarser white marble.<sup>266</sup> A small fragment of drapery sculpted in red marble (*rosso antico*?) was also recovered at the site. The fragment was likely affixed to larger work

---

<sup>264</sup> For evidence against the identification of the site as a villa see Arce, Caballero, and Elvira 1997, 336-37.

<sup>265</sup> The first catalogue of the extant fragments was published in a short article (Puerta et al. 1994; for earlier publications see also Elvira and Puerta 1989). The sculptures are repeatedly assumed to be part of a "collection" in the modern art historical sense.

<sup>266</sup> Over 300 statue fragments were found in excavations, and not all have been published. Most of these are extremely fragmentary. Puerta et al. 1994 remains the most comprehensive catalogue. A petrographic study of the marbles was published in 1987 and documented five different marbles used, four for statuary and one for statuette bases (Mingarro Martin et al. 1987).

and suggests polychrome sculptures within the assemblage.<sup>267</sup> The subjects of the extant statuettes range from well-known types – a satyr, Asclepius, animal companions – to others with no clear parallels. Thus iconographic study of the purported collection inevitably leads to conclusions about the collector's eclectic taste. Formal analysis is perhaps a more fruitful avenue of research for such a rich variety of polychrome, late-Roman sculptures.

### **V. Marble Statuary at Valdetorres de Jarama**

Most of the marbles statues were found together in the western apsidal room and the two adjacent rooms to the north (see figs. 53, 54).<sup>268</sup> It is unclear whether the sculptures were displayed in these rooms or merely reassembled here at a later point in time.<sup>269</sup> The stratigraphic layer in which the marbles were found gives little indication as to the date of their destruction. Most were heavily fragmented and were found mixed in layers alongside broken roof tiles. Those closer to the surface showed signs of burning, possibly an indication of their damage in the course of the building's general dilapidation. On the other hand, the irregular distribution of some of the smallest fragments may signal their destruction as a singular, premeditated event that occurred before the demise and ruin of

---

<sup>267</sup> Fragment IV-599 is almost assuredly *rosso antico*, according to excavators. It is a piece of drapery. The back has been smoothed, suggesting it was applied to another, larger statue(tte) (Puerta et al. 1994, 195). Strangely, this fragment was not included in the petrographic study (Mingarro Martin et al. 1987).

<sup>268</sup> Puerta et al. 1994, figs. 22, 23.

<sup>269</sup> The statues may have been displayed in these sectors, but statuary hoarding is not without precedent as we have just seen with the Quinta das Longas collection. The statues may have been moved to this area in a later or post-Roman period for safekeeping, or for lime burning.

the architectural complex.<sup>270</sup> Only one torso was found and there are no complete heads in the assemblage. It is thus likely that the site was pillaged in a later period for construction materials.<sup>271</sup>

This is not to say, however, that we have no knowledge of the display of these objects. The majority of extant statuettes are less than a meter tall and may have been placed in niches or atop furniture.<sup>272</sup> A number of statue base fragments were also found at the site, all sculpted from the same white marble (fig. 55). Petrographic analyses distinguish this white stone from the two white marbles used for statuary. It is a local stone that seems to have been used only for statuary bases.<sup>273</sup> These bases must have been added to the statues on site, because the marbles used for the sculpted figures are not local. All of the sculpted marbles are imported. If these sculptures were indeed affixed to these bases, they were presented in a cohesive display like a collection. The seven extant base fragments range in height from 6 and 8.5 cm, and preserve a variety of shapes

---

<sup>270</sup> The original publication advanced the idea of a deliberate destruction of the statues (Puerta et al. 1994, 180), but stratigraphy does not provide concrete information for the date of such a destruction. It is possible that the roof's collapse led to the statues' destruction since roof tiles were mixed in with the sculpture, both over and beneath them (see Puerta et al. 1994, 179-80). Fragments of sculpted ivories were also found in these layers but a deliberate destruction is clearer for these pieces since many are chipped, as if they have been thrown about. The ivory fragments are also more widely dispersed than the marble sculpture fragments (Carrasco and Elvira 1994, 202-03).

<sup>271</sup> See Puerta et al. 1994, 179-80. Because the ivories decorated wooden furniture, or chests, it is possible that these too were destroyed in the sack of the site for construction materials.

<sup>272</sup> The average reconstructed height of the statuettes is 90 cm, though these reconstructions remain largely hypothetical. There is some variety in size. The statuette of Asclepius (no. 8) was around 72 cm tall, while the height of an unidentified statuette in grey marble (Unknown no. 6) is presumed to have reached 115 cm.

<sup>273</sup> Mingarro Martin et al. 1987, fragment IV.612, 54

(rectangular, horseshoes, corners) to accommodate different sculptures.<sup>274</sup> The top of the bases were hollowed out for the statues, and the front was molded with a scotia between two fillets which wrapped around the sides without continuing (in some the top fillet is visibly irregular); the rear profile of extant bases is smooth. Stylistic parallels for molded bases exist among extant late-mythological statuettes produced in workshops of Asia Minor.<sup>275</sup> Therefore the bases at Valdetorres de Jarama are likely late antique in date, but were worked locally to be added to the statuettes *in situ*.<sup>276</sup> This in itself is perplexing.

Still, the bases cannot be used to date the statuettes themselves, especially if those bases were later additions specifically designed to unify a collection. The statuettes were originally presumed to be Imperial-era works but recent scholarship has suggested late antique dates for most of the Valdetorres de Jarama statuettes because of an anguiped torso type sculpted in dark marble (fig. 56).<sup>277</sup> At least six statuettes are sculpted in this same dark marble, which ranges from a charcoal black to a lighter veined dark slate with

---

<sup>274</sup> The shape of the other three fragments cannot be determined. See Puerta et al. 1994, 195-96 for the bases; Mingarro Martin et al. 1987 *ibid.*)

<sup>275</sup> Cf. the Diana of Bordeaux and Venus of the Louvre found at the Gallic villa of Saint-Georges-de-Montagne, and the statue groups of *Silahtarağa*, among others. These bases, however, are generally sculpted in the same marble as the free-standing figural statuette and therefore not akin to the Valdetorres de Jarama statuettes.

<sup>276</sup> These comparisons were first suggested by Puerta et al. (1994, 196). For molded bases as evidence for dating, see the discussion in Stirling (2005, 106-107). Stirling discusses Muthmann (1951, 120-24), who links the molded base and its origin to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century C.E. With respect to late antique mythological works, Stirling notes that these bases show fillets of uneven widths and irregular shapes with greater frequency than their 2<sup>nd</sup> century ancestors.

<sup>277</sup> Imperial era dates were suggested for all of the Valdetorres de Jarama sculptures in early publications: Elvira and Puerta 1989; Puerta et al. 1994; Arce, Caballero, and Elvira 1995; Kulikowski 2004, 141-145. Marianne Bergman first suggested a late antique date for the Valdetorres de Jarama giant and the Niobid (1999, 20-21). This date is now generally accepted by scholars, see cf. Nogales Basarrate in Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004, 143-44; Nogales Basarrate 2014, 125-26; Stirling 2014, 141.

a bluish tint. Petrographic analysis indicates it is imported, and cannot be traced to quarries within the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>278</sup> Scholarship suggests that four of these statuettes in the dark grey marble – two archers, the aforementioned anguiped and a youth on a horse, a Niobid – are closely related and were arranged in free-standing group displays. The similarities between these four in terms of scale (approximately 90 cm tall) and technical manufacture suggests that they were produced by the same atelier. Marianne Bergmann has linked them to the workshops of Aphrodisias by their anatomical proportions and exaggerated musculature.<sup>279</sup>

### **V.1 The Grey Marble Sculptures**

As discussed at the villa of Quinta das Longas, the anguiped figure is now widely accepted as a late antique type among scholars. The Valdetorres giant is fragmentary but a slight departure from the anguiped type we saw in Lusitania is evident (fig. 56). The figure's exaggerated musculature, jutting pelvic bones, and bundle of knotted rib muscles have been taken as evidence for an Eastern origin (fig. 57).<sup>280</sup> The head, right arm, and most of the left hand of the giant are missing. To judge from the fragmentary shoulder the right arm seems to have extended outward, propelling the figure's erratic movement; the

---

<sup>278</sup> For the petrographic analysis see Mingarro Martin et al. 1987, 49, no. 8 in analysis. The grey marble statuettes are presented as imports in the catalogue publication (Puerta et al. 1994, 181-189). Possible quarries are those in Western Asia Minor or the nearby Aegean Islands.

<sup>279</sup> Bergmann 1999, 20-21.

<sup>280</sup> For exaggerated musculature as a product of Aphrodisian workshops see Kiilerich and Torp 1994, 311, Hannestad 1994, 118, Bergman 1999; Stirling 2005, 97-98; see also chapter 1, section III.2.a. The extant giant from Valdetorres is assembled from four fragments to a preserved height of 61 cm; complete height proposed at 87 cm (M.A.N. Inventory no. 1977/72/1, Puerta et al. 2004, 182-32, no. 1.).

left arm is bent perpendicular at the elbow and the hand would have been raised alongside the left cheek (fig. 58). The figure seems to lurch forward at a 45 degree angle, with most of the weight resting on the extended left limb. The anguipedal limbs are decorated with scales, and curled up at the back of the statuette (fig. 59). The tails are not preserved *in situ* but a separate fragment of takes the form of a spiraled tip. The rear of this statue has suffered some damage but it was clearly carefully worked. The spine is delineated and the back muscles are accented to enhance viewing of this figure in the round.

The defensive position of the left arm and the lurching movement of the torso suggested to excavators that these movements are reactions to an antagonist or adversary, and that this giant stood in a group ensemble. Late-Roman comparanda for anguiped statues may support this hypothesis. I have briefly mentioned the giants with scaly limbs and exaggerated musculature from Silahtarağa (fig. 13).<sup>281</sup> These statues were also worked in dark marbles, placed on white marble bases, and may have been exhibited alongside statues of gods sculpted in white marble. Recovered fragments at Silahtarağa suggest six different giants in combative or reactionary postures, perhaps arranged in display as a gigantomachy. Only one anguiped was found at Valdetorres de Jarama, but a similar battle scenario has been suggested for its display, in part because of extant grey

---

<sup>281</sup> These pieces were first published by Chaisemartin and Orgen 1984; for revised dating see Küllerich and Torp 1994. The comparison was first made by Puerta et al (1994, 182-3), who also note a dearth of parallels for free-standing giants in the Roman era. In terms of comparanda, the Gigantomachy of the Pergamum Altar cannot be ignored, given its influence on the workshops of Asia Minor and on Hellenistic and Roman sculpture more broadly.

marble fragments of two different archers, one or both of whom may have been arranged in dialogue with the giant statuette.

From the extant fragments the two archer statues appear to have be nearly identical to each other, although Archer 2 is very fragmentary and its reconstruction is heavily dependent on Archer 1 (figs. 60, 61).<sup>282</sup> Archer 1 is a nude male who stands upright, his weight evenly distributed across both feet. He holds a bow in his left hand; the tip is directed upwards as though the arrow has just been fired. The archer's right hand rests on his chest, fingers spread open. From the back, the lateral muscles and calves are clearly defined. The only observable differences between Archer 1 and Archer 2, I should note, is Archer 2's slightly larger hands (see figs. 62, 63), and evidence for a tree trunk supporting the body. Horizontal and vertical planes dominate in the fragments of both statuettes and suggest a frontal orientation for optimal viewing. Careful sculpting of the objects, however, does reward viewing from multiple angles.

The confident pose of Archer 1, and the raised bows of both archers suggest that they faced opponents. Excavators therefore reconstruct two parallel statue groups of archers and their opponents, a giant and Niobid respectively. The archers have been identified as Apollo based on literary evidence for his participation in mythological

---

<sup>282</sup> Archer 1, Puerta et al. 1994, 186-87, no. 4 (for the inventory numbers of the fragments see Puerta et al.); Archer 2, Puerta et al. 1994, no. 3, 185-86 (*ibid.*). The reconstructed fragments provide a conserved height of 75 cm for Archer 1, with a probable height of 90 cm based the identical measurements of Archer 2 at 75 cm preserved height, 90 cm reconstructed height. Archer 1 is very fragmentary, but the figure's right is preserved and holds a bow, certifying his identity.



battles against the Niobids and giants.<sup>283</sup> If these archers do indeed represent Apollo the god possesses a hardiness that is atypical of his standard iconography.

The first proposed statue group links Archer 1 (figs. 60, 62) and the giant and draws on Pseudo-Apollodorus' retelling of the Gigantomachy in which Apollo launches an arrow into his opponent's left eye.<sup>284</sup> The Valdetorres giant's left hand is raised, as though to shield his face from an attack emanating from an arrow (fig. 58).<sup>285</sup> If Archer 1 and the Giant were indeed exhibited as a group, display played a major role in articulating and activating the relationship between the two statues. To make sense of this story, let alone any sort of narrative of opponents or battle, the archer's bow must be aimed at the giant. Excavators have proposed various possible arrangements for these two pieces, complicated by the fact that both are successful when viewed from behind.

While the proposed pairing of Archer 1 and the giant is hypothetical, the joint display of the fragmentary Archer 2 and the Niobid is more certain from their findspots (fig. 53).<sup>286</sup> Both the Niobid and Archer 2 were presumably displayed together, and both were damaged in the fall of a pillar in the northwestern corner of the peristyle. The Niobid statuette was severely fractured but its basic iconography is still apparent (fig. 64). A young male Niobid sits on a simple rectangular podium. Extant are the youth's

---

<sup>283</sup> Puerta et al. 1994, 181-87.

<sup>284</sup> Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bib.* 1.6.1-3 (after Puerta et al. 1994, 183).

<sup>285</sup> There are very few visual depictions of this event, however. Puerta et al. (1994, 183) cite the Hellenistic reliefs of the Hecateion of Lagina, and sculptures at theatre of Hierapolis, which include relief cycles of Artemis and Apollo.

<sup>286</sup> A thorough discussion of the sculptures' contexts was included in the original catalogue publication (Puerta et al. 1994, 179-80, figs. 22, 23). For the Niobid in particular, see Puerta et al. 1994, 184-85, no. 2.

torso, right leg, and left leg to the mid-calf (fig. 65). His arms are missing but the shoulder positioning suggests that the right arm was raised, and that the left reached down towards his fallen horse who is crumpled at his left side. Marks on the figure's chest suggest that it was designed to receive an applique, perhaps the aforementioned fragment of drapery in red marble (fig. 66). The Niobid's horse is also quite fragmentary. The entire rear half of its body is missing, minus a few fragments of the hooves and tail. Part of its chest and neck are also gone, but much the head and mane are intact (fig. 67). From the unfinished left side of the horse which faces the rear, it is clear that this statuette was not designed to be viewed from multiple angles (fig. 68).<sup>287</sup> The findspot provides evidence not only for its display, but for the gradual destruction of this villa – only some of these fragments show signs of burning, suggesting that the statuette was broken into pieces by the collapse of the pillar, which occurred as part of a series of destruction events leading later to burning and the eventual ruin of the complex.

The archaeological context attesting to the paired display of the Niobid and Archer 1 has been taken as evidence for the claims regarding the display of Archer 2 and the giant, with both pairs interpreted as a statuary program celebrating Apollo's victories. Rather than focus on this purported program, I highlight the more generic narrative potential derived from the formal repetition of the Archer figure. The Archers may have

---

<sup>287</sup> While the slaughter of male Niobids by Apollo with his bow is present in all versions of the myth, the Niobids are not associated with horses until the early Roman period, when Ovid situates the slaughter with a hunting expedition (Ovid. *Met.* 6, after Puerta et al. 1994, 185. There are no exact parallels for the positioning of this Niobid. The slaughter of the Niobids while on a hunt becomes a relief motif on the 2<sup>nd</sup> century sarcophagi, judging by extant examples that abound, cf. collections of the Vatican, the Lateran, Providence, and Baltimore.

been set up as mirrors to each other or as pendants, while simultaneously paired against their individual opponents. The display of four figures which form at least two narrative pairs and one formal pair is a small glimpse into the inherent attraction of small-scale statuettes and a movable marble assemblage. Smaller statuettes like these could be arranged and rearranged according to their owner's wishes, to a narrative or aesthetic end, or both. The "curator" of the display, but also the statues themselves delineated the viewing experience(s).

These four statuettes are sculpted from the same marble as at least three others found at the site. These three other statuettes, however, cannot be linked to any cohesive narrative program of Apollo's conquests and complicate our understanding of how and whether display of the grey marble sculptures did indeed work in concert. Like the aforementioned archers and their opponents, one unknown figure (Unknown B) would have stood 90 cm tall to judge from the size of a fragmentary calf and a right foot (figs. 69, 70).<sup>288</sup> The figure appears to be a barefoot male like the archers, but small fragments of sculpted drapery folds on the left leg show that he was clothed. A young hero or juvenile god is a likely identification, but his relationship to the Archers and their opponents is unclear. Another, larger male statue is no easier to identify.<sup>289</sup> Judging from the size of the remaining fragments – a right hand and a nude right foot – this figure (Unknown A) may have stood 115 cm tall (fig. 71). If he too was a male divinity and

---

<sup>288</sup> "Unknown no. 7", Puerta et al. 1994, 188-89.

<sup>289</sup> "Unknown no. 6", Puerta et al. 1994, 188.

programmatically related to these other grey marble statues, by his size he must have played an integral role.

The third and final grey marble statue is another paradox. The statue is incomplete but from the fragments we can deduce a satyr reclining on a rocky surface, his shoulder and arm resting on a wineskin (figs. 72-74).<sup>290</sup> Fragments of both legs, a left shoulder and a bottle, some of the left hand, and a rocky ledge with toes (which may not belong to the satyr) remain. Additional evidence suggests that this was a fountain statue: a conduit ran through the wineskin (fig. 73). While satyr statues are not uncommon as fountain sculpture, this piece is an odd choice for Valdetorres de Jarama where no water fixtures or storage system has been documented. Have the remains of a fountain simply not survived? Or might this statue have been displayed in a different setting than that for which it was originally intended? In any case it is an outlier within the grey marble group and does not sit programmatically with the six others, even if it may have been drawn into a larger set through visual association with marbles statuettes in the same color.<sup>291</sup>

---

<sup>290</sup> Puerta et al. 1994, 187-88, no. 5.

<sup>291</sup> Neither this fragment nor the two unidentified male figures can be securely dated to late antiquity; the fragments are too small. Sculpture specialists often cite a recession of statuary production in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, such that any late antique pieces become vestiges of a fading art, see Puerta and Elvira 1989, 194; Puerta et al. 199-200 (with the idea that the owner was collecting antiques of the 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century), Gonçalves 2006 42-43; Nogales Basarrate 2014, 125-26.

## V.2 A Marble Collection of Many Colors

The grey marbles are only one of four different stones in the sculptural assemblage.<sup>292</sup>

Only one head was found and it belongs to the only extant statue sculpted in black

marble, which is difficult to date from the fragments that remain (fig. 75).<sup>293</sup> Two

fragments are associated with this head, which is cracked and shows signs of fire damage

(fig. 76). The figure wore a tightly curled coiffure with longer locks across the forehead.

The eye sockets were hollowed out for the addition of another material like glass. This

head seems to belong to a statuette of an Ethiopian or Nubian slave, though it is unclear

whether the figure was kneeling or standing (cf. fig. 77).<sup>294</sup> Fragments of the figure's

right knee suggest it was bent at 90 degrees, as was the figure's right elbow, possibly

suggesting that the extended arm held or offered something. Fragments of drapery

attached to the left shoulder and the right knee indicate that he was dressed. Tool marks

on the toes of the right foot show that this statue was fixed to a base (fig. 78).

The statuette must have been worked in separate pieces and joined with bolts,

because an iron bolt is preserved among the fragments and there is evidence of ancient

---

<sup>292</sup> Though there are six varieties of marble stones extant, with the drapery fragment sculpted in red marble, and the local white marble used for the statue bases (Mingarro et al. 1987).

<sup>293</sup> That this piece is not simply composed of dark fragments of the grey marble is clear from petrographic analyses (Mingarro Martin et al. 1987, note 2, 60, no. 6). The marble has been conjectured to be *bigio mortao oscuro*, known to come from the quarries of Asia Minor and the Aegean Islands, as well as the southern Peloponnesus (Puerta et al. 1994, note 32). For the fragments relating to this statue see Puerta et al. 1994, 190-91, no. 8.

<sup>294</sup> The conjectured height for a kneeling figure is 68 cm; for an upright figure 90 cm (*ibid.*).

repairs.<sup>295</sup> One of the head fragments was sculpted in different stone, much greyer in tone than the black marble, and the workmanship is inferior (fig. 76). Chisel marks in the coiffure have not been smoothed or retouched and contrast with the orderly curls of the black marble fragment. This repair cannot be dated, and no firm date can be ascribed to this statue based on the extant fragments.

The remaining sculptures (5) are sculpted in white marbles; petrographic analysis has confirmed visual reports of two different stones. Four statues were sculpted in fine grained marble which resembles Italian marble in aspect.<sup>296</sup> Unlike the grey marble ensemble these four statues vary greatly in size and technical execution. It is unclear whether they were produced by the same atelier, though they do share basic formal characteristics of color and composition.<sup>297</sup> All four statuettes belong to male figures, and judging by evidence for attributes they represent deities. Only one can be securely identified based on its excellent preservation. Though the head and feet are missing, the figure is clearly Asclepius (fig. 79; see also fig. 58).<sup>298</sup> He stands in *contrapposto* pose, draped in a mantle with his right hand on his hip and his left elbow resting atop his staff. The serpent curls round the staff. Given the placement of the left elbow this work fits within the Asclepius Pitti type, a statuary type known almost entirely from Italian

---

<sup>295</sup> The repair is proposed by Puerta et al. because neither the colors of the stone nor the work and style match.

<sup>296</sup> The stone is “no. 2” in the petrographic study. It has been compared to Carrara marble, and shares some similarities to the marbles of Macael (Almería), though the quarries from which the stone came cannot be ascertained (Mingarro Martin et al. 1987, 70).

<sup>297</sup> Puerta et al. 1994, 191.

<sup>298</sup> M.A.N. Inv. no. 1977/72/2; Puerta et al. 1994, 191-93, no. 9. The extant statue measures 60 cm; a height of 72 cm has been proposed for the reconstruction.

contexts.<sup>299</sup> The Pitti type, like many of the Asclepius statuary types, is essentially a cultic image, though in this smaller scale it may have served a decorative function. The quality of the Valdetorres statuette is nothing exceptional and as such differs from the grey marble statuettes. The drapery here is schematic, especially in the rear, and the musculature is puffy and soft, suggesting that it may be later in date (fig. 80). The popularity of Asclepius as late as the 5<sup>th</sup> century is evinced by a sculptural relief found in Rome and a statuette which has recently come to light in Aphrodisias.<sup>300</sup>

The three other male statuettes in white marble furnish very little evidence for dating due to their fragmentary nature.<sup>301</sup> The smallest (no. 12) likely stood around 75 cm tall (fig. 81). The strong shape of the figure's left knee suggests a male. A garment, possibly a chlamys, was draped over the figure's left forearm. The extant drapery folds were undercut with the drill and surfaces are highly polished, suggesting that it may also be late in date.<sup>302</sup> Based on its finish and execution an additional fragment of a wooden

---

<sup>299</sup> This type is named for a colossal state of the god now in Florence's Palazzo Pitti (LIMC II *Asklepios*, 889, no. 382). This type's evident popularity in the Italian Peninsula is also noted informally by the excavators (Puerta et al. 1994, 192).

<sup>300</sup> For the Asclepius in the Diptyque Gaddi (c. 400 CE) see LIMC II *Asklepios*, 889, no. 388. The 5<sup>th</sup> century statuette found in the North Byzantine House in Aphrodisias actually depicts two figures, a male and female, on an oval base, possibly Asclepius and Hygeia or Cybele. The figures are a great deal later in date as evident from the bumpy musculature, schematic drapery, and stylized facial features (Erim in Roueché, Erim, and Smith, eds. 1990, page 29, fig. 30). Also of interest are the Dokimeion/Side Asclepius statues, see Filges 1999.

<sup>301</sup> The highly fragmentary nature of these objects make them difficult to date; loose chronologies within the Antonine period – 3<sup>rd</sup> century have been suggested. The white-marble statues have received less attention than the grey marbles statuettes since their initial publication, and are not included in recent discussions which propose late antique dates for the statuettes (Hannestad 1994; Bergmann 1999).

<sup>302</sup> Unlike the Asclepius this statuette was marked by excavators as the work of a skilled sculptor; the statuette, however, is highly fragmentary and the overall quality of work is difficult to judge. Six fragments have been joined into two fragments of the arm and drapery, and the left knee, and there are two additional fragments of the bastion (Puerta et al. 1994, 194).

staff or club has been linked to this statue (fig. 82). Little sense can be made of this male figure at present, but like the Asclepios statuette he seems to belong within the world of miniature sculptural copies, which were popular in Roman domestic display.<sup>303</sup> If the club fragment belongs to this figure it is possible the statuette depicts Hercules with his club and the lion skin draped over his left forearm, perhaps a miniature copy of the well-known Polykleitos type.<sup>304</sup>

This wooden club or bastion was originally assigned to a slightly larger male statue, no. 11, for whom there are extant fragments of both calves (nude) and the right foot (fig. 83).<sup>305</sup> This figure is barefoot and presumably a deity. An additional fragment of a nude right foot points to yet another male, no. 10, the largest of the fine-grained white marble statuettes extant (fig. 84).<sup>306</sup> A part of his left calf muscle and a single finger were also recovered. This statuette wore drapery and stood upright, supported by struts. The unknown figures in statuettes no. 10 and no. 11 have both been identified as gods based on their bare feet and some animal figures preserved as separate fragments, though these cannot be linked to either figure with any assurance. Certain characteristics of nos. 10 and 11 (marble struts, the modeling of no. 11's calf muscle) and of the animal

---

<sup>303</sup> For sculptural copies in miniature see Bartman 1992.

<sup>304</sup> If this statuette is a Hercules, a fragment of a tree trunk which served as a marble support may also belong to this figure. That fragment (III-881) was first associated with the medium-sized male statue fragments (no. 11) in the 1994 publication (Puerta et al. 1994, 193). A hole in the bottom of the trunk support suggests it was attached to a pedestal with a bolt.

<sup>305</sup> Puerta et al. 1994, 193-4, no. 11. The link between this male statuette and the wooden club or bastion is tenuous at best. The complete statuette no. 11 stood approximately 80 cm tall, to judge from its proportions. There are superficial tool marks, and less polish than is evident in the smaller male statue no. 12. Thus, the quality of detail work and polished finish of the wooden club is of a caliber associated with statuette no. 12.

<sup>306</sup> The estimated height of this statue, no. 10 (large unidentified male statue) is 100 cm (Puerta et al. 1994, 193).



statuettes detailed below suggest stylistic similarities with the late-mythological statuettes known from Gaul, Carthage, and the Eastern Empire.

A panther head with proportions congruent to statuette no. 11 may mark both as fragments of a Bacchus group (fig. 85).<sup>307</sup> The panther is of interest given its iconographic similarity to representations of animals in other late-mythological works. The head is rendered in profile, the right side unfinished while the left is summarily rendered. His ears are cropped and rounded; a ruff of fur encircles his neck; his canine teeth are sharp, pointed and protruding. The panther's ears and teeth recall those of the leontocephaline Aion-Kronos statuette found in Sidon, dated to 389 CE (fig. 86).<sup>308</sup> The ruff of fur also recalls the animals which appear as accessory figures in late antique subsidiary groups – the fragment of the dog from Quinta das Longas collection, among many others.<sup>309</sup> If the nude calves and right foot of the male no. 11 and this head of a panther do belong to a statuette group (fig. 87), the arrangement may be similar to a base found in Maiden Castle (Dorset). The statue base from Maiden Castle was found in a layer of debris dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century and preserves the bare feet of a human figure, the

---

<sup>307</sup> The panther's head is the only extant fragment (III-882) (Puerta et al. 1994, 193-94, no. 11). A late antique statue base found in Maiden Castle in a layer of debris dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century preserves the bare feet of a human figure, the stump of a tree, and the front paws, hind quarters and tail of an animal. The animal was originally interpreted as a hound and identified as a statuette of Diana (Cunliffe 1982, no. 98, pl. 26), but recent work by Lea Stirling suggests that the animal is not a hound but a panther. The tail and posture of the animal is telling. Stirling identifies the fragment as belonging to a statuette of Bacchus (Stirling 2005, 105).

<sup>308</sup> For these see Barratte 2001. For their role in fixing stylistic characteristics and chronology of late-mythological statuettes see Stirling 2005, 91-95.

<sup>309</sup> See for example the dogs in the Mithas Tauroktonos of Sidon (Barratte 2001), the Ganymede of Carthage (Gazda 1981). See also the discussion in Stirling 2005, 105-06. For the group from Quinta das Longas see above.

stump of a tree, and the front paws, hind quarters and tail of a panther (fig. 88).<sup>310</sup> The Maiden Castle base is important in that it suggests a Bacchus group was indeed in production among late-mythological statuette workshops.

Additional fragments of another animal suggest a griffin; part of the head and some feathers remains (fig. 89).<sup>311</sup> Scholars suggest that this griffin accompanied the largest male statue no. 10, perhaps designating the figure as Apollo. As the evidence stands, these fragments are difficult to reconstruct. However, we have seen the same animal, and a panther as well, used as secondary figures in ensembles at the villa of Quinta das Longas. It is thus possible that the panthers and griffins at both sites evince lesser known statuary groups within the repertoire of late-mythological statuettes.

A final ensemble of statuary fragments found at Valdetorres de Jarama is more securely related to the world of late-mythological statuettes. Unlike the other white marble statuettes, it is sculpted from a large grained, coarser white marble.<sup>312</sup> The extant fragments belong to a human figure (a left leg and foot, an arm and forearm) and the head of an eagle holding fabric in its mouth (fig. 90). The figure is fleshy and not particularly muscular, suggesting a woman or younger male. With the eagle we are inclined to

---

<sup>310</sup> The animal was originally interpreted as a hound and identified as a statuette of Diana (Cunliffe 1982, no. 98, pl. 26), but recent work suggests that the animal is panther. The tail and posture of the animal is telling. Stirling identifies the fragment as a statuette of Bacchus (Stirling 2005, 105), and by comparanda with other statue bases assigns it a late antique date.

<sup>311</sup> Twelve fragments of the griffin remain (Puerta et al. 1994, 193, no. 10).

<sup>312</sup> The marble is stone no. 1 in Mingarro Martín et al.'s study (1987); the stone shares similar characteristics with known marbles of the Aegean islands. For the statuette see no. 13 in Puerta et al. 1994, 194-95; it is the relative rarity of this marble at the site which suggests that all ten fragments came from the same statue.

associate the statuette with one of Jupiter's sexual liaisons. The eagle's head recalls that of the well-known Ganymede and Eagle group from Carthage. The Valdetorres' eagle's hooked beak is smooth and arched, and his eye sockets are ridged with the glance directed upwards. Like the eagle of the Carthage group, his eyes convey a sense of urgency underscored by the tight grasp of his beak on the figure's drapery.<sup>313</sup> While there is no iconographic parallel for an eagle holding drapery in its mouth among extant Ganymede statues, formal similarities with the head of the Carthage eagle suggest the Valdetorres fragments belong to a later Ganymede group. A plausible reconstruction situates the eagle at his lover's side, looking up while grabbing the boy's *chlamys*.

In summary, nearly all of the 13 statuettes found at Valdetorres de Jarama represent mythological figures, and the majority of these are securely marked as late antique. Under the broad heading of "mythological" are a variety of statuary types or subsets, each one associated with a different marble. Small-scale idealizing copies – the statuette of Asclepius and at least three other male deities who were depicted with their attributes – are sculpted in the fine grained, bright white marble. Though we have only several fragments of another, coarser white marble, the fragments suggest a statuette group more akin to the style of late antique workshops in the East. What remains, I have argued, may belong to a Ganymede group and thus to a popular genre in the late Western

---

<sup>313</sup> Gazda refers to the Carthage eagle's eyes as "love-struck" in her discussion of the eroticism and sensual quality of this group; coupled with the bucolic nature of the scene, the work suggests real inventiveness on the part of the artist (1982, 170-73).

Provinces.<sup>314</sup> The seven grey statuettes, though also late antique in date, differ from the purported Ganymede group in both color and composition. Extant fragments suggest free-standing, single figure groups in the style of Aphrodisian workshops. The dark marble stone would have also marked these objects as rare and exotic. The darker marble statuette of the African slave is fragmentary but should be associated with a rather different genre than the aforementioned mythological works, that is, a decorative genre piece. It may have served a functional purpose as a light stand or furniture post. Servile persons like women, Africans and barbarians were often presented in this form. Yet, if it too was presented on a statue base, any functional aspects were negated. This evidence for statuary bases suggests a certain degree of curation on the part of the *dominus* at Valdetorres; the various marble colors and different statuary types would have presented the objects as a cohesive set, via their uniform display on locally sourced statuary bases.

## **VI. The Valdetorres sculptures in a Domestic Context**

Survey of the full assemblage recovered at Valdetorres de Jarama suggests that sculpted objects were indeed the decorative focus of this unique complex. I have already cited the dearth of extant evidence for mosaic pavements, parietal decoration, and water architecture (let alone storage). Sculpted three-dimensional arts, rather, seem to have been the only decorative objects used at this site. Indeed, the importance of small-scale,

---

<sup>314</sup> For more on the group statuettes and their complex compositions as a defining feature of late-mythological statuettes see Stirling 2005, 104-05.

sculpted objects is underscored by several other sculpted, late antique imports found at this site, that is, a sizable assemblage of carved ivories plaques.

More than 400 fragments of worked bone or ivory were uncovered in the same stratigraphic contexts as the marble sculptures (fig. 91).<sup>315</sup> All appear to be Egyptian in origin and date to the late 4<sup>th</sup> – mid-5<sup>th</sup> century. All but five were decorative plaques presumably used to cover wooden surfaces, furniture or chests. Some of the plaques are without decoration, but as revetments they alone would have added additional color and texture to wooden furniture. Among the decorated inlaid plaques there is extraordinary stylistic variety such that they could not all have adorned the same piece of furniture.<sup>316</sup> Excavators identify three distinct groups: a series of plaques with granulated decoration; a sculpted relief of a nymph holding an amphora (fig. 92); and the so-called “monster” of Valdetorres (fig. 93). This last ivory plaque is a complete rupture from the classicizing style of the nymph and other reliefs, or even the free-standing statuary. It is sculpted in low relief in a grotesque style that bares no relation to any of the other finds. But with such a variety of stylistic iconographies, the sculpted ivories echo the subtle variety of the statuary assemblage in carving technique and marble stone. Beyond any individual iconographies, moreover, the ivory assemblage underscores the marble evidence for appreciation of the three-dimensional, sculpted forms.

---

<sup>315</sup> For the major publication on these finds see Carrasco and Elvira, 1994.

<sup>316</sup> Carrasco and Elvira note that given the stylistic variations and sizes of the fragments, they belong to no less than three or four different chests or furniture items (1994, 203).

Such an exotic assemblage of sculpted marbles and ivories surely distinguished either the inhabitants of this villa or the events which took place here as unique. And yet, it is curious that sculpted objects are the only evidence this site furnishes for participation in trans-regional economic or cultural exchange. The ceramic evidence is again predominantly local, as if “[trans-regional] trade has virtually no value” at this site (Arce, Caballero and Elvira 1995, 334).<sup>317</sup> Non-Iberian products make up only a small percentage of the ceramic finds, less than 1% of the recovered fragments can be identified as imports. No amphorae sherds were found here, and only a single *dolium* was documented among the finds.<sup>318</sup> Most of the extant ceramics were made in the Peninsula and more generally the Meseta. Large quantities of typical *terra sigillata hispanica tardia* dining vessels, however, are present, and there are a good variety of plates and bowls (smooth sided mold-made vessels, painted vessels, and bowls with burnished decoration).<sup>319</sup> A sizable amount of painted wares were found, as well as a few specialized vessels like an inkwell and canteen. Commonware accounts for one third of all the ceramic fragments, utilized as cooking and serving vessels.

---

<sup>317</sup> Almost all the ceramics were recovered in what the authors call “a meticulous excavation”. Thus the dearth of imported goods should not be read as the consequence of faulty methodologies or techniques. About 500 fragments were found; most of the pieces are contemporary, and used for cooking or dining. (Arce, Caballero and Elvira 1995, 330-31, Table 1).

<sup>318</sup> Excavators count ten sherds from North Africa, and 3 that may or may not come from Narbonensis. See table 1, and pages 331-334 for the ceramic analysis in Arce, Caballero and Elvira 1995.

<sup>319</sup> A few sherds separate from the typical TSHT belong to different Peninsular types: fragments of four vessels of the “southern type”; some imitations of ceramics made in Narbonensis; and paleo-Christian ware (*ibid.* 331).

Thus, while the sculpted assemblage suggests some degree of participation in trans-regional exchange, the evidence for consumption, dining, and quotidian activities suggests that local and regional exchange markets were more dominant. As at Quinta das Longas, local producers were selected for day-to-day needs, whereas foreign products were preferable for minimal interior decoration.

This complex cannot, however, be marked securely as the residence of an elite *dominus* because of the problems surrounding the use of the site for long-term habitation. The prevalence of ceramics for cooking and dining, however, discourages identification of this complex as a market, and fixing statuettes to new bases does not seem advantageous to a sculpture warehouse but to a curated display. These sculptures do, I believe, signal the function of this complex, in that the impressive statuary collection was meant to be seen and appreciated. I think it likely that Valdetorres de Jarama was a sort of seasonal residence designed for intermittent spectacles, receptions, and leisurely entertainment.<sup>320</sup> This would explain the lack of storage vessels and the decision to leave the floors largely unpaved, perhaps covered with imported textiles amidst the display of

---

<sup>320</sup> Excavations at Abicada (3.5 kilometers from Portimão, Portugal) have revealed a rectangular structure, subdivided into three different zones (Teichner 2008, 417-447; Chavarría Arnau 2007, no. 107, 279). The central zone leads to a hexagonal peristyle, with five square rooms coming off the sides. Late Roman mosaics were found here (3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> century), and suggest a domestic structure. The *pars urbana* of this probable villa is oriented towards the sea. The site was examined recently by F. Teichner (2008) who chose not to identify it as a villa because of little evidence for productive structures or estate economics. This structure might therefore have been a luxurious *villa maritima*, for entertainment if not also for habitation. The dearth of *pars rustica* structures, and the impressive architectural arrangement of the complex might raise interesting questions for interpretation of Valdetorres de Jarama as a similar, semi-habitational complex.

fine statues and ivory-revetted furniture (both smaller, movable items).<sup>321</sup> A seasonal residence – much like a *villa maritima* but of the meseta – maybe be the best way to reconcile the archaeological assemblage.<sup>322</sup> If Valdetorres de Jarama was indeed a seasonal venue and a rural escape of sorts, not designed for long term habitation but for immediate gratification. It may have served the needs of an urban *dominus* based in nearby Complutum, whether for himself or for visiting elite guests.<sup>323</sup>

A quick survey of late Roman housing in Complutum suggests that the impressive statuary collection of Valdetorres de Jarama may have been somewhat unique in the region, for although excavations in Complutum have documented 4<sup>th</sup> century decorative renovations to several *domus*, these renovations are largely restricted to polychrome figural mosaic pavements.<sup>324</sup> Local elite, but even visitors passing through the region would have been struck by the exoticism of the Valdetorres décor, what with its collection of imported, sculpted objects.

---

<sup>321</sup> The floors could well have been covered with imported textiles, no longer extant.

<sup>322</sup> It is also possible, however, that the complex was just never finished, and that construction stopped before floors could be paved or water supply obtained. The short *durée* of the site would support such claims. If this were the case, it would seem that the statuary assemblage was imported for a specific purpose, but perhaps never viewed and appreciated by the intended audience.

<sup>323</sup> I remind readers here of the strategic location of this villa, not far from Complutum and connected to roads that traversed the interior of the Peninsula, stretching to Tarraco to the east and Emerita Augusta to the West (see above a discussion of roads, nts. 257, 258).

<sup>324</sup> Indeed, many of the extant houses are named for their lavish 4<sup>th</sup> century mosaics House of Bacchus » the House of Leda, the House of the Fishes, and the House of Cupid, which seems to have been the only residence possibly built *ex novo* (Rascón Marqués 1995, 175-78; 1999; Arce, Chavarría Arnau and Ripoll 2007, 317-320).



## VII. Conclusions

To explore the impact of these statuary displays in Hispania, a dialogue with the villa Quinta das Longas is in order. I should note that I am neither the first nor the last scholar to make a comparison between Valdetorres de Jarama and Quinta das Longas,<sup>325</sup> but I hope to give as much attention to how these two sites differ as to shared parallels of contemporary statuary possession. The similarities between the two sites have received the greatest attention because of the scarcity of late-mythological sculptures in Hispania. Both sites furnish more than a half-dozen securely dated late statuettes, among them an anguiped type loosely associated with the Aphrodisian workshops. Upon closer analysis, however, differences across the two assemblages are marked. The Quinta das Longas statuettes were likely made by the same atelier using a fine-grained, bright white marble, and date to the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century. The extant statuettes suggests emphasis on figures whose display was highly traditional in the Roman *domus* – Venus, muses, nymphs, Bacchus, hunting groups. Many of these late-mythological types have parallels among the villas of late-Roman Gaul.<sup>326</sup>

The Valdetorres statuettes, however, are less clearly made by the same atelier and sculpted using six different marbles. As such, they may not have been purchased in a single transaction. The extant assemblage emphasizes not bright, polished white marbles but dark stones and polychrome statuary. Male figures play an important role, whether

---

<sup>325</sup> Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004; Basarrate 2014; Stirling 2014.

<sup>326</sup> Chapter 5, section III.

deities, heroes, monsters, or satyrs. Without secure chronological dates for these fragmentary statues, however, no strong assertions can be made about the presence of statuary markets in late Iberia or lack thereof. Still, differences across these two villas' assemblages and the paucity of late-mythological statuary in Iberia more broadly discourages ideas of a dynamic market for imported art in the later Roman era.

But a rarity of contemporary marble statuary in the Peninsula should not be taken as evidence that statuary had lost its value as a luxury art. At Quinta das Longas statuettes seem to have been displayed in the rooms along the northern corridor, that is, the rooms that functioned as reception halls to judge from the black and white marble pavements, water features and apsidal halls. At Valdetorres de Jarama, from the extant marble statues and ivory furniture settings, it seems that three-dimensional arts were meant to play a prominent role in decoration. The scattered finds pose difficulties for reconstructing displays, but they may have been displayed in the peristyle, or in one of the apsidal rooms as a veritable gallery of imported art. We know that bases were used to unify the display of some or all of the statuettes, such that they may have been synthesized as a collection even if they were dispersed throughout the complex. If the site was dedicated to sporadic entertainment as I have argued, their display in any room furthers the complex's function.

That said, the social landscapes inhabited by these statues, their owners and the villas' guests is more difficult to answer. Multi-scalar analysis does shed light on the social profile of the estate owners, or on the many spheres (rural, urban, trans-regional?) in which they interacted. An interesting parallel across both sites, however, is the role of

art as one of the few imported goods. Within the ceramics assemblages we have seen the prominence of local ceramics and foodstuffs over imports, a subtle reminder of the role locality must have played for these elite *domini*. I have argued that statuary displays were designed to impress viewers and convey the owner's importance and influence. The setting of those exchanges – rural villa estates – suggests that most guests were drawn from a local elite. On the other hand, only select Iberian elite had access to this type of sculpture, suggesting that these *domini* asserted great influence over local society.

In the 4<sup>th</sup> century, it was indeed this type of local elite who rose to prominence in an increasing bureaucratic society.<sup>327</sup> I think it possible that the owners of both Quinta das Longas and Valdetorres de Jarama served important functions in nearby urban centers, whether Emerita or Eborac, and Complutum). Connection with these urban centers should not be dismissed. Display of such statuary in the villa would thus have served as a visual advertisement of the *dominus*' position as a powerful local curial, with connections to officials at higher levels possible evinced through foreign, exotic goods like imported contemporary statuary.<sup>328</sup> Its display in the villa was thus a powerful testament to the clout of local, mobile elites.

The material evidence from Quinta das Longas suggests this estate was home to precisely such an individual. The unique location of this estate in a highly trafficked

---

<sup>327</sup> For local elites, the late Roman bureaucracy, and senatorial status see Heather 1994; 1997; also Weisweiler 2015.

<sup>328</sup> Lea Stirling has suggested (2005) that late-mythological statuettes may have been a product of Theodosian court culture and created in the workshops of Constantinople.

intersection of central Lusitania suggests that the villa received both local and visiting elites, and in such an environment, the display of imported statuary was tangible proof of the *dominus*' ability to mediate across social hierarchies, that is, among distant, ephemeral circles of imperial elites, but also merchants, land-owners, *curiales* and local elites.

Valdetorres de Jarama, however, was not a site built for long-term habitation. It is more likely that the villa was the occasional residence or entertainment venue of an elite who lived nearby at Complutum. This site seems to have been used for elaborate receptions (if only for a short time) and the guests may have been a heterogeneous mix of local elites and foreign dignitaries. In this setting, the statuary and imported ivories were advertisements of the *dominus*' belonging and connections across a variety of social circles.

In summary, I mark the display of late-mythological statuary in Iberia as the habit of but a few *domini* in Iberia. Only two assemblages of such statuary are extant, and not all of the Iberian elite seem to have had access to such objects. In both Quinta das Longas and Valdetorres de Jarama, the contemporary, imported sculptures would have signaled the *dominus*' covetable social mobility and high status, but their display in the villa is an equally strong testament to the importance of local elite identity. The power of contemporary, imported marble statuary in Iberia seems to have lay in its rarity as an immediate mark of the preeminence of the *dominus* who welded it. Thus while the statues themselves may be speak to a certain late antique elite taste for contemporary

mythological marble, as previous scholarship has suggested, their display in select provincial estates suggests the underexplored import of local identities, operations, and regional circles in the late-Roman world.<sup>329</sup>

---

<sup>329</sup> Stirling 2005.

## CHAPTER THREE

## Heirloom Statuary Collections in the Villas of Rural Baetica

The survey of the villas of Quinta das Longas and Valdetorres de Jarama in the previous chapter emphasized the scarcity of late-mythological statuettes in Iberia,<sup>330</sup> but there is evidence of a more widespread statuary habit in the Peninsula, that is, the possible collection and display of antique sculptures in the late antique villa. As stated previously, “antique” denotes the earlier age of pieces found in datable late Roman contexts. In this dissertation “antique” refers primarily to pieces produced prior to the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century, as early as the Julio-Claudian era; most are mythological statues or portraits. The age of these sculptures and their continued display in Late Antiquity suggests that they stood as heirlooms, though this heirloom character must be qualified.

Antique sculptures found in domestic contexts may have been familial heirlooms, but because ownership of both the statues and villas is difficult to trace, this project focuses on the collective values of antiques as cultural heirlooms.<sup>331</sup> Doing so sets the stage for exploration of the status that antique statues held in late antiquity. At the same time, however, this dissertation proposes investigation of the particular occurrences or concentrations of such finds, to explore context-specific values applied to such objects by different groups of people. Thus, although archaeology in the Iberian Peninsula has

---

<sup>330</sup> Scarcity by contrast with the well-attested presence of late-mythological statuettes in Gaul and the Eastern Empire (Stirling 2005; see also Braemer 1982; Gazda 1981). This genre is discussed again in further depth in Aquitaine in chapter 5, section III.

<sup>331</sup> See the discussion of “antique” in chapter 1, section III.1. The cultural significance of “heirloom” statuary is discussed passim throughout this dissertation.

brought to light evidence of antique, heirloom sculptures among regional clusters of late Roman estates in southern Lusitania, suburban Tarraco, rural Baetica, this chapter focuses only on the latter cluster in great depth.<sup>332</sup>

Before reviewing these concentrations and the evidence favoring rural Baetica's estates for case study, a word on the statuary landscape of the Peninsula in late antiquity is necessary here, in part because the domestic evidence for the display of antique challenges long-standing assumptions about statuary's decline in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>333</sup> While it is true that few of Iberia's Roman-era sculptures can be dated to the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century or later, waning production in the Peninsula does not mean that statuary had fallen out of fashion in the later Roman era. Nor does an archaeological dearth of contemporary late antique statues, whether in private or public contexts, obfuscate the importance of heirloom sculpture in both spheres from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century on. Indeed, honorific portraits and mythological statuary continued to adorn villas, but also the theatres, fora and public venues of cities like Tarraco, Hispalis, and Emerita Augusta well into late antiquity. Many of these statues would have been well over 200 years old by the

---

<sup>332</sup> This chapter focuses on the villas with antique statuary in rural Baetica. For the Roman Algarve, see chapter 4. The antique character of statuary finds in villas of suburban Tarraco is contested. For example, at the villa of Els Munts, Imperial-era statuary finds in the baths were associated with late antique levels (Berges 1970; 1977); recent excavations at the site have also found Imperial-era statuary in the *pars urbana*, but excavators date the destruction of this villa c. 270 CE, and suggest that late antique habitation of the site is squatter occupation. I think this is contestable, but reserve such arguments for a future study, see also nt. 64.

<sup>333</sup> In the Iberian Peninsula most scholars who refer to this decline cite the reduced output of new statuary and sculpture in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries, cf. Gonçalves 2007; Bassarate 2014; Jiménez and Rodà 2015. It is true that most extant statues found in Roman Iberia date to the Imperial era when the Peninsula's own workshops were most prolific and preoccupied with commissions for its major urban centers, but the majority of these pieces were still standing in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries.

mid-4<sup>th</sup> century, and such antiquity infused them with palpable historical value and legitimizing force.<sup>334</sup>

So too might domestic sites in Iberia have had similar antique sculpture displays, perhaps infused with similar historical import or force. That said, the “antique” character of sculptures found in domestic contexts, and the weight that such displays may have had is under synthesized, largely due to the dominance of traditional art historical analysis in the Peninsula and its foci on aesthetics and iconographies. Previous scholarship vis-à-vis statuary in domestic contexts has been largely exempt from periodization in its aim to highlight standard practices of homeowners, or the popularity of mythological imagery.<sup>335</sup> Whether tacitly or implicitly, the archaeological context of statuary finds is over simplified.<sup>336</sup>

In the late antique villa, however, generalizations about statuary finds, and especially antique statues, are problematic for a number of reasons. Generalizations about the pervasiveness of certain mythological iconographies do not account for changing meanings or values of such iconographies in the late antique period. Nor do generalizations exempt from periodization account for the age that objects accrue with

---

<sup>334</sup> This is an idea I explore in greater depth throughout this chapter. For the genealogy and age as a component in statuary possession see Bartman 1991. The value of antique statuary is particularly well-attested in the Constantinian era though primarily in public contexts, see Bassett 1991; 1996; 2000; 2004; Elsner 2000.

<sup>335</sup> Cf. Koppel 1995; the “Iberian Peninsula” in Stirling 2005, 182-85; Iberian habits vs. Gallic habits in Stirling 2007. Other broad surveys of Iberian sculptures (Balil 1978-88; Gonçalves 2007; Jiménez and Rodà 2015) take a catalog approach and fail to give adequate attention to the “domestic” context of these finds and their display.

<sup>336</sup> Contra Stirling (2005, *ibid.* for Iberian assemblages; 2014b), who focuses on late-mythological contemporary statuary but clearly distinguishes between the contemporary statuettes she studies and other antiques found in the same assemblages.



the passage of time, and questions of care and preservation versus residuality. Therefore, although the possible allure of “antique” sculpture among Iberia’s later *domini* does merit our attention, analysis of finds and penchants for the antique must proceed by way of site-specific and regional case studies.<sup>337</sup>

Thus chapter takes the form of a case study and examines a cluster of villas in Baetica’s *Conventus Astigitanus*, where a sizable number of antique statuary assemblages have been identified. Over the last 25 years systematic survey and excavation have brought to light three villa sites with evidence for the display of antiques in later occupation phases, with a possible fourth identified in survey (fig. 96). The villa El Ruedo near modern-day Almedinilla in Andalusia is the largest excavated estate in this region, with evidence for two dozen marble statues and several bronzes in an elaborately decorated *pars urbana*. Not 40 kilometers west of El Ruedo is the site of Casa del Mitra (Cabra), a probable late-Roman villa with a Mithras statue, among other finds. Northwest of Casa del Mitra is a small, unexcavated site known only by survey and superficial finds, the probable villa of Casilla de la Lampara, with several fragments of bronze and marble statuary. A final villa, Cortijo de los Robles (Jaén), sits on the eastern outskirts of the *Conventus Astigitanus* near modern Jaén. Like El Ruedo, Cortijo de los Robles was excavated in the last generation and here too imperial-era statuary is associated with the villa’s latest phases of occupation.

---

<sup>337</sup> In domestic contexts, most Iberian scholarship has only referenced “collecting antiques” in passing, see Puerta, Elvira and Artigas 1994; Koppel 1995; Vaquerizo and Noguera Celdrán 1995; 1997; Kulikowski 2004, 137-144; Basarrate 2014.

I mark these sites as a regional cluster by their geographic proximity to one another. Similarities across the statuary assemblages and architectural plans of the three excavated sites signal a mode of rural habitation which may be characteristic to this area and its estates.<sup>338</sup> It could be said that this region is typical of Spanish villas in the later Roman era in many ways, what with the extant evidence for villa building, architectural renovation, and elaborate decoration in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>339</sup> But the landscape of the *Conventus Astigitanus* (what is the modern-day Subbética Cordobesa) stand apart from other regions, whether in the Roman Algarve or the *Ager Tarraconensis*. It has a marked rural character, in that no major urban centers have been documented at a functional level in Late Antiquity.

If this marks a reality and signals the dominant role played by the rural landscape and its inhabitants in Late Antiquity, however, this marks a change from the Imperial Era when the *Conventus Astigitanus*' small *municipia* played a vital role in the social organization of this landscape. Thus before looking at the antique statuary found in villas here, and the villas themselves, this chapter warrants exploration of the cultural context inhabited by these estates and their *domini*, and the nature of the relationship between *rus* and *urbs*. Diachronic survey of the *Conventus Astigitanus* from the early Imperial era

---

<sup>338</sup> See Section II of this chapter for thorough discussion of excavations at these sites and occupation phases.

<sup>339</sup> For this chronology and a late antique villa renaissance in Iberia see Chavarria Arnau 2005; 2007; also Bowes 2010; 2008 *passim*.

through the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries provides a historical frame for analysis of the particular character of estates here, their elite *domini*, and rural society.

### I. Rus and Urbs in the Ancient Subbética Cordobesa

Much ink has been spilled by both ancient and modern scholars alike on how Romans conceived the relationship between country and city.<sup>340</sup> Although the notion of a symbiotic relationship between these two spheres is gaining followers, we generally accept the *urbs* as dependent on the products of rural landscapes, but the supreme authority in politics, culture, and economics. As such, the elite villa estate is typically characterized as an invention of the urban elite, whether as the source or natural derivative of status, wealth, and *otium*.

It is difficult, however, to insert villas of Baetica's *Conventus Astigitanus* into a similar narrative, given the extreme rural character of this landscape and a less reliable system of roads. The *Conventus Astigitanus* occupies what is today the heart of rural Andalusia. In the Roman era the territory lay south of Corduba (modern Córdoba) and the *Conventus Cordubensis*, south of the Guadalquivir valley and Baetica's major olive oil producing region (fig. 94). By contrast with the *Conventus Cordubensis* to the north, the terrain of the *Conventus Astigitanus* is dominated by mountain ranges and their

---

<sup>340</sup> For a thoughtful analysis of the villa as a literary concept see Bodel 1997. For exploration of city-country debate and the Roman *hortus*, see also Purcell 1996. The notion of the villa as an idealized, self-reliant estate is heavily influenced by Republican authors, and by Cato, Varro, and Cicero in particular, but we scholars should hesitate before mapping any of these literary constructs onto actual, late-Roman villa structures.

depressions and valleys. Its rugged landscape has no direct connections to principal riverine routes or to the Mediterranean coast, and suggests a certain degree of isolation from the rest of Roman Baetica.<sup>341</sup> Archaeological research was slow to take root in this area, though this changed with the emergency excavations of the villa El Ruedo in 1989.<sup>342</sup> The extensive remains of this site instigated study of villas in the region more broadly,<sup>343</sup> and spurred concurrent investigations of urban development in the *Conventus Astigitanus* in the Roman era.<sup>344</sup>

Here the relationship between cities and rural settlements is rather complicated, given dramatic changes from the Republican era to Late Antiquity.<sup>345</sup> In the Caesarian

---

<sup>341</sup> For recent work on transport in the region during the High Empire, see Melchior 2008-09. Melchior suggests that circulation here may have been less difficult than one would think, based largely on the evidence for ceramics and marble art, and fluvial navigation to a lesser extent.

<sup>342</sup> Emergency excavations brought to light extensive archaeological remains of a villa occupied from the 1<sup>st</sup> – late 4<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, with post-Roman era evidence as well. For the excavation history of El Ruedo see below.

<sup>343</sup> Many projects originated in the excavation of El Ruedo, cf. local building techniques (Carrillo 1990), décor (Hidalgo Prieto 1990; 1991; Vaquerizo Gil 1990; Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997; Cánovas 2002), oil production (Lares and Camacho 2000; Carrillo 2012), and burial practices (Carmona Berenguer 1990; 1997; Muñiz 2000). The advance of archaeological research in the region is in many ways a consequence of the discovery of El Ruedo, which itself underscores the importance of this region's villas in the late-Roman era.

<sup>344</sup> Study of this region's urban character, however, has been largely restricted to emergency excavations. For urban settlement in the Roman period see Segura 1988 for Igabrum (Cabra); Quesada Sanz et al. 1992 for Ilturigicola (Fuente Tojar); see also Hayes 1996 for a historical overview.

<sup>345</sup> A brief diachronic history of the region from the late Republic – High Empire follows here. Roman presence in the *Conventus Astigitanus* is documented in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, but largely by way of destruction. Only a few of the pre-Roman Celtic settlements are well known, among them Cerro de la Cruz, less than 5 kilometers from El Ruedo. The site was first excavated in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Paris and Angel 1906) and is perhaps the best known. The destruction of the town has been dated to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE and there is no sign of its re-occupation in later periods. Other pre-Roman *oppida*, however, do evince uninterrupted occupation, cf. Igabrum (Cabra) and Ilturigicola (Fuente Tojar). That said, pre-Roman levels at these sites are not well understood. The urban settlements of the *Conventus Astigitanus* were granted municipal status under Vespasian's *ius Latii* in 73-74 CE and furnish evidence for Roman institutions a few generations later (Hayes 1996; Quesada Sanz et al. 1992, 184-85; Melchoir 2007a; see also Vaquerizo et al. 1994, 418).

and Augustan eras, settlement in Baetica was centered in the low, flat plains in the west and south of the province (fig. 95), that is, far from the heart of the *Conventus Astigitanus*. Even the department's own capital, Astigi (Ecija), was located on the westernmost border the *Conventus* and far from its mountainous interior (figs. 95, 96). Not until the late 1<sup>st</sup>-century CE can Roman *municipia* be documented securely here (fig. 97). When these *municipia* do emerge they play an instrumental role in the development of this rugged landscape.<sup>346</sup> The archaeological and epigraphic evidence at towns like Iliturgicola (Fuente Tojar, 14 kilometers north of El Ruedo), Ipolcobulcula (Carcabuey, 20 kilometers west of El Ruedo) and Igabrum (Cabra, 38 kilometers west/northwest of El Ruedo) suggest that these tight-knit communities were receptive to Roman institutions and social *mores*. The Imperial period is marked by civic dedications and architectural building, especially in Iliturgicola and Igabrum.<sup>347</sup> None of the aforementioned towns made claims to international prominence but this should not undermine the role of urbanism in the Imperial-era *Conventus Astigitanus*. These *municipia* are a far cry from cosmopolitan centers and did not perform the same functions as a place like Tarraco or Hispalis, but they were nonetheless essential to the dissemination of Roman social practices and economic systems. In fact, to judge from the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century

---

<sup>346</sup> This is the case for much of Roman Iberia and the provinces more broadly – *municipia* facilitated introductions to Roman peoples and their culture and practices. For the *Conventus Astigitanus* and the Subbética Cordobesa in particular see Hayes 1996; Melchoir 2007a; 2008-09. A staggering amount of attention has been devoted to the Roman *urbes* of Iberia, see cf. Keay 1980; 1998; and in late antiquity Kulikowski 2004.

<sup>347</sup> This region's provincial elites operated much as they did in other areas of the western provinces. For the strength of local identity and euergetism in these urban nuclei see Melchior 2007a; Hayes 1996; for the western provinces more broadly Février 1974; Woolf 1998.

archaeological evidence, these *municipia* were themselves engaged in micro-economic production of olive oil. The largest extant press in this region at the site of Cerro Lucerico is not associated with a villa or with the rural sphere but with the city of Ilturgicola. Scholars have suggested that pressing oil may have been a communal activity here, and that cities played a major role in organizing its production.<sup>348</sup> The manufacturing facilities do not appear to have operated for extra-regional transport on the scale of the Guadalquivir valley or the *ager Tarraconensis*, but in no way does this diminish the importance of these local foodstuffs in regional economies.<sup>349</sup> Interestingly, no rural villas furnish concrete evidence for olive oil production in the Imperial era and the rural elite are mostly silent in this period. This may reflect the dearth of evidence for Imperial-era villa sites, but it may also reflect an important social reality, that is, the role of *urbs* in the organization of social, cultural, and economic institutions. The *urbs*’ importance, however, changes dramatically in the late antique period. By the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century

---

<sup>348</sup> Within the *Conventus Astigitanus* Cerro Lucerico provides the greatest extant evidence of oil production in the Roman era. Archaeology uncovered evidence of six presses over an extent of 364 m<sup>2</sup>, and threshing floors paved in *opus spicatum*. Six ashlar blocks suggest that six presses stood together in one large building, 26 meters long by 14 meters wide, which may itself be a regional design (as suggested by Carrillo Diaz 2011-12, nt. 16). This structure has not been associated with any extant villa estate at present. The site was first excavated in 1979 but remained unpublished for nearly twenty years (Leiva 1998). For a plan and detailed chronology of the site see Leiva 1998. For oil production in the region see also Serrano Peña 2004; Serrano Peña and Cano 2009, 2077-78. For the moment I note that archaeological evidence for oil production at Cuétara predates Roman settlement in the area by at least a generation. There is evidence of Pre-Roman Iberian occupation near Cuétara in Aurgi (Jaén), but the foundation of a local *municipium* does not occur until the Flavian era, underscoring the role that indigenous and semi-rural communities played in the rise of urban and Romanized settlements in the region (see also Serrano Peña and Carrillo 2009, 2077-78).

<sup>349</sup> For the extant evidence and chronology of oil production in the region of the Subbética see Carrillo 2011-12. A real rise in production seems attested in the mid-to-late 1<sup>st</sup> century, thus contemporaneous with the Flavian era urbanization of the area and perhaps designed to fulfill demands of the *annona* system (Carrillo 2011-12, 373). With respect to the Imperial Era Carrillo concludes that sufficient evidence exists to deduce “a medium to high volume of production, above that necessary for local supply” (*ibid.*).

there is almost no evidence for the continuity of these small urban communities. The epigraphic habit declines in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and no civic building or dedications can be documented. Economic recession is also suggested on multiple levels: oil production ceases at places like Ilturgicola and Cuétara,<sup>350</sup> and almost no imported sigillata can be documented in once-vibrant towns like Ilturgicola and Ipolcobelculula after the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century. This probable economic decline has encouraged speculation about the depopulation of these urban centers, but studies of ancient demography are necessary to verify such claims.<sup>351</sup>

In any case, a dearth of evidence for urban continuity need not be read as a complete deterioration of local economies and communal institutions – the apparent stagnation of urban life coincides with the rising importance of the rural sphere. Not until the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> and 4th century is there is abundant archaeological evidence for construction and cultivation in the countryside, which appears in the form of renovated, augmented villa estates.<sup>352</sup> Several villas take on increasingly visible roles, as though compensating

---

<sup>350</sup> The 3<sup>rd</sup> century epigraphic decline is characteristic of Iberia and the Roman West more broadly. Some inscriptions can be dated to the later-Roman era in major urban centers like Tarraco, Hispalis and Corduba, but smaller *municipia* and rural urban settlements appear to lose the habit. Kulikowski (2004, 39) adds that this cannot be have changed the way elites interacted with their peers.

<sup>351</sup> The Museo Arqueológico de Fuente-Tójar (Ilturgicola) has no evidence for imported ceramics after the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE. No major studies have been concerned with Igabrum in late antiquity, so it is unclear if such levels exist. A lack of evidence should not be taken as an argument in the affirmative for the depopulation or decline of urban centers, but the dearth of evidence is palpable. Continued research and archaeological investigation is necessary to assay the veracity of any sort of broad urban decline. For the recession in urban centers for oil production, see Carrillo Díaz 2012, 373 and passim.

<sup>352</sup> For renewed settlement in the late antique *rus* and the *Conventus Astigitanus* see Carrillo Diaz 1994; see more generally Chavarría Arnau 2007; Kulikowski 2004, 130-150. Melchior (2007b) posits a link between elite identity and cultivation of the rural sphere in the Imperial-era, based on inscriptional evidence. Indeed, many late antique villas appear to have been built atop Imperial-era settlements in this region, though early

for the decline of the *municipia*. For example, excavations at the villas of El Ruedo and Cortijo de los Robles attest to major amplification of the *pars rustica* in late antiquity; production facilities at both sites were augmented to accommodate an increase in olive oil production in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century, perhaps to fulfill functions that had once been carried out at communal urban centers. Unlike urban centers, excavation has documented production at these *partes rusticae* through the 4<sup>th</sup> century, that is, through the occupation of each villa. So too might the late antique program of décor at villas like El Ruedo and Casa del Mitra near Igabrum be correlated to a gradual decline of the surrounding *municipia*. At these sites, excavation securely documented structural renovation of the *pars urbana* in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century, and the display of rare antique sculptures in spaces devoted to reception. A Mithras Tauroktonos was displayed in the central peristyle of Casa del Mitra, and a lifesize bronze Hypnos was found in excavation of the triclinium at El Ruedo. Such rare finds may suggest the decommissioning of statuary in urban centers. Though this hypothesis cannot be confirmed at present, the display of such objects may signal the new importance granted to the estate, or the rural landscape itself in the late antique period.

Indeed, Michael Kulikowski's recent work on urbanism in late-Roman Spain has added nuance to our understanding of urban decline or lack thereof. Kulikowski provides evidence for a growing gap in late antiquity between the cities which receive imperial

---

occupation phases have been difficult to identify archaeologically. That the material evidence suggests a particular revitalization of the rural sphere and villa settlement in the late-3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries is, however, indisputable.



patronage and/or participate in extra-regional commercial exchange, and those that do not (2004, 85-129).<sup>353</sup> Without imperial patronage, Kulikowski suggests, smaller cities become susceptible to shabbiness and shrink in importance in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries,<sup>354</sup> as seems to be the case with the *municipia* of the *Conventus Astigitanus*.<sup>355</sup> In this region, the dearth of late urban archaeological evidence may reflect a shift in settlement patterns. Indeed, data suggests that the countryside and its estates took on a greater role in late antiquity, perhaps taking on functions formerly associated with urban centers: production and exchange, conservation of cultural objects, but also, security and stability.<sup>356</sup> With this in mind, I now turn to the aforementioned villas of the *Conventus Astigitanus*.

## **II. Archeological Review of the Sites**

Three of the villas in this region that furnish evidence for the display of antique statues in later phases of occupation were excavated stratigraphically over the past several decades: El Ruedo, Casa del Mitra, and Cortijo de los Robles. These excavations have exposed

---

<sup>353</sup> See also Fernández 2010; 2013 for work around the Peninsula on the various relationships and changes among *urbs/rus* in the 4<sup>th</sup> – 7<sup>th</sup> centuries.

<sup>354</sup> On the emerging gap between cities with imperial patronage and/or commercial connections, as opposed to other, smaller urban centers see Kulikowski 2004, 109-129. We might mention in particular Zaragoza, a rather large and important city in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. In the 4<sup>th</sup> century archaeological evidence suggests that the city suffered but not because of any major crisis or because it ceased to be inhabited; evidence suggests occupation through the 5<sup>th</sup> and into the 6<sup>th</sup> century, but by the 4<sup>th</sup> century the main sewers had silted up, suggesting a lack of attention to the care of the urban fabric more broadly (see also Hernández and Núñez 1998).

<sup>355</sup> This need *not*, however, suggest that the *Conventus Astigitanus* was beset by external crises of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Central Iberia was removed from the barbarian invasions on the Empire's northern and eastern borders, and the civil wars and string of imperial successions had few palpable reverberations. For thoughtful critique of Spain's "3<sup>rd</sup> century crisis" see Kulikowski 2004, 65-129; and for evidence against such a crisis see essays in Bowes' and Kulikowski's 2005 edited volume.

<sup>356</sup> Without further demographic study of this region 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE – 5<sup>th</sup> century CE it is impossible to comment on depopulation of the *Conventus Astigitanus* as a large-scale trend.

striking similarities across all three sites that speak to a shared habitus among landowners in this region, and possible peer polity interactions among them. At all three sites, the late-antique floruit of the villa is dated loosely to the first half of the 4th century. The plan of all three evinces a shared preference for the architectural design and layout of a *pars urbana* as a peristyle villa, with a series of rooms organized around a central courtyard with a decorative fountain or pool. Most of the statuary fragments from these sites were found in these pools, as though they were once arranged in the central garden or peristyle and fell into the pools in a post-occupational period, or were heaped in by later pillagers.<sup>357</sup>

### II.1 El Ruedo (Almedinilla, Córdoba)

The villa of El Ruedo has been essential to the development of archaeological research in the *Conventus Astigitanus*. It is also the most thoroughly excavated villa in the region with the largest extant statuary assemblage. The site lies on the eastern outskirts of the modern town of Almedinilla in Andalusia. Its accidental discovery came amidst construction of a major highway in 1989-90 (fig. 98).<sup>358</sup> Emergency excavations

---

<sup>357</sup> The archaeological context in which statues are found – the in the fill of a pool, for example – may not correlate to the place in which the statues were displayed. Scholars have noted that statues are found frequently in the pools or *impluvia* of Iberian villas (cf. Stirling 2007). It is probable that statues were displayed in these areas, and that looters did not spend too much time transporting statues from all areas of a villa simply to destroy them; most of these sites do not evince a destructive event. Other scholars, however, have argued that plunging pagan statuary into a tank or pool was a sort of baptism and should be read as a mark of Christian iconoclasm.

<sup>358</sup> The site was the focus of emergency excavations under the direction of Desiderio Vaquerizo Gil from October 21<sup>st</sup>, 1988 – July 31<sup>st</sup>, 1989. Work was authorized by the Dirección General de Bienes Culturales de la Junta de Andalucía after the destruction of parts of villa and associated necropoleis during the

uncovered vestiges of an expansive estate with occupation documented from the Imperial era through the 5<sup>th</sup> century (fig. 99). Although most of the extant structures date to the late antique period, three phases of occupation have been identified with the first dated to c. 100 CE (Phase I).<sup>359</sup> The earliest structures lie beneath foundations of later constructions in the north/northeastern corner of the villa. Foundations suggest a simple building of relatively poor construction organized a central patio, presumably a small, agrarian settlement.<sup>360</sup> Study of the construction techniques used in the vestiges of Phase I walls suggest a date in the late 1<sup>st</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Excavators note that no foundation trenches were laid for the walls and small, irregularly sized stones are welded together somewhat haphazardly with lime and mortar.<sup>361</sup> The absence of real stratigraphy, however, complicates chronological dating of Phase I.<sup>362</sup>

Phase II is similarly complicated but the extant evidence suggests increased investment in the residential estate and the formal demarcation of spaces for reception

---

construction of Highway 336 from Aguilar de la Frontera to Iznalloz. The start of formal excavation was delayed by a series of administrative hiccups (Vaquerizo Gil 1990a, 38; 1990c 396-97). The site's discovery led to the development of the Museo Histórico Municipal de Almedinilla, and to a flurry of publications (nt. 343), many of which appeared in the *Anales de Arqueología Cordobesas*, created expressly to deal with the enormity of data. A second campaign of excavations were carried out from March – December of 1997 (Muñiz 2000; Lara and Camacho 2000).

<sup>359</sup> Dates for Phases I-III have been loosely established based on construction techniques, ceramics and assorted coin finds. The dates cannot be established with any firm precision, and occupational renovations may have been more frequent than the extant evidence suggests (Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, summary 44-45). Interesting work has also been carried out on post-Roman use of this site, particularly with respect to a large necropolis associated with the site loosely dated to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> – 7<sup>th</sup> centuries (Carmona Bergener 1997; Muñiz 2000).

<sup>360</sup> In Phase I scholars assume a strictly agricultural settlement, due to a lack of variety in the arrangement, size, and design of its rooms (Vaquerizo Gil 1990c, 299; Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1995 127; 1997, 35-36); on the other hand, some painted stucco may date to this period (stucco floorboard in room XVIII of the NE corner, see Carrillo Díaz 1990, 82-83; Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, 36).

<sup>361</sup> For construction techniques see Carrillo Díaz 1990, 83-84.

<sup>362</sup> An absence of 1<sup>st</sup> century coins should also be noted (Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1995, 125).

and entertainment.<sup>363</sup> A true *pars urbana* develops in this period and has been loosely dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> century. A columnar peristyle is built with 8 limestone columns covered in stucco and painted in imitation of marble. Its central courtyard is aggrandized with geometric mosaic pavements.<sup>364</sup> A hierarchy of rooms is suggested by the placement of the largest room (XVII) to the north of the peristyle, opposite the probable entrance to the villa. This room has been identified as the villa's triclinium by virtue of its size, decoration, and the addition of a *stibadium* in a later phase. A triple-bayed entrance was built in Phase II, and the floors were paved in simple black and white geometric mosaics.<sup>365</sup> The walls may have been covered with marble revetments in this period.<sup>366</sup> Two niches were set into the western wall, possibly for the display of statuettes (fig. 100).<sup>367</sup> These niches suggest that some or all of the Imperial-era sculptures found in later contexts may have been acquired by the villa's Phase II inhabitants. It is possible

---

<sup>363</sup> For the *pars urbana* of Phase II see Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, 36-56; for construction techniques see also Carrillo 1990, 85-87.

<sup>364</sup> For the peristyle in Phase II see Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, 46-49. The central patio mosaic of Phase II is very fragmentary, but visible geometric in design, using red, white, and black tesserae, see Hidalgo Prieto 1990, 351, no. 10.4; also Carrillo 1990, 92. This mosaic seems to have been covered in Phase III renovations with the addition or elaboration of a central water tank, see below nt. 370..

<sup>365</sup> The triclinium mosaic seems to have been a simple open geometric design with a series of peltas in the center of the room. For the mosaic of Phase II see Hidalgo Prieto 1990, 347-349, no. 7, Pl. XIV, XV; Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, 49, 52; Pl. 17C and 17D. This mosaic was covered in Phase III with an *opus signinum* pavement in some areas and *opus sectile* in others, see nt. 374.

<sup>366</sup> For the marble revetments and the technique used in application see Carrillo 1990, 86-87.

<sup>367</sup> For the brick construction of the niches see Carrillo (1990, 85) who reports that the niches were covered with stucco and painted; one base was found *in situ* and preserved through the Phase III occupation. However, we are unable to say with any certainty whether the statues found in late antique contexts were displayed in these niches in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. For the statuary found here (a base of a Perseus and Andromeda group; fragments a bronze Hypnos and hermaphrodite) see Vaquerizo Gil 1990b; Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997; also Vaquerizo Gil 1994 for in-depth study of the bronze Hypnos; see below for a discussion of the bronzes, section III.1.

that they were passed down to the later villa's owners as heirlooms, whether kept within the same family or passed on to new owners as part of the villa's furniture.

Little can be said of statuary displays in the villa's Phase II, however, because all extant sculptures are securely associated with occupation in Phase III, in the late-3<sup>rd</sup> – early 4<sup>th</sup> century to judge from recovered ceramics (fig. 101).<sup>368</sup> The late antique occupation period is marked by a series of architectural renovations which concentrate in the spaces for reception. Renovations are largely decorative in nature and appear in the peristyle, courtyard, and triclinium.<sup>369</sup> A low wall is added to the peristyle and the paved central courtyard is converted into a stylized, formal garden with the addition of bi-apsidal pool (figs. 102, 103).<sup>370</sup> The apses of this structure align with the entrance to the villa to [the southeast and its triclinium to the northwest](#). In the triclinium a nymphaeum-ad-aedicola was built into the middle of [the north](#) wall (fig. 104, 105). The sloping floor of this nymphaeum was paved in white marble and its façade is marked by two columns

---

<sup>368</sup> Phase III is dated to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century or beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> and continues into the 5<sup>th</sup> century. These dates are provided by the recovered ceramics, and particularly African ceramics Chiara C and D assigned chronologically to the mid-4<sup>th</sup> – first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Excavators also found a few fragments of TSHT and early gray Christian sigillata (Alonso de la Sierra 1994, 208). For the chronology of Phase III and structures in depth see Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, 56-93; see also Carrillo 1990, 92-96.

<sup>369</sup> Phase III is repeatedly referred to as a period of increased splendor (Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, 56-57; Carrillo 1990, 92). Renovations to the *pars rustica* have also been documented, see below IV.2.

<sup>370</sup> The low-wall masonry added to the colonnade of the peristyle is faced in opus signinum on the courtyard side and a coat of painted stucco along the peristyle galleries. Excavators suggest this may have been carried out to separate the courtyard as a sort of stage (Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, 60, citing Zanker 1993). The bi-apsidal pool, approximately 1 m deep, was built of opus signinum and covered with masonry.

made of colored limestone from local quarries at Cabra.<sup>371</sup> The side walls of the aedicola were painted in “architectural” frescos to match the frescos of the triclinium, preserved on the eastern wall.<sup>372</sup> Pipes suggests that water flowed down the nymphaeum’s marble ramp on a N/S axis until it collected in a small spigot or fountain in the center of the triclinium in a stibadium-like structure (fig. 104). This semi-circular stibadium was built in brick and covered with *opus signinum* and red stucco painted in imitation of patterned marble.<sup>373</sup> Additional pipes connected the triclinium to the pool in the peristyle courtyard, formally and visually linking the two spaces with water displays.<sup>374</sup>

The peristyle garden and the triclinium are the primary zones where Phase III renovations occur, and also the contexts in which the villa’s statuary was recovered. Two bronze pieces, a Hypnos and a Hermaphrodite (figs. 106, 107), and the base of an Andromeda and Perseus statue group were found in the triclinium (fig. 108). Other fragments of this Perseus/Andromeda statuette group, and several herms and Imperial-era

---

<sup>371</sup> Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, 62-65. The structure is built into the middle of the north wall and dug into the ground so that the foundations were not visible. Excavators define three sections or elements of this structure: an upper deposit faced in *opus signinum*, at the extreme rear of the aedicola; a rectangular ramp running N/S; and the central façade, defined by two columns built in Cabra limestone. One of the columns was found *in situ*. The side walls of this aedicola were decorated with frescos.

<sup>372</sup> The painted frescos at this site are extremely interesting and merit greater attention than they have been given. Most are composed of large polychrome circles and ovals, suggesting to excavators that they were designed to imitate breche or griotte marbles (Hidalgo Prieto 1991). They have been only loosely dated to the villa’s Phase II or III.

<sup>373</sup> Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, 65-68.

<sup>374</sup> The lead pipes connecting the nymphaeum, triclinium and bi-apsidal pool are similar in size and morphology, such that they were likely installed at the same time. This project adds nuance to the dating of Phase III. The lead piping in the triclinium appears to have been added after a mosaic floor, dated to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> century, was already in place. Thus the *terminus post quem* for the addition of the stibadium is first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, based on stylistic dating of the mosaic pavement in the triclinium (*ibid.*).

mythological statuettes of Erotes and identified female goddesses or nymphs were found in the bi-apsidal pool in the garden. Other assorted fragments, including a juvenile male portrait and fragments of a satyr and Pan statue group, were found in the peristyle galleries.<sup>375</sup> Thus the display of antique statuary is largely associated with spaces renovated in Phase III (see fig. 101).<sup>376</sup> Such renovations signal a concentrated program of aggrandizement, and it is possible that these architectural modifications were carried out in part to modernize the display of the antique statuary. The modernity of the new architectural features, water displays, wall-paintings and floor pavements added to the peristyle garden, galleries, and triclinium in Phase III is a visual contrast to the antique Imperial-era statuary on display.

## II.2 Casa del Mitra (Cabra, Córdoba)

The display of antique statuary in contemporary, late-antique settings is not an isolated phenomenon of the villa of El Ruedo, to judge from regional comparanda. Striking similarities between El Ruedo and the villa Casa del Mitra may suggest that the display of heirloom sculpture à la mode was motivated by peer polity and local impetus. Casa del Mitra is located approximately 3 kilometers north of ancient Igabrum, roughly 35-40 kilometers west of El Ruedo. The site became known as “Casa del Mitra” after the

---

<sup>375</sup> These pieces are discussed in catalog format in Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, and discussion here will thus proceed in a thematic fashion.

<sup>376</sup> It is unclear whether these changes evince the purchase of antique statuary as part of a larger redecoration effort, or simply a modernization of their display with the statuary “inherited” from previous occupations. For their part excavators suggest that Phase III evinces the presence of a new *dominus*, in particular one aspires to Hellenistic culture (Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, 56-57).

accidental discovery of a free-standing 2<sup>nd</sup> century statue of Mithras Tauroktonos in 1952 (fig. 109).<sup>377</sup> Excavations began in the 1970s and brought to light the remains of a late-Roman *domus* or *pars urbana* decorated with mosaics and several Imperial-era statues. Only one level was excavated and the small central peristyle and several rooms around it were dated roughly to the 4<sup>th</sup> century (Phase II, fig. 110).<sup>378</sup> A second campaign of excavation was carried out in 1981 to investigate levels beneath these late-antique structures,<sup>379</sup> and in the process a coin of Philip the Arab was found in the preparation layer of a mosaic in a room off the eastern gallery of the peristyle, adding a *terminus post quem* of 248 CE to Casa del Mitra's Phase II (fig. 111).<sup>380</sup> Late antique occupation of the site is documented by ceramic evidence through the late 4<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> century.

The excavated area of this site is minimal, and therefore we know almost nothing of this site as an estate. Its distance from Igabrum would have minimized spatial constraints such that a large estate with a *pars rustica* is plausible. Discussion, however, must focus on the excavated evidence and on the sectors of the *pars urbana* which are extant. Like El Ruedo, the architectural layout of this site changes little in late antiquity and Phase II renovations are largely decorative. New polychrome geometric mosaics are

---

<sup>377</sup> First published in a study of Mithraic imagery in Iberia, Garcia y Bellido 1971. Garcia y Bellido also discusses several finds from a mithraeum in Emerita.

<sup>378</sup> The villa was first excavated in the early 1970s, when archaeologists Blanco, García and Bendala were inspired to re-visit the site where a Mithras Tauroktonos had come to light (Blanco, García and Bendala 1972). I refer to the site as a villa, based on its distance from the urban center of Igabrum, which is only three kilometers but enough to prevent space constraints in the design of the home.

<sup>379</sup> The second campaign of excavation was carried out in 1981 to investigate levels beneath the late antique structures (Salvador and Martín Bueno 1992). For recent re-analysis of the sites and its assemblage see Klöckner 2010; Moreno Alcaide 2011).

<sup>380</sup> Salvador and Martín Bueno 1992, 48, 75-76, 77-78 for a summary of the site's chronology.



added to rooms surrounding the peristyle, with one figural panel added to the largest extant room off the northern gallery, presumably the triclinium (fig. 112).<sup>381</sup> The only architectural renovations of this period are documented in the peristyle and central patio, which is nearly identical to that of El Ruedo. In the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century (Phase II.2), an ornamental bi-apsidal tank is added to the peristyle garden. This pool stood 50 cm high and approximately one meter deep with two apses on its longitudinal ends, possibly designed to serve as small niches for statuary display.<sup>382</sup> The construction of the apses coincided with the removal of the peristyle columns surrounding the patio, perhaps to facilitate the view. The columns were cut out but the bases were left *in situ* for the addition of a low stucco masonry wall like at El Ruedo.<sup>383</sup>

And like El Ruedo, Casa del Mitra's statuary assemblage was found in this bi-apsidal tank. The assemblage includes two pieces recovered in the 1970s excavations, a Sleeping Eros and a statue of Dionysius/Bacchus (fig. 113). Both pieces are loosely dated to the mid-to-late 2<sup>nd</sup> century. The Eros was found in the center of the tank, while the

---

<sup>381</sup> This figural mosaic was first discovered in the 1970s excavation, but was never published by Blanco, García and Bendala. It was included in Blázquez's catalog of Spanish mosaics (1981) and only recently discussed in the context of the site by Moreno Alcaide 2011. The use of figural mosaics here may mark an individual preference. There are no figural mosaics at El Ruedo, and geometric designs dominate the region more broadly. Figural mosaics are found more commonly in villas and urban *domus* of western and southern Baetica. Only one villa with extensive figural mosaics has been documented in the Conventus Astigitanus – the villa of Fuente Alamo (Puente Genil, approximately 70km south of Cordoba and 35km west of Cabra).

<sup>382</sup> For renovations in the peristyle see Blanco, García and Bendala 1972, 302-303; Salvador and Martín Bueno 1992, 75; see also Moreno Alcaide 2011, 182. Excavators note that prior to the addition of the apses, the tank was 50 cm tall and 1 m deep. The floor was raised during renovations and the second pond was shallower and drained via lead plumbing in the southwestern corner. The walls of the tank were covered in stucco, and the courtyard was paved in *opus caementicium*.

<sup>383</sup> These modifications occurred a later point in Phase II (what I refer to as Phase II.2). A chronological date has not been suggested, but they post-date the creation of the peristyle villa.

Dionysius was found at its southeastern end; excavators suggest it had fallen from the niche above, where it was once displayed.<sup>384</sup> The statue of Mithras Tauroktonos that was found prior to excavations in the 1950s by local landowners was reportedly found here as well. The outline of this apsidal structure was indeed visible before formal excavations began in the 1970s, such that we may accept the probable findspot of this Mithras statue here in the tank of the peristyle.<sup>385</sup> Another statue from the site was only recently re-integrated into this assemblage – a marble statue of a boy and a hare that was found around the same time as the Mithras. Unlike the Mithras piece, however, it fell into private hands and only resurfaced in 2008 when it was put up for auction.<sup>386</sup>

The modern biography of this object is an unintentional reminder of the many processes at work in the formation of an assemblage, processes of acquisition and exchange which are often lost to archaeologists. The display of heirloom statuary in late Casa del Mitra is undisputed based on finds of the first campaign of excavations and confirmation of that archaeology by a second round of excavation. But it is nearly impossible to reconstruct the origin or acquisition moment of these statues, such that we do not know whether the objects were inherited from an earlier owner in Phase I, or

---

<sup>384</sup> Blanco, García and Bendala 1972, 314-316 (Dionysius), 316-318 (Eros); see also Salvador and Martín Bueno 1992, 68-70.

<sup>385</sup> The landowners alerted authorities to their discovery and the piece was moved to the Museum of Córdoba. The piece was first published by García y Bellido 1971, prompting formal excavations at the site.

<sup>386</sup> The statuette of a boy with a hare was given by the family who lived on the site in the 1950s to a local politician, and remained in the politician's family until the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, when it appeared on an auction market in 2008. In 2014 the piece was purchased by the Archaeological Museum in Cabra, and has now been reunited with the Dionysius statue and the Sleeping Eros (personal communication, Antonio Moreno Rosa, Museo Arqueológico de Cabra).

brought to the estate for the first time in Phase II or II.2. The only concrete evidence we have for their value as antique objects derives from reconstructions of their display in the newly enhanced late-antique courtyard and garden complex, that is, in a manner almost identical to the antique statuary displays at El Ruedo. The similarities across these two villas stand as material evidence for interactions among contemporary villa owners inhabiting this region.

### II.3 Cortijo de los Robles (Jaén, Jaén)

An additional site in the *Conventus Asitigitanus* seems to mark the late antique enhancement of exhibition venues for antique statuary as a regional habit. At the villa of Cortijo de los Robles, several Imperial-era statues were also found in the large pool or fountain in the peristyle of the villa's *pars urbana* (fig. 114). This site is an anomaly in our discussion in that its excavation has been dedicated to the *pars rustica* as opposed to the *pars urbana* (figs. 115, 116).<sup>387</sup> The villa is located at the eastern end of the *Conventus Astigitanus*, just north of ancient Aurgi (modern Jaén). For the moment, I focus only on its *pars urbana* which was uncovered in emergency excavations in the last decade (fig. 117). The peristyle villa is very similar to Casa del Mitra and El Ruedo. A peristyle gallery paved with black and white geometric mosaics surrounds a large

---

<sup>387</sup> The publication of this site is unfortunately limited, see López Marcos and Baena del Alcázar 2008; López Marcos and Buzón Alarcón 2013-14. See also Carrillo Díaz 2012 *passim* for a discussion of its *pars rustica*. The site is located just north of modern Jaén in the so-called archeological zone of Marroquíes Bajos. The leveling of land for storage facilities and access routes into the city led to the discovery of Roman ruins at Cortijo de los Robles, and emergency excavations were carried out from November 2005 – August 2006 (original report is unpublished; see López Marcos and Buzón Alarcón 2013-12, 380).

rectangular pool in the central courtyard (fig. 118).<sup>388</sup> The complex appears to have been built in the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century but like the aforementioned villas it was renovated in a later era. Two apses were added at a later stage to create reception or audience halls in the southwestern and southeastern corners of the peristyle.<sup>389</sup> The villa is occupied through the 4<sup>th</sup> century and not abandoned until the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> century (based on ceramic evidence in destruction/accumulation layers).<sup>390</sup>

A number of late-1<sup>st</sup> / 2<sup>nd</sup> century sculptures were found in the large ornamental pool of the later *pars urbana*: mythological statuettes (Priapus, Diana, and Venus) and a female portrait of the Flavian/Trajanic era (figs. 114, 130).<sup>391</sup> These findspots do not, however, immediately correlate with the display of statuary in the garden or villa's peristyle since it is possible that the fragmented sculptures were moved here from other contexts in a post-occupational period. But the finds context of statuary across this villa,

---

<sup>388</sup> At 6.55 meters long and 5.70 meters wide the *impluvium* is much larger than those which we have seen at Casa del Mitra or El Ruedo (see above). One could access this pool via a central staircase of four steps. The pool is exceptionally well preserved and revetted in lime 2-3 cm thick. The site's excavators uncovered 650m<sup>2</sup> of the *pars urbana* and estimate that the entire complex covered 1150m<sup>2</sup> and was approximately 38 meters long and 30 meters wide. For its architectural plan and discussion see López Marcos and Buzón Alarcón 2013-14, 397-406).

<sup>389</sup> These apses were likely added in the late antique period when apses are a documented phenomenon among villas in the West. However there is no hard evidence for their late antique construction at this villa (López Marcos and Buzón Alarcón 2013-14, 404-406).

<sup>390</sup> Accretion layers excavated in the impluvium furnished evidence of tegulae, imbrices, pavement stones, paint fragments, architectural sculpture (a Corinthian capital in local stone, cornice and other marble fragments), and a large quantity of ceramics, from *dolia* to diverse fragments of African terra sigillata A and D and TSHT (López Marcos and Buzón Alarcón 2013-12, 399; chronological summary 406, 412). The ceramics, however, have not been published, and precise chronologies have not been offered for the site's occupation. We should assume a *terminus post quem* of 150 CE for the villa's construction, and occupation through the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> or even the early 5<sup>th</sup> century, to judge from the recovered material.

<sup>391</sup> The Flavian or Trajanic-era female portrait was first published by the Museo of Jaén where it is currently on exhibition (López Marcos and Baena del Alcázar 2008); other pieces – statuettes of Priapus, a Venus/goddess figure, and a female Diana – are mentioned only in passing in the scholarship.

El Ruedo, and Casa del Mitra is suggestive, as though antique statuary played a prominent role in the garden alongside water features.

A fourth site in the area may support this hypothesis but I add it to our discussion with caution as it has never been fully excavated. Less than 25 kilometers northwest of Casa del Mitra at a site known as Casilla de la Lampara, sculptural fragments appeared in a semi-circular basin 3 meters long and almost 1 meter deep.<sup>392</sup> The statuary fragments suggest that the basin was a fountain. Among them are a bronze panther that was likely fixed to the jet of a fountain, with a hole in its mouth and a large gap on its hindquarters; the lower half of a marble satyr holding a jug, another common fountain statuary type; and a nude bronze arm. Scholars cite the arm's undefined musculature as a mark of femininity or youthfulness, and with the aforementioned panther and satyr in mind, associate this arm with a statue of Bacchus.<sup>393</sup> Further excavation at this site is necessary to elaborate the context of these finds, but regional comparanda points to the identification of this site as the *pars urbana* of a later villa, with statues displayed in and around the peristyle garden.

However, we lack precise chronologies for the deposition of most of these pieces in the pool or fountain such that we cannot verify statuary display in these zones. In any case, this mode of statuary display is not uncommon in the Roman world and may not

---

<sup>392</sup> The site has never been fully excavated. For the initial publication of the site and its finds see Santos Gallego 1946.

<sup>393</sup> The statues are currently housed in the Museo Arqueológico de Córdoba; see also Rodríguez Olivia 1993, 42; Lozas Azuaga 1993, 102; Vaquerizo Gil 1995, 89-91; Koppel 1995, 46-48.

mark a regional convention.<sup>394</sup> What is striking, however, is that all three of the excavated villas document Imperial-era antique statuary in the villa during late-antique occupation. No contemporary statues have been recovered in this region, such that heirloom statues appear to have been the only statues, and the only antique décor of these newly renovated late-Roman villas. The evidence suggests that antique sculptures stood in refashioned spaces which likely functioned as reception halls or entertainment venues. In what remains of this chapter I investigate heirloom statuary as a particular signature of this region and its elite inhabitants.

### **III. Antique Statuary Program(s)**

This next section discusses several of the region's statuary finds in greater depth. It focuses on one iconographic parallel that previous scholarship has marked as important, Bacchic imagery, but it also places greater attention on the antique character of sculptures found here broadly. "Antique" is in fact the greatest common denominator across assemblages, and under the umbrella of "antique" are a number of rare finds that cannot be assimilated into a single iconographic program: portraiture, imperial portraiture, a Mithras Tauroktonos statue, and mythological bronze sculptures. Therefore, it might be said that rare, antique statuary is a feature of villas in the rural *Conventus Astigitanus*, as much as Bacchus is a popular iconographic figure.

---

<sup>394</sup> See Rodriguez Olivia 1993 for examples in Baetica; see also Lozas Azuaga 1993 for fountain sculptures; Garcia Sanz 1994 more generally; also Koppel 1995, 46-48.

Thus this section focuses on heirloom or antiquity as an organizing factor of statuary display among the villas of this region, with Bacchic imagery discussed *passim* by virtue of its pervasiveness, and examined in greater depth as an iconographic program in a later section. Beginning with “antique” as a qualifier, let us turn to the sizable assemblage of Imperial-era bronze sculptures known here.

### **III.1 Bronze Statuary in the *Conventus Astigitanus*: Case Study of El Ruedo**

Indeed, a sizable number of bronzes have been found in late antique Baetican villas, and they are among the only bronzes documented in the many statuary villas surveyed in this dissertation.<sup>395</sup> At El Ruedo, bronze statuary finds include a Hypnos, and a hermaphrodite statuette. At the aforementioned site of Casilla de la Lampara, extant finds include bronze statuettes of a panther and the arm of a fragmentary human figure, possibly a Bacchus that should be associated with this panther.<sup>396</sup> Other finds outside of the four sites discussed above, but still loosely associated with this region include bronze statuettes of Bacchus and an ephebe from Las Minas (Aguilar de la Frontera, 75 kilometers west/northwest of El Ruedo) and a head of Bacchus from Cortijo de los Villares (Serrato, 120 kilometers west/southwest of El Ruedo). It is unclear if the survival

---

<sup>395</sup> It is as yet unclear if this is due to their chance survival or to a regional predilection for this type of heirloom sculpture. For the regional importance of bronze statuary here, see Rodriguez Olivia 1993; Vaquerizo 1993. Most extant statues are likely Bacchic figures: the Bacchus and an ephebe from Las Minas, Aguilar de la Frontera (Córdoba) and a head of Bacchus Cortijo de los Villares, Serrato (Malaga province). Outside of Roman Baetica, only the villa of Montmaurin in southern Aquitaine (chapter 5, section II.4) has furnished evidence for bronze statuettes.

<sup>396</sup> See above nt. 392.

of these other bronze statues is a product of chance, or conscious conservation in a region where heirloom (Bacchic?) statuary has regional import.

With this question in mind, analysis focuses on the two bronze statues found at El Ruedo, which are among the best preserved in Roman Baetica. They are securely associated with the villa's late antique occupation and as such add nuance to synthesis of the possible heirloom program at this estate. The extant bronzes include a dancing hermaphrodite statuette (fig. 107), and a life-size statue of Hypnos or Somnus (fig. 106). Both are dated to the Imperial-era. The presence of two bronzes in this assemblage, one of which is life-size, is rather exceptional, considering the rarity of bronze sculpture in late antique domestic assemblages more broadly.<sup>397</sup>

The Hypnos statue has garnered the bulk of scholarly attention by virtue of its size and preservation. It was found in several fragments in the triclinium of El Ruedo and has been reconstructed to almost one meter in height (figs. 108, 119-121). Hypnos is nude and has the idealized body of a young male.<sup>398</sup> The detail work in the head is quite fine.

---

<sup>397</sup> For the relative rarity of bronzes in the Córdoba province see Rodríguez Olivia 1993; in Iberian villas more generally see Koppel 1995, 34-36, 47. Bronze was often used in small scale statuettes, portraits, votives and furnishings in the home, but it seldom appears as antiques in a late-Roman *domus*, especially on the scale of the life-size Hypnos. The assumption is that many of these were displayed in *lararia* based on evidence from the excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum (see for example Dwyer 1982).

Unfortunately, most of the bronzes found in Iberia lack a definite context. Beginning in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century marble became increasingly dominant as the sculptural medium of choice and bronze statues appear with less frequency in the home. It is also possible that less bronzes have survived based on the value of the material and the relative ease with which it could be recycled. For a brief discussion of the two media specifically with respect to portraiture see Fejfer 2008, 157-163.

<sup>398</sup> Museo Histórico Municipal de Almedinilla; Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, no. 12, 150-159. The statue has been reconstructed from ten recovered fragments; the left arm was not recovered. The piece stand 87 cm tall; the head from forehead to chin: 11.8 cm; weight 20.88kg. The El Ruedo Hypnos was



Two wings emerge behind the temples and the hair is parted down the center, gathered into two knots behind the temples and another at the nape of the neck. A *taenia* decorated with silver incrustations in vegetal motifs wraps around the head. His chest twists to the left and his right arm is extended forward. The head also twists to the left and the gaze is directed downwards, suggesting the figure's forward movement. This posture may have been chosen to bring the god's "story" to life, scholars claim.<sup>399</sup> Indeed, his fully extended limbs suggest his movement and it is possible that we are to imagine him casting the poppy seed and lulling the world to sleep. The piece belongs to the "Jumilla" type, named for another large bronze found in Jumilla (Murcia); these two are the only known free-standing bronze Hypnos statues in the Peninsula.<sup>400</sup>

The bulk of scholarship on this piece is art historical, and focuses on the iconographic type and its possible origin,<sup>401</sup> but I think it important to place this piece in context, that is, in dialogue with the other antique bronze statuette recovered in the later villa's triclinium.<sup>402</sup> Though different sizes, both statues capture the nude human body in motion and highlight the technical proficiency of cast bronze sculpture. The dancing

---

made in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and manufactured using the lost wax technique, which allowed for the extension of the figure's limbs into space.

<sup>399</sup> Vaquerio Gil and Noguera Celdrán, *ibid.*

<sup>400</sup> Hypnos of Jumilla, Antikensammlung Staatlichen Museen Berlin; for bibliography of this piece see Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, 154 note 193. Most of the other Hypnos free-standing statues were found in northern Italy and Gaul, see Vaquerizo 1994.

<sup>401</sup> Vaquerizo 1994; Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1994, no. 12, 150-159.

<sup>402</sup> Inv. no. 30.865, Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Córdoba. This piece was found in the 1989 excavations in room XVII, but due to clandestine activity ended up in the antiquities market until it was purchased in 1990 by the Dirección general de Bienes Culturales de la Junta de Andalucía (Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, 160 nt. 232). For catalogue discussion of the piece see Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, no. 13, 160-165.

hermaphrodite was cast so as to capture the curves of a body and the extensions of limbs without struts. The posturing, moreover, adds an element of surprise to the ambiguity of figure's gender. From the rear, the body appears to be that of a female with a shapely back and buttocks. Weight rests on the right foot and the left is lifted gracefully and extended backwards. From the back the viewer encounters a nimble bronze nymph who appears to look over her right shoulder at her right hand, which may have held a mirror. The hair is short and tied with a *taenia*. Any previous conceptions about the identification or gender of this "nymph", however, must be reevaluated when the viewer circles round to the front of the statuette and catches sight of the figure's penis.

It is not difficult to imagine that these two bronzes were displayed together. Both were found together in the triclinium, and the display of the two together draws attention to bronze as an artistic medium.<sup>403</sup> Beyond iconography, bronze statuary is also a significant contribution to the villa's heirloom statuary program, by virtue of the material's ability to age, change color, and testify to its own antiquity. The fragility of bronze is such that its preservation was a conscious project; thus these bronze statues may mark the villa's inhabitants as ardent and dedicated collectors. Ancient sources suggest that bronze statuary evinced its age in a way that marble could not, though how patinas were appreciated by ancient viewers is hotly contested because of the difficulties inherent

---

<sup>403</sup> But previous suggestions which argue for their display in niches on the western wall of the triclinium should be reassessed. Such a setting prevents viewing them from multiple angles and downplays the potency of bronze work (arguments for display in niches in Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, 60ff).

in identifying patinas as antique or simply the product of natural corrosion.<sup>404</sup> Sources suggest, however, that bronze objects with biographies were of great value. Pliny writes of a portrait statue of Alexander sculpted by Lysippus which Nero had gilded.<sup>405</sup> The gilding increased the piece's monetary value but so diminished its artistic worth that the gold was removed, which in fact made the statue even more valuable because of the incisions and literal scars it carried. In the case of El Ruedo's bronzes, we may thus acknowledge the heirloom power inherent to statuary in this medium, and its value in a larger antique statuary display.

The display of the Hypnos statue may even have consciously celebrated the antiquity of the piece. Archaeologists reconstruct the display of the Hypnos – the largest piece in the extant statuary assemblage – in the center of the triclinium, which was renovated and redecorated elaborately in Phase III, in the later occupation of the villa in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. With this prominent place in the center of the room, the antique bronze stands as a veritable link between the past and the present, blurring the boundaries between antiquity and lived realities.

---

<sup>404</sup> The idea that bronze patina could have been intentional is a recent idea in scholarship (cf. Deschamps-Lequime 2005). Ancient sources tell us that bronze statues were often colored with added copper or silver (Pliny *HN* 34.98; 34.140; see also Bradley 2009). Pliny also writes, however, that the ancients knew how to take care of and clean their bronzes and prevent them from aging prematurely (*HN* 34.99).

<sup>405</sup> Pliny *HN* 34.29.64-66

### III.2 Not Just Bacchic Statuary, but *Heirloom* Bacchic statuary

It is interesting to note that, among the many bronzes found in villas of this region, only the statues at El Ruedo cannot be associated with a Bacchic program; all of the other finds mentioned above can, such that it is unclear whether a program of heirloom bronze or heirloom Bacchic statuary has true regional import. This is not to say, however, that the villa of El Ruedo furnishes no evidence for Bacchic statuary. It does, if in marble as opposed to bronze. That said, the iconography of the extant Bacchic sculptures at El Ruedo suggests that the antique quality of these objects was of great importance.

Indeed, a series of Bacchic herms found at El Ruedo suggest that late-Roman viewers were encouraged to observe and synthesize the antiquity or heirloom quality of the villa's statuary.<sup>406</sup> Let us look at these herms in greater depth. Of the four herm heads extant, three depict Bacchus or members of his circle.<sup>407</sup> Differences across this trio suggest a genuine appreciation for stylistic, technical, and iconographic variation, and for colored marbles. One herm stands out as an archaizing head sculpted in yellow marble,

---

<sup>406</sup> For thorough catalogue descriptions and bibliography for these pieces see Vaquerizo and Gil 1997, no. 6-8, 130-140. For additional information on each piece see below nts. 408, 411, 413. I note here that the identity of herms remains inconclusive, though the crown of corymbs and a diadem on two of the herms (Vaquerizo and Gil 1997, no. 7, 8) does suggest Bacchus. The pieces are dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century, and Bacchic herms do have a wide diffusion in that time period (after Vaquerizo and Gil 1997, 136 nt. 145; see also Wrede 1986).

<sup>407</sup> The fourth herm found at El Ruedo (MAN Madrid Inv. no. 2.776) depicts a female person, possibly a divinity. The head is draped, which has been interpreted as possibly Punic influence. Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán (1997, no. 9) suggest that the female may represent Ceres, as a likely figure for an economic estate such as El Ruedo. The style of this piece is different from the others; the face is smaller, the features simple and somewhat schematized. It is loosely dated to the 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century; the facial features and simple carving technique do not gesture towards any chronological fixed points.

perhaps *giallo antico* (or Numidian marble) (fig. 122).<sup>408</sup> The rarity of yellow marble is itself significant and would have drawn a viewer's eye to this piece in particular. The style of the head is archaizing and the facial features are severe – schematically ridged brows, a prominent chin and a small open mouth. The eye sockets are hollow and would have been filled with a glass paste or similar material.<sup>409</sup> This stern, unembellished face contrasts with an elaborate (if equally archaizing) coiffure - four rows of circular curls are stacked across the forehead from temple to temple and outlined with the drill. Behind the ears the sculptor has incised long rope-like locks which fall onto the shoulders. This coiffure looks to classical Greek sculpture and should be associated with representations of Bacchus in Roman art, popular from the 1<sup>st</sup> century on.<sup>410</sup> That this archaizing iconography belonged to an antique piece, that is, to an Imperial-era herm on display in a late antique villa, suggests an appreciation for antique imagery on multiple levels.

Another herm in this assemblage depicts a member of Bacchus' circle, a faun or a satyr (fig. 123). This piece is sculpted in white marble and thus an immediate contrast to the aforementioned herm head, though the two were found together in the northern apse

---

<sup>408</sup> Inv. no. RU89/J-13/Est. X/No. 12, Museo Histórico Municipal de Almedinilla; Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, no. 6, 130-35. The piece was recovered in the 1988-89 excavation in the north apse of the patio tank alongside another herm of Dionysius/Bacchus (see below nt. 411). It is preserved to a max. height of 13.2 cm; max. width 10.5 cm; max. depth 7.4 cm. The piece was cut flat in the rear. The marble is finely grained and visual observation has suggested that the piece is sculpted from marble originating in the Chemtou quarries in Tunisia, though no petrographic analysis has been carried out on the stone (Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, 130).

<sup>409</sup> Perhaps with a glass paste, as suggested by Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, 130 after Bonnano 1997.

<sup>410</sup> The figure's identification as Bacchus or Dionysius is based on archaic elements of Dionysian iconography in late-Hellenistic sculpture. Other suggestions for this figure have included Apollo, or a maenad, Diana or Ariadne if female (Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, 134-35), based largely on the wealth of comparanda for those three gods among extant herm heads.

of the tank in the peristyle.<sup>411</sup> The head is that of a youthful male wearing a crown of ivy leaves. The face is beardless, the cheeks soft and fleshy, the nose small and rounded with drilled nostrils. The left corner of the mouth is slightly raised, lending the satyr an appropriately mischievous smile.<sup>412</sup> The piece has suffered some damage and surface abrasions but remains characterized by a liveliness which fits its iconography, and marks yet another subtle contrast with the archaizing Bacchus head.

A final Bacchic herm is a departure from the other two in that it is a good deal smaller in size and was not found in the stratigraphic excavations of the villa in 1989-90 (fig. 124).<sup>413</sup> Given the quality of the technical work and its thematic relevance to pieces securely attached to El Ruedo, however, excavators are confident in associating it with the villa and its late antique occupation phases.<sup>414</sup> This figure's face is wide and fleshy, with thick eyelids and a broad nose. The downward curving of the slightly open mouth lends a peculiarly somber air to the head.<sup>415</sup> The pupils are drilled and the hair is centrally

---

<sup>411</sup> Inv. no. RU89/Est. X/no. 11, Museo Histórico Municipal de Almedinilla; Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, no. 7, 136-37. Max. height 13.6cm; max. width 11.8 cm; max. depth 6.6 cm. The white marble has the aura of Parian marble (Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, 136).

<sup>412</sup> Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán (1997, 136) are less conflicted with the identification of this herm as Dionysios/Bacchus than the previous archaizing herm. In my opinion the figure's satirical smirk and youthful air are clearly indicative of a satyr or faun, or another member of the Bacchic *thiasus*.

<sup>413</sup> This piece was part of the Miró collection, a donation of 1067 pieces to the Spanish State in 1876. The provenance of the piece was registered as Almedinilla, and this is the only such documentation we have on this object (1876-XII-20 Madrid, see the descriptive catalogue of the antiquities which Miró sold to the Spanish state, now in the possession of the Archivo Histórico del MAN, Expediente 1876/8, after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, 138, nt. 149). Also included in this collection and from Almedinilla was a portrait of Domitian (see below section V).

<sup>414</sup> Indeed, the site was known before emergency excavations began in October of 1988. Previous knowledge of the site, archaeologists lament, should have prevented the destruction that occurred with construction of Highway 336 began (Vaquerizo Gil 1990a, 38).

<sup>415</sup> Inv. no. 2.775 Museo Arqueológico Nacional (Madrid); Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, no. 8, 138-39. Max. height 11 cm; max. width 8.8cm; max depth 4.5 cm.

parted into three rows of thick strands which gather at the temples; a diadem rests atop the head. The use of the drill in the coiffure and eyes suggest a date in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.

With such stylistic eclecticism across these three herm heads it is easy to focus on the thematic Bacchic iconography as a unifying feature, though I note that the identification of the third herm as Bacchus is a stretch. Formal analysis, however, suggests that choice of the herm format, and the antiquity of those herms lent equally important cohesion to this ensemble. What is more, if heirloom statuary display was indeed the intended program of the villa of El Ruedo, the antiquity of these herms heads may have had greater appeal than their individual iconographies.<sup>416</sup> Indeed, other pieces in this assemblage (the aforementioned bronzes, but also several mythological statues and a portrait, detailed below) suggest that analysis of the programmatic character of this villa's statuary assemblage should focus on the antiquity of all the extant pieces.

### **III.3 Bacchus...and Mithras at Casa del Mitra**

I turn to one final case study to continue exploring antiquity or historicism as key to displays of heirloom statuary here in this region, whether Bacchic or not. At the site of Casa del Mitra just west of El Ruedo, the courtyard pool seems to have been decorated

---

<sup>416</sup> Other statues of Bacchus' troupe were also found at El Ruedo. A Pan and Satyr group has been reconstructed based on fragments of a small figure (Pan) and those of another hoofed figure's on a statue base, likely a satyr (Inv. no. RU/89/Est. LXVII. No. 62 (head); RU89/Est. LXVII/no. 61 (trunk); RU89/Est. XI/no. 25 (leg), Museo Histórico Municipal de Almedinilla; Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, no. 5, 124-130). Some fragments of this piece were found on the central patio around the water tank (room XI). The display of this group would stressed the Bacchic character of the peristyle patio if it was displayed here alongside the herms.

with at least two antique statues of Bacchus and Mithras. The Bacchus was found in the central pool in excavations, presumably fallen from a statue niche (fig. 113).<sup>417</sup> At over one meter tall this statue is remarkably well preserved. It is sculpted in a fine white marble.<sup>418</sup> Bacchus stands in *contrapposto* pose, his weight supported by his left leg and a tree trunk on the left side. He holds the staff of a thyrsus in his left arm, and a kantharos in his right. A panther paws gently at his right leg. The god is barefoot and nude, and the body youthful, soft and almost feminine. Long hair falls over his shoulders and he wears a crown of oak leaves and a cluster of grapes. Dated loosely to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, the drill is used sparingly in this piece. This piece is perhaps the most traditional of all the examples discussed here, in that it is a Roman copy of a cult image.

This piece may have stood across from a Mithras Tauroktonos statue in the center of the villa's peristyle garden (fig. 109).<sup>419</sup> While one would normally assume that the

---

<sup>417</sup> Museo Arqueológico Municipal de Cabra; Blanco, Garcia and Bendala 1972, 314-16; Height 115 cm. Salvador and Martin-Bueno 1995, 68-69.

<sup>418</sup> It has been suggested that the marble comes from the local quarries of Maecael (Almería), but no petrographic analyses have been carried out and the suggestion remains conjecture (first suggested by Blanco, Garcia and Bendala 1972, 315). Among the stones quarried at Maecael in Tarraconensis is a pure white marble, but this stone seems to have been exported less frequently than a striped or banded marble, "anasol", which is more immediately recognizable and has been documented throughout southern Spain. For the Almería quarries in the Roman period see Cisneros Cunchillos 1997. Unfortunately the importation and exportation of marble in Spain is most frequently studied with respect to the urban sphere and its use in civic architecture.

<sup>419</sup> One should note here that only figural mosaic in the villa also depicts Bacchus, and his Eastern Triumph. The statue and mosaic together may speak to a unique trend in this region, that is, the use of ancient statuary and polychrome figural mosaics in a late antique home. However, most Iberian villas with ancient statuary do not provide evidence for figural mosaics, and the use of both here is most interesting. In the surrounding area, a mosaic depicting Bacchus' Triumph also appeared in the villa Fuente Alamo (Puente Genil, Córdoba, see Lancha 2003). In conjunction with that of Casa del Mitra, it speaks to the popularity of the iconography, but to the importance of context in our interpretations of its use. At Fuente Alamo excavations have uncovered extensive evidence of figural mosaics. Villas with figural mosaics in Hispania are not often villas where we find statuary. The use of Bacchus' Triumph in a mosaic along with



Bacchic statue, as a copy, is decorative and serves no cultic function, the placement of this piece in the same vicinity as a Mithraic image is suggestive. As an Imperial-era piece, the Mithras Tauroktonos cannot have been manufactured as anything but a religious object. Even if it did not function as a cult image in the 4<sup>th</sup> century in this domestic setting, it has a historically religious valence. It is the only extant free-standing Mithras Tauroktonos in the entire Iberian Peninsula. The placement of these two statues – Bacchus and Mithras – in the niches of a bi-apsidal pool would have invited visual comparison of the two: male deities with eastern origins whose cult worship in late antiquity was characterized by initiation rites and secret mysteries.<sup>420</sup> We may see them as signs of the owner's pagan sympathies, but their historicism and antiquity gives pause to this suggestion. They may equally have served as powerful images in the edification and preservation of the past. By the Late Antique period, this sort of antique mythological imagery has legitimate force as cultural relics in the public sphere.

The probable decline of urbanism in this region, coupled with the display of rare antique sculptures in rural villas like this Mithras Tauroktonos at Casa del Mitra, is suggestive.<sup>421</sup> Was the preservation of cultural objects a specific function of villa owners here, in that they could no longer count on civic bodies and institutions to carry out such

---

the display of an antique statue of the same deity at Casa del Mitra is then a different sort of phenomenon, and appears to mark an owner versed in both local (antique statuary, polychrome geometric mosaics) and extra-regional (figural mosaics with north-African influences) design practices and vocabularies. For Bacchus' Triumph in late antique mosaics see Dunbabin 1999 *passim*.

<sup>420</sup> It is also possible that the bibliographies attached to and developed for both gods in late antiquity evolved them into legitimate rivals to Christianity.

<sup>421</sup> See Chapter 1 for Christianity and pagan religion in the late antique period. For the nuanced relationship between the two, especially in the *domus*, see Stirling 2005; Bowes 2008.

projects? Again, further study of the purported decline of this region's *municipia* is warranted; until that time, no strong statement can be made. At the same time, extant evidence suggests that we should consider the villa estate as an important fixture of the rural landscape, and villa owners as conscious participants in the preservation of cultural history. Indeed, the statuary displays of estates in this region, particularly at El Ruedo and Casa del Mitra, evince curation efforts, with antique statuary installed as showpieces in newly renovated architectural spaces. That the owners of El Ruedo and Casa del Mitra, only 35 kilometers apart, both participated in apparent preservation projects does not simply suggest peer polity interactions, but also preservation of antiquity as the prerogative of rural *domini*.

#### III.4 Unpacking Bacchus: a Popular Iconography

If we imagine the preservation of antique objects as a project of the region's landowners, however, we must ask how images of Bacchus fit into this narrative. A quick survey of the statuary assemblages we have thus far encountered does indeed suggest that Bacchus in particular, was especially popular. At El Ruedo three of four extant herm heads have been identified as Bacchus. Two of these were found in the north apse of the bi-apsidal pool and were likely arranged in the peristyle garden in antiquity (figs. 122-124).<sup>422</sup>

---

<sup>422</sup> In the *domus* herms are frequently found in gardens and peristyles, and are popular throughout the Roman period, cf. the villa of Poppaea at Oplontis (Bergmann 2002); the villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum (Warden and Romano 1994). Outside of Italy and in late antiquity see the impressive late antique collection of dozens of herms at the villa of Welschbillig, 12 kilometers northwest of Treveri (Trier). The site was excavated in 1891. A monumental pool (58.3 x 17.8m) with an attached nymphaeum

Fragments of a satyr and Pan group and a bronze hermaphrodite were also found at the villa (fig. 125). As Casa del Mitra Bacchus' Triumph was chosen as the subject for the large mosaic in the triclinium (fig. 112); this piece is in fact that only figural mosaic extant in all of the villa discussed previously. At Casilla de la Lampara fragments of Bacchic sculptures are also associated with a fountain or ornamental pool: a bronze panther, a satyr with a wine jug, and an arm, possibly belonging to a statuette of Bacchus.<sup>423</sup> As we have just seen at Casa del Mitra, the 2<sup>nd</sup> century statue of Bacchus stood in one of the niches of the peristyle pool (fig. 113), opposite the Mithras Tauroktonos (fig. 109). Comparanda around the Roman world suggests that these Bacchus statues are not remarkable in terms of iconography; yet the regional concentration of *antique* Bacchus statues may be significant.

We generally accept images of Bacchus as commonplace, and in a domestic context as a metonym for *otium*, such that his image befits a private residence.<sup>424</sup> Thus, the prevalence of Bacchus and his retinue in Hispania, whether in statuary or mosaics, has prompted scholars to speak of a popular *koine* which crosses media, chronological

---

was uncovered, surrounded by a balustrade of 70 herms sculpted c. 375 (Wrede 1972). Extant herm heads Welschbillig depict gods, heroes, poets, orators, emperors, and ethnic peoples (Wrede 1986). This collection remains one of the largest extant late antique sculptural displays and merits research into the use of history and antique imagery as a sculptural program.

<sup>423</sup> While I would normally disagree with the identification of a Bacchus figure based solely on the find of a thin, non-muscular arm, the presence of the panther and a satyr may corroborate this suggestion. The statuary, however, has not been published in great depth, see above nt. 392.

<sup>424</sup> Clarke 1990; Kleiner 1992; Kleiner 1995; Koppel 1993; 1995.

periods and provinces.<sup>425</sup> Finds are not surprising in domestic contexts, we assume, but is this true of any era? And if we note the antiquity of this region's Bacchus statues, and the regional clustering of these finds in late antique villas, what special appeal did this particular god have among *domini*, as opposed to or over other mythological deities or figures? What values were newly attached to this Bacchus, and/or to heirloom statues of this god in late antiquity, in this region specifically?

It is possible that Bacchus was especially beloved in late antiquity for many reasons: foreign but familiar; Greco-Roman but twice born and thus a parallel (or rival) with the Christ; and a metonym for *otium*, but also a patron of wine, agricultural production, household economics and the fertility of nature. It is this final, in between *otium* and *negotium*, that is perhaps best instantiated in this region. The late antique Roman villa itself is a quintessential locus of work and play, of *otium* and *negotium*. The display of antique Bacchus statuary would thus have added a powerful layer of legitimacy and lineage to the villa as a mode of habitation.

---

<sup>425</sup> In Iberia: Rodriguez Olivia 1993, 42; Lozas Azuaga 1993 (bronze statuary); Koppel 1993 (statuary in Iberia); 1995 (statuary in the villas of Tarraco); Vaquerizo 1990 (El Ruedo's statuary); Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1995 (*ibid.*); 1997 (*ibid.*). One of the leading experts on sculpture in Hispania, Eva Koppel has published analyses of the statuary types commonly found among the villas of Tarraco and in the Iberian Peninsula more broadly (cf. Koppel 1985; Koppel 1993; 1995; also Koppel and Rodà 1995). In her opinion the display of Bacchic statuary is an ordinary habit, in that this iconography is almost always found in the excavations of Roman domestic contexts. While I find no fault with the notion of Bacchus as popular, I think it important to ask whether the display of *antique* Bacchus images belong to the same *habitus* in a late-Roman villa context, before we mark such a practice as "standard". Koppel's study of the villa Els Munts outside Tarraco (1999; 2000; see also 1995) does not weigh in on the date of the villa and its occupation (or not) in Late Antiquity. The Imperial-era statuary assemblage from this villa has been used by excavators to build a case for the floruit of the villa in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and its decline in Late Antiquity, which I believe is contestable based on the dating of the destruction layer (see nt. 65).

But if these antique statues indeed served as legitimizing visual rhetoric, does their prominence here in this region mark its late-Roman *domini* as desperate for legitimacy or connections to a traditional past? The socio-historical landscape of the *Conventus Astigitanus* must again be remembered. Amidst the probable decline of urban institutions, it is unclear what sort of political advancement the elite of the *Conventus Astigitanus* enjoyed. There may have been unequal opportunities for social elevation, given the rurality of this area. The rise of the countryside as a sphere in and of itself, and the display of antique statuary may thus coincide with the rise of a powerful, rural group who operated in the guise of the historical villa *dominus*. Antique statuary would have legitimated this way of life.

Before probing the notion of antiques as legitimizing forces any further, however, a more comprehensive profile of this region's *domini* must be established, for these villas were not simply vessels for statuary display or for elite interaction. Many were fully functional estates which should be associated not with generic late Roman elite but with a particular type of land-owning *domini* whose estates were the means to elevated standing. An examination of the extant *partes rusticae* may now be warranted. In this next section I explore the *pars rustica*'s role in engineering, or validating the display of heirloom statuary within an elaborate *pars urbana*, that is, the role of the estate in engineering or validating an elite identity. The rural character of these villas has been noted, but that "rurality" has not been elaborated beyond their geographic location. Only a few of the villas here that have been excavated extensively, but those that have – El

Ruedo and Cortijo de los Robles – furnish detailed evidence for *partes rusticae* and participation in local economics. I focus on this evidence in detail because it characterizes these villas as inhabited estates with owners whose profile may be more diverse than a simple glance at their statues or *pares urbanae* may suggest.

#### **IV. Estate Economics**

I have given little by way of introduction to the villa Cortijo de los Robles beyond a quick survey of its antique sculptures and its *pars urbana*, a peristyle complex with apsidal rooms organized around a courtyard with a large central pool.<sup>426</sup> Like El Ruedo and Casa del Mitra the residential complex's initial layout is loosely dated to the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century, and seemingly renovated in the 4<sup>th</sup> century (fig. 115). The antique sculptures found here actually do not include a Bacchus figure, marking this site as a sort of anomaly. Moreover, the largest and most impressive piece is one of the few portraits found in this region, a Flavian or Trajanic-era female portrait. I now turn to the *pars rustica* of this site, located west of this residential sector.

##### **IV.1 The *pars rustica* of Cortijo de los Robles in Phase II**

Excavation suggests that the *pars rustica* was modified for the construction of a large mill for oil production in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, concurrently with the

---

<sup>426</sup> See above section II.3 for the site's excavation history.

foundation of the peristyle villa (fig. 126).<sup>427</sup> A rectangular room (30 meters long and 16 meters wide) was built to house six presses in semi-circular batteries; the counter-weights for each of the six presses were found *in situ* (fig. 127).<sup>428</sup> Rooms for the reception and decantation of the oil are not as well preserved, but were apparently located south of the pressing room.<sup>429</sup> The design of this complex – six presses housed in one large rectangular structure – has regional parallels at the urban sites of Cerro Lucerico and Marroquíes Bajos-Fabrica de Cuétara, which may point to a locally-dominant model for olive oil production.<sup>430</sup> The Cuétara plant is also only two kilometers east of the villa Los Robles. This site and its pressing facilities were built in the early 1<sup>st</sup> century and cannot be associated with any extant villas at present, which has suggested to scholars its design as a communal facility serving the needs of local residents in and around the municipal of

---

<sup>427</sup> For the *pars rustica* see López Marcos and Buzón Alarcón 2013-12, 391-97; also López Marcos and Baena del Alcázar 2007, 162.

<sup>428</sup> The compartments in which the weights were found were 2.5m deep, built in masonry and paved in lime mortar 15cm thick. A small channel connected all six compartments, perhaps to assist with cleaning and maintenance. Five of the six weights are virtually identical, except for one that is a reused *trapetum*. They take the form of large cylindrical limestone blocks weighing around four tons. They are about one meter in diameter and taper slightly towards the top. They range from 1.0 – 1.6 meters tall. In the center of each is a small opening for a screw and attachment to the *prelum*. The *prelum* would have been oriented N-S and approximately 8 meters long, to judge by the available space (López Marcos and Buzón Alarcón 2013-12, 391-93).

<sup>429</sup> A series of rooms were excavated south of the presses. Their exact function is unclear; these areas might have been used for decantation and storage (López Marcos and Buzón Alarcón 2013-12, 394-95).

<sup>430</sup> First suggested by Carrillo 2011-12, 353, cited by López Marcos and Buzón Alarcón 2013-12, 396. At Cerro Lucerico the pressing space measures 26 by 14 meters; six ashlar blocks along the wall would have supported the roof, and threshing floor was paved in *opus spicatum*. For Cerro Lucerico see Peña 2010, 475-476; Carrillo 2011-12, 351, 353-55. The design of the press found at Cuétara – Zona Arqueológica de Marroquíes Bajos (ZAMB) is nearly identical to that of Los Robles. Like those of Los Robles, the Cuétara counterweights measure around 1.6 meters tall and 1 meter in diameter and are held in six parallel naves in one large rectangular building, 35 by 15 meters. For Marroquíes Bajos-Fabrica de Cuétara see Serrano Peña 2004; Serrano Peña and Carrillo 2009, 2077-78.

ancient Aurgi (Jáen).<sup>431</sup> Excavation at Cuétara documents a decline in use of the facilities in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century, and its abandonment in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>432</sup> However, at nearby Cortijo de los Robles the oil production facilities undergo major renovations in the mid-to-late 2<sup>nd</sup> century, with facilities maintained and used through the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and likely longer.<sup>433</sup> The only sign of decline is a gradual abandonment that coincides with the abandonment of the residential villa and is not clearly dated beyond a *terminus post quem* of the late 4<sup>th</sup> / early 5<sup>th</sup> century. The ongoing use of Los Robles' presses in the late antique period, and its endurance far beyond the communal Cúetara plant may suggest it fulfilled increasing demands for pressing facilities in late antiquity.<sup>434</sup> To judge from the extant evidence Los Robles was equipped to process huge quantities of oil and may have operated as a regional center for other smaller producers from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century on, working in much the same way as olive oil production in modern Andalusia.<sup>435</sup> Its owners would therefore have enjoyed elite status as powerful, local and economically sound patrons.

---

<sup>431</sup> There is no evidence for concurrent habitation at the Cuétara – ZAMB oil production facilities. The plant also predates the designation of Aurgi as a *municipium* in the Flavian era (Serrano Peña 2004, 164-170).

<sup>432</sup> Ceramic evidence suggests that the presses at Cuétara may have ceased to function by the mid-to-late 2<sup>nd</sup> century (Serrano Peña and Carrillo 2009, 2077).

<sup>433</sup> The press at the villa Cortijo de los Robles is the only one of the aforementioned centers with a documented presence into the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (López Marcos and Baena del Alcázar 2008, 162; Carrillo 2011-12, nt. 16; López Marcos and Buzón Alarcón 2013-14, 391-397; chronology 406, 412).

<sup>434</sup> For the increased role of villa owners in oil production in late antiquity see Peña 2005-06. Peña suggests that with respect to the late antique Iberian Peninsula, the production of olive oil is less than it had been in the imperial era, perhaps due to a decreased demand. Villa owners, however, appear to play a large role in local production and production of olive oil does not cease to exist.

<sup>435</sup> Remesal 2000, cited in Carrillo 2011-12, 353; see also 371-72.



## IV.2 The *pars rustica* of late El Ruedo

With this in mind, discussion of the excavated *pars rustica* of the villa El Ruedo and the economic profile of this estate and its *domini* is in order. Faunal analysis suggests that this villa also had olive oil production facilities in place in late antiquity.<sup>436</sup> A square pool for decantation has been identified (fig. 128). It was carved out of the natural rock and paved in *opus signinum*. The structure has been dated to the villa's Phase III and is thus contemporaneous with remodeling efforts in the *pars urbana*, only 20 meters to the west.<sup>437</sup> Fragments of *dolia* suggest that some of the oil was produced for on-site usage, which does not seem to have been on par with that of Cortijo de los Robles. However, this site differs from Los Robles in that oil is not the only economic good manufactured on site. An eclectic enterprise is suggested by the five ceramic kilns which have been identified around the estate, the largest of which (kiln V) is dated to Phase III (fig. 129).<sup>438</sup> Although the evidence does not indicate what types of ceramic containers were

---

<sup>436</sup> Gas chromatography was carried out on the *opus signinum* which covered the decantation pool. The organic remains of fats and amino acid residue on the floor and walls testify to the use of the pool for olive oil decantation (Lara and Camacho 2000, 254-58). The *pars rustica* of El Ruedo was not well understood until a new round of excavations in 1997 (Lara and Camacho 2000; Muñiz 2000; prior to this period see the summary in Vaquerizo and Gil 1995, 148-150). Fragments suggesting a press were also found nearby. Agricultural work in the area over many centuries and the construction of the 33 highway in 1988-89, however, has severely limited understanding of this villa's *pars rustica* and destroyed much of the evidence.

<sup>437</sup> In the base of the structure archaeologists recovered fragments of African terra sigillata C and D (Lara and Camacho 2000, 261).

<sup>438</sup> Kiln V takes the shape of an oval, measuring 7.35 meters long and 5.50 meters wide at its greatest extent. Part of the *praefurnium* remains, 2.6 meters long. Fragments of TSHT meridional (late 4<sup>th</sup> / first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century) in a stratigraphic context provide a basic chronology for its use. For Kiln V and kiln chronologies in general see Lara and Camacho 2000, 251-254. Kilns III and IV are largely destroyed and presumed to be the earliest structures. The use of Kilns I and II is documented in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup>

produced in kiln V, they may have been containers for oil and point to a union between oil production and storage and/or transport. Kiln V was located nearly 200 meters west of the villa near a huge group of storage silos and may also suggest an increase in territorial ownership in the late antique period.<sup>439</sup> The 61 storage silos documented in this zone were arranged in rows and dug into the rock. They measure just over a meter in depth with an average diameter of 1.60 meters, and have also be linked to Phase III, presumably used for grain storage.<sup>440</sup>

Excavators have pointed to these ceramic kilns, to olive oil production, and to the grain storage facilities as evidence for El Ruedo's elevated rank among rural establishments. In our discussion facilities like this at a site with a sizable antique statuary assemblage and an elaborately decorated *pars urbana* suggest an attachment to the rural sphere and to a locality that is at odds with how we scholars generally understand the late-Roman elite. The presumed identity of late antique aristocrats as products of Imperial service may not be valid for this site, or this region. A sizable *pars*

---

century, roughly at the same time as the peristyle villa's creation. Most of the material produced in these two ovens, to judge from refuse dumps, is domestic kitchen and tableware, bowls and pots. The forms and varieties produced are different from pieces associated with industrial ceramics, such as those found at El Tejar (Lucena, 44 kilometers to the west) and La Alcantarilla (Carcabuey, 21km to the west), which seems to have supplied ceramics to Iliturgicola in the Imperial period. For ovens I and III and the ceramics associated with them see Lara and Camacho 2000, 235-50; for a brief summary of ceramic production in the region see Lara and Camacho 2000, 233-35.

<sup>439</sup> The elevated role of El Ruedo in the local hierarchy based on such evidence was initially proposed by Lara and Camacho (2000, 254).

<sup>440</sup> For the storage silos see Lara and Camacho 2000, 261-62. Seventy-seven total silos were documented, only ten were excavated. Sixteen are in a northern zone, arranged rather haphazardly and dated to Phase I or II of the villa. The other sixty lie in the western industrial zone. They are less than 1.12m deep and some are paved in opus signinum with clay walls. Various shapes are documented – bells, cylinders, curved pits. Their association with Phase III of the villa is based largely on the expansion of this western zone in the late antique era, at least by the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century.

*rustica* evinces the owners' livelihood and status as tied to production and to place. A fruitful estate may well have been the source of local pride and power, especially in the rural *Conventus Astigitanus*. The estate and its produce likely provided the *dominus* with the means of projecting seigneurial power and the requisite currencies to do so. We should see a villa's economy as intimately tied to the construction of elite identity here, with the estate part and parcel of a historically Roman ethos.

That these *domini* aimed to present themselves in the guise of a traditional, land-owning Roman aristocrat may also be inferred from heirloom portrait finds at both El Ruedo and Cortijo de los Robles. No sculptural piece is more "Roman" than the portrait, and it is perhaps no coincidence that the only portraits in this region securely contextualized in a domestic sphere belong to El Ruedo and Cortijo de los Robles. As heirloom Roman portraits these pieces added an important historical component to the estate owners' identity. The two portraits of El Ruedo have taken a backseat to antique mythological sculptures because portraiture's inherent "Roman-ness" does not align with the proposed identity excavators have supplied for the villa owner as a "Hellenophile" interested in *otium*.<sup>441</sup> The "problem" with these portraits, rather, is that they speak to a sculptural program which is more comprehensive and complicated than our generic syntheses of *idealplastik* admit. The portraits under discussion here are all antiques, like

---

<sup>441</sup> In their analysis of the El Ruedo villa, its occupation phases and its statuary, Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera (1997) firmly believe that the past has relevance, and moreover that objects and spaces have potential to shape successive phases of villa occupation and can be used to assert an ideal (1997, 14; also 56-57). Where I take issue with their interpretation is their dependence on Zanker (1979) and the idea that mythological sculptures in a peristyle villa are a mark of Hellenistic culture or have uniquely Hellenic roots.

the other statues in the assemblages. A female private portrait was found at Cortijo de los Robles, and a heavily damaged portrait of a young male and a portrait of the Emperor Domitian at El Ruedo. All three have been dated to the Flavian era, that is, to the historical period which marks the flourishing of Roman institutions in the *Conventus Astigitanus*. To further understand the allure of such pieces and social milieu in which they were displayed at these late antique estates, it must be said that Flavian era portraiture in Baetica is somewhat rare.<sup>442</sup>

#### **V. Antique portraiture at Cortijo de los Robles and El Ruedo**

The female portrait of Los Robles was found in the central impluvium,<sup>443</sup> alongside smaller statues of Priapus, Diana, Venus and Eros, and an unidentified female goddess (fig. 130). All of the mythological pieces have been dated loosely to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, while the female portrait has been dated to the late Flavian era by her coiffure, or more likely to the Trajanic era and to the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>444</sup> The piece is sculpted in white marble and evinces good craftsmanship, though the planes of the face are somewhat

---

<sup>442</sup> To judge from the extant finds, see León 1990. This is rather surprising given the wealth of evidence for late-1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century sculpture known from Emerita Augusta (Nogales Basarrate 1999) and Tarragona (Koppel 1985), among other cities in Hispania. The archaeological evidence suggests that portraiture was perhaps an urban phenomenon and is seldom found in villas (Koppel 1995; passim Stirling 2005, 82-85).

<sup>443</sup> All of the pieces are currently housed in the Museo Provincial de Jaén. They were first published in a short article in 2007 (López Marcos and Baena del Alcázar 2007). For the archaeological report, López Marcos and Buzón Alarcón 2013-14, 399, fig. 21, 22). A full report of the pieces has not been published.

<sup>444</sup> Scholars cite a resemblance to the style of Domitia Longina, the wife of the Emperor Domitian, based on the height of the coiffure and its triangularity, a good deal more ostentatious than the rounder artificial mound of curls which appears in portraits of Julia Titi (López Marcos and Baena del Alcázar 2007, 163-64).

flattened and rear details (the hair, the ears) are less clearly articulated.<sup>445</sup> The portrait depicts a middle-aged woman with an oval face and a slightly pursed mouth; the lips are large and the corners of the mouth turned down. A mound of drilled curls is piled on her forehead. The piece is thought to have been made in a Baetican workshop, with the schematized coiffure and roughly finished back read as hallmarks of the local style.<sup>446</sup>

As a private portrait found in a domestic context, this piece may have been commissioned by the villa's inhabitants in the late 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>447</sup> Relevant to our discussion, however, is the late antique life of this piece and its value as a cultural heirloom. Antique portraits had an innate ability in Roman society to link a domestic space and its inhabitants with the Empire's aristocracy, regardless of whether the

---

<sup>445</sup> Behind the mound of curls, the hair is gathered into large braids wound into a large bun on the occipital lobe of the skull. The braids are only summarily incised, and the bun is more stylized than a realistic rendition of a hair bun. The ears appear to have been stuck on almost as an afterthought. They lie low, are proportionately rather small, and nearly hidden behind the piled mound of curls.

<sup>446</sup> This is not to associate local with inferior. Relevant to this piece in particular are what Léon (1990) identifies as characteristic traits apparent in Baetican portraits – the reproduction of imperial styles and the use of established models, along with an interest in style as opposed to originality or realism. She points to the stylization of female hairstyles, as opposed to its realistic architecture (1990, 13). I note here that it is likely that this piece is more likely a provincial product of the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century than the late Flavian period. López Marcos and Baena de Alcázar (2007, 164) conclude discussion of this portrait with a loose chronology, either late Flavian era or early Trajanic. Based on the popularity of private portraiture in Hispania in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century (Nogales Basarrate 1999), and the tendency which provincial sculptors here have to look back to imperial styles of the earlier generation, I would suggest a date for this piece in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century / Trajanic era. I cite also the height of the mound of curls, which becomes more ostentatious in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> – see for example private female portraits in the Capitoline collection (Inv. 2758 (Trajanic); Inv. 245 (Trajanic); Inv. 434 (Fonseca Bust, late Trajanic – early Hadrianic); in Emerita Augusta (Nogales Basarrate 1999); also the Roman villa of Milreu in Chapter 4.

<sup>447</sup> We cannot know based on the extant evidence whether this villa's late antique inhabitants had inherited the villa estate or bought it *ex novo*. The *pars urbana* was founded in the 1<sup>st</sup> century and modified to accommodate a peristyle villa in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, based on unpublished ceramic finds (López Marcos and Buzón Alarcón 2013-14, 397-406). The 2<sup>nd</sup> century renovations included a re-orientation of the villa 17 degrees to the west and the addition/magnification (unclear) of the central *impluvium*. These were largely preserved through late antiquity, but no firm date has been proposed for the addition of its apsed rooms (*ibid.* 404-06; see above nt. 389).

portrait's owners in late antiquity were direct inheritors of such a pedigree or not. The display of the Los Robles portrait does not merely evince the inhabitants' desire to be seen as elite land-owning Romans; it actually legitimizes that claim.<sup>448</sup> As a cultural advertisement of sorts, this portrait betrays the ways that *domini* wanted to be seen, that is, as Roman landowners, inheritors and providers of the region's prosperity.

It is telling that the only other villa with portraits in this region is also connected to another large villa estate with an elaborately decorated *pars urbana* and an equally important *pars rustica*. The two portraits found at El Ruedo are a private portrait of a young male dated 60/65 CE, and an imperial portrait of Domitian. Only the private portrait was found in the peristyle in a stratigraphic context. This piece is heavily damaged and under life-size (fig. 131).<sup>449</sup> The portrait was worked separately from two pieces of marble and the back of the head has been lost, but the front shows a young boy with almond shaped eyes, round cheeks and big lips. The hair falls in waves combed atop the head. The forelocks fall to the right over the forehead *coma in gradus formata*, suggesting a late-Neronian or early Flavian date. The piece was likely made by a local workshop. The style is very much like that of a posthumous portrait and scholars see a

---

<sup>448</sup> The date of this piece may have had additional importance in that it marks the region's evolution as a product of the *ius Latii*. If late antique viewers were conscious with this, such a piece would have marked the efforts of villa owners as integral to preservation of Roman culture in this region (see above nt. 345).

<sup>449</sup> Inv. no. RU89/Est. IX/no. 3, Museo Histórico Municipal de Almedinilla (Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, no. 2, 112-115). The heads stands 20.5 centimeters tall and about 12 centimeters wide on average, but is noticeably wider at the forehead and temples than at the chin.

melancholic expressiveness in the accentuated facial features and tilt of the head.<sup>450</sup> The date is again illustrative of the region's historical development and provides a link to an earlier era and to the portrait of Domitian.<sup>451</sup>

The antique portrait of Domitian found at El Ruedo is actually recut from a portrait of Nero and it too may have been sculpted in a Baetican workshop (fig. 132). The Domitian head belongs to the Emperor's third official type, in which he sports a full cap of hair with forelocks separated and combed to the right *coma in gradus formata*.<sup>452</sup>

Many of the extant Type III portraits were recut from heads of Nero, after the *damnatio memoriae* of Nero and Domitian's adoption of his hairstyle.<sup>453</sup> Undercutting is visible

---

<sup>450</sup> Eyelids are heavy and the head is tilted down to the right. As models Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celadrán (1997, 114-15) cite melancholy prince portraits of the Augustan-Tiberian era and mark the Neronian period as essential to the development of individualized youth portraiture. With respect to *melancholia*, portraits of deceased youths in all ages have such a quality, whether they remind the viewer of individual bereavement or his or her own mortality. Such nostalgia in the portrait of a young man might have appealed to late antique collectors, either as a reminder of his or her own mortality, or place in the world. The evidence, however, is inconclusive.

<sup>451</sup> Inv. no. 2.770, Museo Arqueológico Nacional; Blanco 1995; Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celadrán 1997, no. 1, 106-111. The piece was not found in recent excavations, but at some point in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The piece was part of the Miró collection, presumably found and part of the larger assemblage (the Miró collection) which he donated to the state in 1876 (see above nt. 413). The provenance is listed simply as "Almedinilla" in both antique and modern catalogs. It first appears in the context of El Ruedo in the publication of the 1997 monograph and is given attention as a piece within the collection (Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celadrán 1997). In spite of this, authors feel that it does not really fit with the "theme" of the villa, that is, Hellenistic culture and *otium* (1997, 14 nt. 5). While its context can be contested, I argue that it fits with what seem to be the sculpture collection's overall objectives.

<sup>452</sup> For Type III see Daltrop, Hausmann and Wegner 1966; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 33-37. The El Ruedo portrait was first linked to Type III by Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celadrán (1997, 110). Among the three extant groups, Blanco felt the piece fell between Type I and II dated the piece to c. 84 CE (1995, 284). He did not identify the portrait as a recut head.

<sup>453</sup> Suetonius suggests that Domitian adopted Nero's hairstyle – the full cap of hair with forelocks separated and combed to the right – to hide his baldness (Nero, 51). Scholars suggest that the adoption of this hairstyle may further have been a ploy to link the Flavian dynasty with that of the Julio-Claudians (Kleiner 1994, 176-77). For recut Nero/Domitian portraits see Bergmann and Zanker 1981. The closest comparanda for this particular portrait is a recut head of Domitian in the Museo of Todi (Faustoferri 1983-84, cited by Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celadrán 1997, 111).

where the hair meets the forehead, and efforts were made to reduce the face's volume and give the sitter Domitian's small lips with marked corners and straight brow ridge. The sides and back of the head are less carefully treated in a manner that is typical of Baetican workshops: no space was removed between the ears and the space between the head and hair at the nape of the neck was not finished.<sup>454</sup> One wonders whether the anomalies of this portrait were apparent to late antique viewers, or whether there was a sort of appeal around ownership of rare dynastic portraits belonging to persons targeted by *damnatio memoriae*. To judge from this head of Domitian, and a portrait of Agrippina the Younger preserved in the ruins of the villa Milreu (chapter 4), such images had a better survival rate in the Iberian Peninsula. However, it is unclear whether late antique owners recognized these individuals as imperial dynasts or not. Evidence in the affirmative may lie in the presence of at least three imperial portraits at Milreu,<sup>455</sup> and perhaps one other at El Ruedo, to judge from a fragment of a *paludamentum* bust found in a room off the northwestern corner of the peristyle (see fig. 101).

This room served as an antechamber to two other rooms, and all three were elaborately decorated with wall-paintings, mosaics, and seemingly, sculpture.<sup>456</sup> The

---

<sup>454</sup> Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán (1997, 110-11) cite traits of Baetican provincial portraiture as defined by Léon (1993). While the sculptors have adhered to the official form of Domitian's portraiture little attention has been given to detail or finesse, especially with respect to non-facial features in the back of the head. It must be said too that abnormalities in this piece may be the consequence of its re-cutting.

<sup>455</sup> See Chapter 4.

<sup>456</sup> Most of the villa's sculpture fragments were found in the tank or central patio, the peristyle or room XVII, the supposed triclinium (see Vaquerizo 1990b; Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997 for the catalog, also pl. 15). The *paludamentum* fragment was found in Room LIX, which may have been a sort of antechamber to room LIX and LXII (see Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, fig. Pl. 6 for numbers



semi-private nature of this suite suggests it served the personal needs of the *dominus*, whether for dwelling, conducting business, or entertaining on a small scale. The sculpture fragment is a male's left shoulder draped with a *paludamentum* and fastened with a large round fibula (fig. 133).<sup>457</sup> Not enough is preserved to reconstruct a garment covering the chest; it will have been either heroically nude or in a military tunic.<sup>458</sup> Excavators suggest a late 2<sup>nd</sup> century date for what they see as a provincial piece based on the drapery's plasticity, the verticality of its frontal folds, and the subtle use of the drill.<sup>459</sup> The identity of the sitter remains questionable. If the piece dates to the later 2<sup>nd</sup> century or even the early 3<sup>rd</sup> it is very possible that this belongs to an imperial portrait. By the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century the *paludamentum* denotes a high-ranking official, an officer if not also a commander, and very commonly the emperor himself.<sup>460</sup> The Domitian portrait in the

---

assigned to excavated rooms). The trio of rooms may have served a similar function, for private meetings or living quarters (85-88). LIX was paved with a mosaic and the head of a small female statuette was found here (Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, no. 10, 144-45). LXII had elaborate wall paintings and hypocausts beneath the floor for heating.

<sup>457</sup> Inv. no. RU89/LXI/PL 1/3-7-89, Museo Histórico Municipal de Almedinilla. Total height of the fragment: 29 cm. See Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, no. 3, 116-117 for discussion of the piece.

<sup>458</sup> If the sitter wore a garment, it must have been a light tunic or *colobium* (Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, 116). There is no evidence of a sword band stretched across the chest, but there are just as many *paludamentum* portraits with the sword band as without (see discussion in Fittschen, Zanker, and Cain 2010, Vol. II, no. 73, pages 78-79). The heroic nude chest and *paludamentum* is more typical of the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, that is, portraiture under Trajan and Hadrian. For a provincially made Hadrian portrait wearing the *Paludamentum* over a nude chest in the Iberian Peninsula see the villa of Milreu, chapter 4, section III.2.

<sup>459</sup> Proposed dating in Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán sculpture catalog (1997, no. 3, 116-17) is the last decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century or early 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Cited for comparanda is a portrait of Caracalla in Berlin (*ibid.* note 56); see also the portrait of a Praetorian guard of the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century in the Capitoline Museum (Inv. no. 1777, Fittschen, Zanker and Cain 2010, II, no. 132, pages 135-137). The piece is sculpted from a medium grained white marble, which may be locally sourced from the quarries of Sierra de Mijas near Valencia, though no petrographic analyses have been carried out.

<sup>460</sup> However, if the abstraction of the drapery is taken as evidence of sculptors wrestling with the *paludamentum* as a relatively new piece in their repertoire, the piece may date to the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup>

same villa also sets a precedent for a collection of imperial busts. We need not jump to conclusions that the display of two imperial portraits marks El Ruedo an imperial villa, but no doubt the display of such portraits would have served to affirm the local *dominus*' status (whether he was a member of the imperial circle or not).<sup>461</sup>

## **VI. Conclusions**

Thus it appears that in this region, antique portraits were valuable tools for the assertion of the villa owner's elite social status. These portraits functioned alongside heirloom statuary more broadly as legitimizing tools. Rather than reconcile this set of data with the elite habitus on a macro-level, however, I use this final section to explore these tools as those of a local elite in the *Conventus Astigitanus*. I am concerned with how and why heirloom statuary plays such an important role in the elite apparatus of these late antique *domini*, here in this region.

Thus far this chapter has discussed the rural countryside as a sphere of rising importance in the late-Roman *Conventus Astigitanus*. Villa sites attest to its elevated status with architectural renovations and re-investment across sites in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century. These renovations focus on the estate as an entity, in that fully excavated sites show equal amelioration of the *pars rustica*, and *pars urbana*. Expansion of the *pars*

---

century and it is plausible that the sitter is simply an unidentified military general. The *paludamentum* was worn by military generals since the Republican era. It becomes extremely popular in both imperial and private portraiture under Trajan and Hadrian (see Daltrop 1985), though there are some earlier precedents for the style in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century. See also the discussion in chapter 4.

<sup>461</sup> Imperial busts are documented in non-imperial residential contexts, cf. Milreu (chapter 4) and chapters 5 and 6 passim.

*rustica* appears functional. In the *pars urbana*, renovations are also functional but in a different sense in that they focus redecoration and expansion efforts on spaces for reception. Three sites suggest that in these redecoration efforts, heirloom statuary played a prominent role. At Casa del Mitra, El Ruedo, and Cortijo de los Robles, the display of antique statues is associated with late antique levels, roughly late-3<sup>rd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>462</sup> Similarities among these three villas in terms of architectural plan, decorative renovations, and even statuary iconography suggest a great degree of interaction and social competition among local *domini*. Thus the material evidence speaks to the behaviors of the region's landowners, that is, to an elite *habitus* endemic to this region. The heirloom statuary displays charted in this landscape are embedded in these regional networks of identity formation, which was itself a communal effort and in constant mediation with local bodies.

So too does the extant material culture here – from the evidence for production structures in the *pars rustica* to heirloom statuary to the *pars urbana* as a valuable sphere in and of itself – have historical precedent, that is, an antique pedigree and legitimizing force within the Roman mindset. But if this is true, how or why is the legitimization of a *dominus'* elite identity so important among this group of rural elites? How do we explain the popularity of antique statuary in this region, and were assertions of connection(s) to

---

<sup>462</sup> As previously mentioned Casilla de la Lampara has not been formally excavated (see above nt. 392); finds lack a stratigraphic context and cannot be securely marked as “antiques.”

the past any more essential to these villa owners than to other late antique *domini* in other areas?<sup>463</sup>

The renaissance of the villa building here, remember, coincides with a possible weakening of urban institutions and civic identity in the later Roman era. While the dearth of evidence in Iliturgicola and Igabrum does not immediately signal civic decline, the silence speaks for itself. This is not to say that late-Roman villas evince elite flight, but that reinvestment in the rural sphere here reflects investment in what had long been a traditional way of life, with the villa as an economic estate and home to a wealthy, land-owning patron.<sup>464</sup> From the extant domestic assemblages at villas like El Ruedo and Cortijo de los Robles, heirloom statuary played a role in validating and reifying this identity and this way of life. These antiques did not function as tiny *lieux de memoire* or embodiments of nostalgia, but as objects which physically connected the present to the past. Their display allowed *domini* to appropriate continuity and connect to elite society, both to the historic Roman “elite” and to a local elite body who functioned in much the same at neighboring estates.

I hypothesize a local impetus for the display of antiques here, adding subtle nuance to our understanding of the role of heirloom culture in the later Empire. Heirloom objects may have had collective values in late antiquity, but their display in a private

---

<sup>463</sup> It is possible that such a question cannot be answered based on the extant evidence, and is heavily dependent on assumptions about late antiquity as a time of change. I will discuss these ideas at length in chapter 5. I stress here only that antiques sculptures have a significant role in villas, and that such a regional character merits explanation.

<sup>464</sup> Whether this is more an attempt to restore continuity (without admitting a break) than actual continuity remains to be seen and will feature again in chapters 4-6.

context by necessity merits case-by-case study. In Chapter 4 I develop ideas of the heirloom as a late-Roman object and its use in private contexts and among local elites, but in another landscape and among a different cluster of villa estates, where one collection of heirloom portrait sculpture stands alone. Thus while there may be collective values in heirloom sculpture in late antiquity, regional study of its use highlights differences among villa *domini*, and the great regionalism of the late-Roman elite class.

## CHAPTER FOUR

## Statuary Décor and Economics: a Multi-Scalar Approach to the Villa of Milreu

The previous chapter examined the evidence for the display of antique statuary in several late-Roman villas of the *Conventus Astigitanus* in Roman Baetica. Analysis of multiple estates and their domestic assemblages suggests the villa owners' participation in a highly codified system of status projection, in which antique or heirloom statuary plays an important role. The last chapter also entertained possible relationships between the *pars urbana* and the *pars rustica*, in that heirloom statuary ownership, and portraiture in particular, is associated with estates that also furnish a rich evidentiary corpus for production facilities, as at El Ruedo and Cortijo de los Robles. The fragmentary *partes rusticae* at both estates suggest that their later elite *domini* were serious farmers, and that identity as a local elite is intimately tied to rural landownership and to economic expertise. I have drawn attention to the role of the *pars rustica*, in part because it rarely figures into discussions of villa décor, but also because it questions notions of elite identity in Late Antiquity as essentially manufactured in a single sphere, whether that is politics, the imperial court or bureaucracy.

Extensive production facilities such as those extant at El Ruedo and Cortijo de los Robles instead suggest that certain aspects of "elite" status may be rooted in local economies and micro-regional aristocracies. The place of the *dominus* qua farmer within the elite class merits further exploration, as does a possible corollary between viable

estate economies and luxurious decorative programs in rural landscapes of the late Roman West. To that effect, this next chapter turns to southern Lusitania and to the villa of Milreu (Estói, Portugal), where there is evidence for unparalleled heirloom statuary and portraiture, alongside structures which evince participation in micro-regional socio-economics.

I note that the site of Milreu, however, presents a contrast to the villas of the previous chapter. Like the *Conventus Astigitanus*, the Roman Algarve wherein Milreu lies was also densely populated in Late Antiquity; the extant evidence for late villa estates is undoubtedly rich (fig. 134).<sup>465</sup> But the villa of Milreu appears unique in this region, as the only site to furnish evidence for a sizable antique statuary collection. Thus we cannot speak of statuary display here in this region as a shared habit among villa *domini*, as in rural Andalusia. That said, other aspects of these villas' domestic assemblages, and economic structures in particular, clearly suggest conversation and competition among *domini*. This chapter must therefore employ multi-scalar analysis, in an attempt to reconcile the reality of Milreu's heirloom statuary ensemble as a singular phenomenon, alongside the villa's apparent participation in micro-regional dialogues of peer polity competition. In this chapter I ask what role heirloom statuary plays, and how this type of imagery figures into larger systems of social status projection operating on multiple

---

<sup>465</sup> For recent survey of the area with a focus on the economic identity of the region and its villa estates see Teichner 2008; Santos Estácio da Veiga 1972; see also Estácio da Veiga 1880b for exploration of the region in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. I direct readers to Chavarría Arnau 2007, 79-84 and no. 101-110 for major villas in the Alentejo and Algarve.

levels. With this brief introduction, I now turn to the villa of Milreu, to begin synthesis of excavations at the site.

### I. Early History and Excavations

The villa of Milreu was known as early as the 17<sup>th</sup> century, though its ruins were not identified as a villa at this time, but rather as vestiges of the Roman *oppidum* of Ossonoba (modern-day Faro), an ancient harbor city in southern Lusitania cited by both Strabo and Pliny.<sup>466</sup> The misidentification of the site as the prosperous Ossonoba, which seems to have been located 8 kilometers to the south, hints at the extravagance of the villa.<sup>467</sup> Extant structures at 4<sup>th</sup> century Milreu cover an area of 15,000 m<sup>2</sup> (fig. 135).<sup>468</sup> The site is just north of the Mediterranean coast, and sits at the southernmost edge of the fertile

---

<sup>466</sup> The site of Milreu is first mentioned in the *Catálogo dos Bispos do Bispado do Algarve* of 1647. For early notices and records of the site prior to Estácio da Veiga's excavations in 1876-77, see Pinheiro e Rosa 1969, 69-72; Santos Estácio da Veiga 1972, 179-181; Teichner 2008, 95-102. The city Ossonoba is mentioned by Strabo (*Geo.* III 2.5) and by Pliny (as Onoba, *HN* III.10). The ruins of ancient Ossonoba were identified in 1953; remains of a probable temple, along with mosaics and several burials, were documented in the area of the old port of Faro (see Mantas 1993 for syntheses of the extant evidence; see also note in Hauschild 1984, 94). Though there has been little formal excavation in Faro due to the modern constructions and alluvial conditions, the city seems to have been prosperous in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. The rediscovery of Ossonoba renewed interest in the site of Milreu and its identification; this, along with Hauschild's dissertation on the cult building (1964), helped bring about the conservation of the site and new excavations in the 1970s.

<sup>467</sup> This distance can be traveled in less than two hours by foot. The text of the *Itinerarium Antonianum* is corrupted for this area, but the modern road (N 125-10) that extends from Faro to Estói may even follow the trail of the ancient road (Teichner 1997, 148). It leads almost directly to the village of Estói and the Milreu villa.

<sup>468</sup> The area includes the *pars urbana* and associated structures (baths, the possible cult building structure, and a 2<sup>nd</sup> century mausoleum built approximately 80 meters E/SE of the *pars urbana*). Probable *pars rustica* structures located east of the cult building suggest a sizable estate. See Teichner's 2008 survey of villas in the Algarve for full synthesis of the excavated structures at Milreu, pages 95-270.



plains which spread below the Sierra de Monchique Mountains in the narrow interior of the modern Algarve.

The site was first excavated from 1877-78 by Sebastião Phillippes Martins Estácio da Veiga, in the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century archaeologist's exploration of the Roman Algarve (fig. 136).<sup>469</sup> Though this campaign lasted only 16 months, Estácio da Veiga uncovered most of the late antique site, revealing a large peristyle villa built on a series of terraces, with a bath complex to the west. The main entrance to the villa was identified at the southern end of the central core of *pars urbana*, directly opposite a monumental cult building (Sector D in fig. 135).<sup>470</sup> A paved road ran perpendicular to the villa's entrance, passing between the residential structures and the cult building. East of the *pars urbana* Estácio da Veiga's team also documented a series of outbuildings, presumably associated with agricultural production and storage facilities.

Although Estácio da Veiga's excavations did not proceed stratigraphically, he did issue a plan of the site and a brief list of recovered finds.<sup>471</sup> The site was immediately marked as a gem in Roman Portugal, and lauded for its extensive polychrome figural mosaics, marble décor, and possible cult structures. After these early excavations,

---

<sup>469</sup> Estácio da Veiga published his explorations of the Algarve in two short publications in 1880. In both, the site of Milreu is identified as the Roman town of Ossonoba *passim*. Estácio da Veiga did not, however, publish the details of his excavations at Milreu, and what little we have of this early exploration comes from the recovered artifacts, and archival notes published by Santos Estácio da Veiga, 1972, 179-236. For 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century non-scientific reports of the site prior to the 19<sup>th</sup> century excavations, see above nt. 446.

<sup>470</sup> The identification of this structure as a cult building is debated, but the *Umgangstempel* form of the building is suggestive (see below section IV). I refer to this structure as a cult building *passim* in the text, adopting the vocabulary of the recent monograph on Milreu, where it is regarded as a "Kultbau" (Teichner 2008).

<sup>471</sup> See above nt. 469.

however, the site of Milreu lay dormant for much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Only in 1932 was it classified as a National Monument, sparking a series of cleaning and conservation projections in 1941 spearheaded by Marío Lyster Franco and the Department of Buildings and Monuments.<sup>472</sup> A new campaign of excavations did not begin until the 1960s, under the direction of the German Archaeological Institute in conjunction with the Portugal's department of cultural patrimony, now the IGESPAR. These sondages and stratified excavations were organized by modern archaeological methods, and were the first to proceed with the occupation chronology of the villa as an explicit objective. The archaeological campaigns in the 1960s-80s under the direction of Theodor Hauschild were heavily focused on the cult building, which he associated with a late antique nymphaeum, while more recent campaigns under Felix Teichner in the 1990s have explored the villa's *pars rustica* in greater depth, with an eye towards local economics at the site and in the region more broadly.<sup>473</sup>

---

<sup>472</sup> Lyster Franco 1943. Since being classified as a National Monument in 1932, subsequent archaeological exploration of the site has been regulated by Portugal's Instituto de Gestão do Património Arqueitectónico e Arqueológico.

<sup>473</sup> For the cult building and its probable religious function see Hauschild 1964; also Bowes 2008. For recent exploration of the *pars rustica* see Teichner 2001; 2008, 95-270. For studies of the site in the post-Roman and Visigothic/Islamic periods, see Teichner 1994; 2006; Sidarius and Teichner 1996.

## I.1 Site Chronology and Phases of Occupation

The vast majority of structures visible today at Milreu are those excavated by Estacio da Veiga and dated to the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century (Phase F).<sup>474</sup> Only with recent excavation, sondages, and stratigraphic study have archaeologists been able to document evidence for earlier phases of occupation and for post antique reuse of the site.<sup>475</sup> In this section I consider the occupation phases now documented at the site, synthesis of which is necessary to distinguish the Imperial-era statues which have come to light as antiques, as opposed to residual sculptures.

The first permanent constructions at the site are loosely dated to the late 1<sup>st</sup> century CE (Phase B, see fig. 137).<sup>476</sup> There is no evidence for pre-Roman settlement here, suggesting that the construction of a Roman villa succeeds the amplification of

---

<sup>474</sup> Phase F has been given a *terminus ad quem* mid-4<sup>th</sup> century, based largely on datable finds of late ARS (Hayes 67), Phocian red slip ware, and a coin of Constantinus I in the fill beneath several water basins added at the entrance of the villa (see no. A1 on fig. 135 in this dissertation). For the finds see Teichner 2008, fig. 43; find ensembles MI-XIII, MI-XIV. See also below for further discussion of Phase F, the construction of the cult building, and the decorative renovations of the *pars urbana* in this period

<sup>475</sup> The excavations of the 1990s have examined much of the post-Roman material found at the site, including a large amount of Islamic-era ceramics dating to the 8th-10th centuries. Recent interpretations have suggested that over the 5th – 10th centuries, the site was repurposed for habitation by different groups. The cult building was maintained and converted into a church with a baptistry font in the 6th or 7th century. Many burials are documented around the structure in this period. There is also evidence for an Islamic inscription (8th – 10th century) in the cult building, suggest that the structure was still in use but served a different function (Sidarius and Teichner 1996; Teichner 1994; Teichner 2008, 250-67).

<sup>476</sup> These structures of the late 1<sup>st</sup> century actually belong to a probable second phase of occupation (B), tentatively dated to the final third of the 1<sup>st</sup> century or early 2<sup>nd</sup> century based on Italian and southern Gallic sigillata. The extent of the residential villa, however, is fully known at this time; evidence is limited largely to the extant *pars rustica* of this period (Teichner 2008, Pls. 36, 43, find ensembles III, IV, X). The first phase of probable occupation at the site, Phase A, is dated to the late Augustan-Tiberian era, given the prevalence of Italian sigillata and a local coin in the fill beneath structures in the aforementioned oil press facilities (Teichner 2008, 114; fig. 43, find ensemble XVIII; see also 1997, 147-148). Teichner admits, however, that this earliest phase of the villa is not well understood and is difficult to reconstruct. No built structures are known in this period.

Ossonoba in the Augustan era.<sup>477</sup> The villa's proximity to the city strongly suggests interdependence. The paved road that passed directly in front of the entrance to the *pars urbana* likely led to the coast and to Ossonoba. From the harbor at Ossonoba, the Antonine Itinerary suggests a route leading north into the interior, ultimately connecting with the harbors at Salacia (Sétubal) and Olisipo (Lisbon).<sup>478</sup> This route must have been heavily trafficked in antiquity, providing the Roman Algarve with access to southern Lusitania's agricultural lands (the modern Alentejo, known colloquially as Portugal's granary). Southern Lusitania in turn enjoyed access to extra-regional trade via Ossonoba. The estate at Milreu may have been intentionally sited at the southernmost edge of the fertile plains just north of the Mediterranean coast, to capitalize on the economic potential of such crossroads.

Yet few residential constructions can be securely associated with the 1<sup>st</sup> century or early 2<sup>nd</sup> century, such that both the extent and nature of settlement at Milreu in this period cannot be ascertained. At present, the evidence suggests not a luxurious Roman estate, but a small *villa rustica*. Indeed, Teichner's recent excavations have dated the initial construction of a sizable complex of oil pressing facilities this era *terminus post quem* second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>479</sup> Five presses were found *in situ*. A wine production

---

<sup>477</sup> Mantas 1993, 526ff.

<sup>478</sup> See above nt. 467.

<sup>479</sup> Recent excavations northwest of the peristyle indicate the foundations of a group of rooms dedicated to the production and storage of olive oil as early as the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century Teichner 1997, 194; 2008, Pls. 98, 99, 207-13. The pressing facilities have a *terminus post quem* second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, Phase II of the pressing facilities corresponds loosely to Phase B and/or C of the *pars urbana*, see nts. 476, 481.

complex loosely dated to the late 1<sup>st</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century may also date to this period, given the clear economic function of this earliest iteration.<sup>480</sup>

Whatever the size and organization of this probable *villa rustica* in later 1<sup>st</sup> century, it is not until the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century *terminus post quem* that a formal aggrandizement of spaces for dwelling can be securely documented (Phase C, fig. 138).<sup>481</sup> Sondages record the construction of a peristyle villa in this period, with galleries paved in white and black geometric mosaics. A bath complex was also added south of the peristyle, and an extra-mural mausoleum 200 meters east of the *pars urbana* has also been dated to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>482</sup> The wine pressing facilities and the sizable oil mill suggest that the early *pars rustica* was producing marketable goods (fruits and olive oil) beyond that needed for consumption by the villa's inhabitants in this period, and the growth of the elaborate *pars urbana* may be a direct correlate of the estate's output.<sup>483</sup>

---

<sup>480</sup> This complex (Structures D in Teichner 2008) is located northwest of the *pars urbana*. Two phases of use are discernable. The first phase (Phase I) is associated with phases B-D of the villa's occupation; one press is active in the period. In phase II, contemporaneous with phases E-F of the villa, two additional presses are built, along with extension of the complex to the west and the construction of multiple rooms for storage. Faunal analysis confirms wine production, see Teichner 2008, 232-44 for synthesis of the excavated structures.

<sup>481</sup> Phase C, *terminus post quem* early 2<sup>nd</sup> century – early 3<sup>rd</sup> century (for ceramic finds see find ensembles V, VI, VII, X in Teichner 2008. See also *ibid.* 106, fig. 43 for a summary of structures associated with occupation in this era.

<sup>482</sup> Teichner 2008, "Building E Mausoleum 1", 240-242, figs. 119, 120. The architectural shape of the structure marks it as a probable mausoleum: a rectangular building, elevated on a platform, oriented to the east.

<sup>483</sup> See in particular structure C4 in Teichner 2008, 218, figs. 98, 99. Previous scholarship has argued that these structures evince a characteristically "Roman" mode of occupation, which coincides with the documented rise of the peristyle villa in Lusitania more broadly. This "Romanized" form of dwelling has been interpreted as a consequence of the economic peace in the Peninsula and the Empire more broadly, which Iberia enjoyed in the Julio-Claudian era and especially under the Flavians. In southern Lusitania,

This iteration of the *pars urbana* was apparently maintained until the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, that is, until a series of renovations were carried out over the late 3<sup>rd</sup> – mid-4<sup>th</sup> century and possibly into the 5<sup>th</sup> (Phases D-F, see again fig. 135). These renovations are characterized by a major investment in the re-decoration of the villa and its reception spaces, and are thus parallel to renovation projects at late antique villas elsewhere in Iberia.<sup>484</sup> In the *pars urbana*, the land south of the peristyle was terraced to provide space for the construction of a large triclinium off the western gallery of the peristyle, in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>485</sup> Masonry couches were installed at this time. In the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century, an apse was added to the *triclinium*, alongside a system of water displays and canalization. Two ornamental fountains or small tanks were added to each side of the dining room's entrance, and connected to a larger pool in the central garden of the peristyle (fig. 139).

A larger program of decorative renovations, with a focus on water features is documented in other sectors of the villa c. 350 CE (Phase F): two apsidal water basins are also added at the eastern entrance (see fig. 135, A2a), and mosaic pavements featuring

---

villa owners seem to have preferred rectangular peristyles, both in the high imperial and late antique periods. At sites where 2<sup>nd</sup> century occupation levels are known, late-antique renovations largely preserved the orientation and layout of earlier peristyle villas. Cf. Abicada, Pisos, Cerro da Vila, Torre de Palma, São Cucufate, cf. Chavarría Arnau 2007 catalog. A notable exception to this is the villa São Cucufate, where the earlier peristyle villa was abandoned in favor of a terraced corridor system of rooms installed in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century (Alarção et al. 1990).

<sup>484</sup> See chapters 2 and 3 *passim*. For a thorough discussion of this phenomenon in Hispania see Chavarría Arnau 2007.

<sup>485</sup> Settlement debris from the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century phases of the villa was deposited as fill, and bricks were used for the first time in the wall constructions of the triclinium. For the triclinium see and its evolution see summary in Teichner 1997, 151-152; 2008, A64-65, and for the apse A66, pages 176-181. The western wing of the peristyle has suffered from erosion, thus the drainage system and floorplan of the triclinium is largely unknown (*ibid.* 178).

fish, dolphins, and other marine animals are laid in the peristyle and the baths, and as mural décor along the podium of a grand cult building built opposite the entrance to the villa (figs. 140, 141).<sup>486</sup> Hauschild identified this Gallo-Roman style *Umgangstempel*, built in the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, as a nymphaeum or cult building dedicated to water deities (figs. 142, 143).<sup>487</sup> It consists of a square cella with an apse surrounded by a colonnade of Corinthian columns, decorated with figural *opus sectile* marble work.<sup>488</sup>

Milreu's recent director of excavations, Felix Teichner, sees these late antique adornments as emblematic of an increase of living standards in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>489</sup> Indeed, as I have shown in previous chapters, this re-decorating phenomenon is a recurrent feature among villa in Late Antiquity, and so is not unique to Milreu. As such, redecoration at this site may belong within a larger narrative of reinvestment in rural residences, on a scale that surpasses what is known in the Peninsula from the early and high Empire.<sup>490</sup>

In fact just as it was the case among those select villas of the *Conventus Astigitanus* in chapter 3, it is possible that the renovations at Milreu in the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century

---

<sup>486</sup> The evidence beneath the fill added to support these water basins is integral to the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century date proposed for Phase F, see Teichner 2008, A1 page 124, find ensemble XIV (see also above nt. 474).

<sup>487</sup> For analysis of the water basins at the entrance as linked to a large program of water and/or worship of water deities, see also Hauschild 1984; 2002. For the cult building see Hauschild 1964, and Teichner 2008, fig. 128, summary of structures pages 250-268. For the stylistic dating of the marine mosaics to c. 350 CE see Lancha and Oliveira 2013.

<sup>488</sup> See below nt. 571.

<sup>489</sup> For the evolution of this structure over various phases of occupation see Teichner 2008, Building G, 250-268.

<sup>490</sup> For an updated and analytical gazetteer, see Chavarría Arnau 2007; summary, 2005. See also Gorges 1979; Kulikowski 2004, 130-150; Bowes and Kulikowski 2005 passim; Arce et al. 2006. The region awaits a study of its high imperial villas, many of which lie beneath late-antique iterations, frustrating and delaying interpretation.

are also a derivative of increased economic security. The elaborate, largely decorative renovations in the *pars urbana* succeed expansion of the *pars rustica*, to judge from renovations to the oil pressing complex just north/northeast of the peristyle villa (figs. 144, 145), and the construction of a new winery at the northeast corner of the *pars urbana*. The new winery was built to replace the former, and occupied a much larger area. Three presses were found *in situ*, their construction dated broadly to the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>491</sup> At the oil pressing complex, renovations were likely carried out several generations earlier at some point in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. The five presses and system of canals for oil production at the complex were, unlike the winery, not rebuilt but expanded with the addition of a millstone for crushing olives, and 36 dolia for oil storage.<sup>492</sup> These renovations, it should be noted, suggest the streamlining of production and, as Teichner notes, were likely geared towards increased production of oil for export.<sup>493</sup> These facilities were housed just adjacent to the *pars urbana*, and alongside the winery they strongly stress the economic character of this villa, and the important role that production played in the livelihood of the estate and its *domini*. I ask readers to keep the economic character of the Milreu estate, if only because these features are rarely considered in relation to elite identity, *contra* decoration of the *pars urbana*.

---

<sup>491</sup> See Teichner 2008, 237-40.

<sup>492</sup> Excavations of “sector 21” in 1997 (2008’s Sector C) has yielded remains of an elaborate oil production plant in the *pars urbana*; the millstone for the crushing of olives was found *in situ*, as was an elaborate systems of canals and 36 dolia (average diameter of 0.8 – 1m) (Teichner 2001). Recent study (*ibid.* 2008, 207-232) of Complex C suggests that the millstone in room C8, and rooms C7, 9-10 were added to streamline production in Phase III of the oil mill, end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century *terminus post quem*.

<sup>493</sup> Teichner stresses that this oil mill is the largest coherently researched complex in Lusitania, and as such suggests direct involvement in the province’s agricultural economy (summary in Teichner 2008, 623-24).



## I.2 Situating Milreu's Statuary Finds in the Late Antique Villa

Let us now turn our attention to the impressive statuary assemblage. At present, Milreu is the only villa in southern Lusitania at which we are able to reconstruct a sizable corpus of statuary and marble décor.<sup>494</sup> Estácio da Veiga's reports signal some 13 fragments of marble statues, 7 fragments of portrait busts, and 51 assorted fragments, largely fragments of *opus sectile* and marble revetments, which were used extensively in the architectural décor of the later villa.<sup>495</sup> Several important pieces were also uncovered after Estacio da Veiga's excavations, including three imperial portraits of Agrippina the Younger (49-54 CE), the Emperor Hadrian (120 CE), and the Emperor Gallienus (260 CE). The portraits of Agrippina and Hadrian were found interred together, side by side, and as such are strong evidence for the display of early Imperial portraits as antiques in the later villa.

I note here that previous scholarship has been reluctant to associate most of the recovered statuary fragments, and even these portraits, with known occupation phases at

---

<sup>494</sup> Although I note here that at the site of Cerro da Vila (Vilamoura), 25 kilometers east of Milreu, assorted statuary finds have been recovered. They cannot, however, be securely associated with late antique occupation of the major residential quarter. The finds include three mythological statuettes, dated loosely to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century: a small, idealized female head, a nude male torso, and the left hand of a female, holding a cylindrical object. These pieces are currently on display at the archaeological museum of the Cerro da Vila site. By their date they have been associated with 2<sup>nd</sup> century occupation at the site, but this does preclude the continued display of the objects in late antique occupation; further study of the site and archival research is necessary, however, to verify such hypotheses. For Cerro da Vila see Matos 1994; Chavarría Arnau 2007, no. 110, 283-85; Teichner 2008, 273-409.

<sup>495</sup> Following the numbers specified by Estacio da Veiga, "Inventario do Museu Archeologico do Algarve", as reported by Santos Estácio da Veiga 1972. The "Inventário" seems to have been in the private possession of Santos Estácio da Veiga; there is no record of such an inventory at the Museu Municipal in Faro or the MAN in Lisbon. Many of the pieces found by Estácio da Veiga are now lost, hindering reconstructing of the full assemblage recovered in the 19<sup>th</sup> century excavations.

the site. Many lack findspots, because Estácio da Veiga did not record the contexts in which such fragments were uncovered.<sup>496</sup> The aforementioned pair of imperial portraits were not recovered in Estácio da Veiga's excavations, but they too were not found in stratigraphic excavation but in site cleaning.<sup>497</sup> After a detailed examination of the finds and the archival history of the site, however, I suggest that we should associate the display of these antique statues with the latest iteration of the villa, that is, the final phase of Roman-era occupation at Milreu in the mid-to-late 4<sup>th</sup> century CE (Phase F).<sup>498</sup> Analysis of Estácio da Veiga's excavations and methodologies is essential to firmly establishing this narrative.

Most structures uncovered in Estácio da Veiga's excavation are dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries, that is, to the modern phases D – F of the villa (fig. 135). The 19<sup>th</sup> century excavation never penetrated beneath these late antique levels. Estácio da Veiga's excavations uncovered polychrome, figural mosaics, and walls up to 1 meter in height, and there was little desire to dig deeper, which would have required the destruction of the mosaics. Thus the statuary fragments found by da Veiga – many headless portraits and assorted mythological fragments – should be associated with late antique levels, and with

---

<sup>496</sup> Stylistic analysis dominates previous scholarship on the statuary, and the portraits in particular, cf. Trillmich 1974; Fittschen 1984, 1993a, 1993b. The portraits are mentioned only *passim* and separate from archaeological discussion in syntheses of the excavations: Hauschild 1984, 99; 2002, 26-27, 45-47; noncommittal remarks in Teichner 1997, 150-151; 2007 *passim*.

<sup>497</sup> See Quaresma 1966 and Hauschild 1972 for initial reports.

<sup>498</sup> I note here that no clear destruction event is present at the site. Rather, it seems to have fallen out of use as an elite residential structure in the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century, at which point excavators document a Phase G (mid 5<sup>th</sup> – early 8<sup>th</sup> based on assorted ceramic finds), characterized by a gradual reduction of scale, and the construction of poorly built structures in the former *pars urbana* from reused building material (Teichner 2008, 107, Pls. 41, 43).

late antique occupation of the villa. Only in recent sondages has archaeology at Milreu proceeded beyond the preserved late antique levels, and even then, very little evidence of Imperial-era structures or occupation remains.<sup>499</sup>

This in fact has great impact on our understanding of the statuary narrative. If the Imperial-era statues associated with Milreu's later occupation were purchased by earlier generations of villa owners and inhabitants, these pieces must have been consciously conserved and preserved amidst structural and decorative renovations in late antiquity. At the same time, we cannot dismiss the possibility that these pieces were bought or brought to the site by later owners. Thus, as in the last chapter, we must acknowledge that acquisition moments of individual pieces cannot be ascertained. Rather, analyses of these objects should account for the context of in which they were displayed in late antiquity, and the identity they would have held as antiques. Though the display of these objects is difficult to reconstruct, the broader context of such displays – late antique Milreu and the landscape it inhabited – is not silent, and so the second half of this chapter will investigate the significance of this villa's statuary ensemble, specifically how the antique and dynastic portraits in particular inform our understanding of the later Milreu estate and its owners.

The next section is tasked with presenting this extraordinary sculptural assemblage. The recovered statuary fragments can be loosely classed into two groups:

---

<sup>499</sup> For evidence of Phases A-C see above section I.1.

portraits, and mythological sculptures.<sup>500</sup> There is a notable preponderance of portraiture, in contrast to other villas in Iberia, and this chapter's stylistic analysis of the statuary finds is thus largely focused on these objects.<sup>501</sup> For the present, however, I turn to the three mythological statuary fragments found at the villa, noting that the identity of one of these fragments as a "mythological statue" is debatable.

## **II. Antique Mythological Statuary, and the Villa's Mosaic Program**

Two of the three extant mythological sculptures found at Milreu are presumed to represent Bacchus. One of these fragments is a life-size head, which may belong to a statue or bust-length piece which is no longer extant, and quite possibly belongs not to a portrait (fig. 146). The head preserves a youthful male wearing a crown of ivy leaves, iconography that suggests Dionysius or a male in the guise of the god.<sup>502</sup> The piece is broken on an irregular plane that runs from the tip of the nose to the nape of the neck, and only the upper facial features are preserved. The visage is idealized, with smooth skin, a strong, prominent brow, and almond shaped, unmarked eyes. He wears a headband of

---

<sup>500</sup> I note here that there is no major publication of all of the statuary finds as an assemblage. Santos Estácio da Veiga 1972 remains the best compilation of finds, but an analysis of this material in context is warranted. Several pieces from Estácio da Veiga's excavations were published in a recent catalog of Roman sculpture in the MAN-Lisbon (Fernandes and Matos 1995), and several articles in *Madriider Mitteilungen* have synthesized the portrait finds: Trillmich 1974; Fittschen 1984; 1993a; 1993b. The portraits also appear in Alarçao 1988, 120-122.

<sup>501</sup> For the rarity of portraiture in Iberia's later villas see comments *passim* in Stirling 2007; Koppel 1995. I remind readers that of the villas surveyed in chapters 2 and 3, only three portraits are extant (two at El Ruedo, and 1 at Cortijo de los Robles, see chapter 3).

<sup>502</sup> MNA Inv. no. 994.4.1. Dimensions: 22 cm max. height; 20 cm max. width; 22 cm max. depth. See Sousa 1990, no. 176; Gonçalves 2007, 177-8. This piece is associated with Milreu because of its early entrance into the museum's collection in 1894.

twisted ribbons, which rests atop subtly undercut curls. The headband is tied loosely at the nape of the neck, and the texture of the fabric is rendered summarily. The piece has been dated to the later 1<sup>st</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> century by the male's smooth eyes, the idealized facial features, and subtle use of the drill in the coiffure. Luís Jorge Gonçalves has recently suggested that, due to the strong expressive quality of the face in contrast to generic mythological statuary, piece may not be a mythological statue but a portrait of an individual in the guise of Dionysius.<sup>503</sup>

The second Dionysius/Bacchus piece at Milreu is a bust statuette dated to the Imperial-era, and it, unlike the former, clearly represents the god (fig. 147). Here the god is presented as an effeminate, youthful male, with a bare chest and a leopard skin wrapped around his shoulders, its paws tied at mid-chest.<sup>504</sup> The languid stance of the god, and the slight tilt of the head to the right lend a faraway quality to the gaze of the unmarked eyes. As in the former piece, here Bacchus wears an elaborate headdress of ivy and clusters of grapes. The antiquity of this piece, also loosely dated to the late 1<sup>st</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> century by the idealizing features and conservative use of the drill, is of significance.

---

<sup>503</sup> Gonçalves, 2007, no. 57, 177-78. Gonçalves also cites the popularity of mythologizing portraiture in the Flavian era. We may note that there is another portrait in the Milreu assemblage, of a female, dated to the same era, see discussion below in section III.1.

<sup>504</sup> MNA Inv. no. 994.6.1. Dimensions: 24.8 cm max. height; 18.5 cm max. width; 10.5 cm max. depth. Like the former, this piece entered the museum's collection in 1894 and was presumably recovered in Estácio da Veiga's excavations. For bibliography see Gonçalves 2007, no. 77, 250-52; Fernandes and Matos 1995, 56.

In the previous chapter, we examined antique Bacchus statues at the villas of the *Conventus Astigitanus*. These two statue fragments of the same at Milreu underscore the popularity of Bacchic imagery in decorative schemes of late Roman villas in Iberia, where scholarship has shown that the god appears frequently in mosaics, and in statuary (if more rarely).<sup>505</sup> Both media signal the god's important place in the Peninsula's domestic contexts, and the overlapping instances of antique Bacchic statuary here at Milreu and in villas of the *Conventus Astigitanus* suggest shared cultural values associated with such imagery in late antiquity.

At the same time, to fully appreciate the significance's of Milreu's "Bacchic" statuary, the objects must be considered in context, so as to show that the significance of such displays was locally inflected. In the Algarve there are no comparanda for imagery of this type, in either statuary or mosaics. In this way, we might imagine certain decorative elements of Milreu, and the Bacchic statuary in particular, as consonant with broad decorative trends, but we must also consider such images *in situ*, that is, in the context in which they stood and among the audiences who encountered them locally. While these statues may have communicated pan-Roman values, of Bacchus as a metonym for *otium* or leisure, this mode of display – statuary – stands out in the Roman Algarve as particular to Milreu, based on the extant evidence.

---

<sup>505</sup> For Bacchus in Iberian Peninsula's mosaics see Lancha 2003; in statuary see comments in Stirling 2007; Koppel 1995.

In a similar fashion, the third mythological statuette, of a small figure riding a dolphin, is also best examined in its context, though in this case, the context is a much larger decorative ensemble with a decidedly marine motif. The white marble statuette is fragmentarily preserved to a height of 21.8 cm.<sup>506</sup> The base of the statuette is roughly fashioned as a rocky ledge, atop which rests the head of a dolphin. We should imagine that the dolphin's tail, no longer extant, was lifted in the rear to support the upper body of a rider. Only the chubby legs of a child (Eros?) remain, dangling above the dolphin's eyes.<sup>507</sup> Behind the dolphin's head, the marble has been carved to suggest waves or ripples of water, as though the dolphin is swimming. Though sculpted in the round, the statuette privileges lateral views. The plasticity of the Milreu statuette, and the facial physiognomy of the dolphin suggests a date in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.

A short review of Milreu's mosaics, which include both figural and geometric pavements, is warranted here, because the presence of this dolphin statuette in a villa full of marine mosaics and a series of water features may suggest a larger decorative program. Both the water features and the figural mosaics firmly dated to the villa's late

---

<sup>506</sup> MNA Inventory No. 994.6.4. Dimensions: 21.8 cm. max. height; 20.7 cm max. width; 13 cm max. depth. Based on the extant fragments, the statuette should be reconstructed to some 30 - 35 cm in height. This piece also entered in the MNA in 1894 for the other fragments, and was presumably found in Estácio da Veiga's excavations.

<sup>507</sup> The identification of the figure as Amor or Cupid has gone largely unquestioned. See Matos 1995, no.32, 74-75; Gonçalves 2007, no. 68, 229-231. The grouping of Amor and the dolphin exists in a variety of formats, with the figure depicted either as a child or a grown man, and engaged in riding, carrying, or driving the dolphin(s) (Pollitt 1986; Ridgeway 1979). Depictions of the young Cupid astride a dolphin gain popularity in the Hellenistic period and were frequent motifs in Augustan art, as seen in the statue of Augustus Primaporta. The pair was popular in many media and graces Attic vases, jewelry, metals and reliefs, in addition to statuary.

occupation in the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century. The figural mosaics, like Milreu's statuary assemblage, are unparalleled among other villas of the Roman Algarve.

First, however, I look to several geometric pavements at Milreu, that is, to mosaics that suggest awareness of and participation in broader trends of estate ornament.<sup>508</sup> I turn to these pavements first, to build a foundation for synthesis of the marine mosaics (and perhaps the statuary program as well) as unique. The geometric pavements at Milreu use colored tesserae and various design motifs, and are concentrated in reception spaces, characteristics which are typical of late-Iberian villas more broadly. The most intricate late geometric mosaics dated stylistically to the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century adorn the apses of two audience halls in the northeastern corner of the peristyle (fig. 148).<sup>509</sup> Geometric decorative floors in a similar stylistic vein are known in other villas in southern Lusitania, for example, São Cucufate and Pisões.<sup>510</sup> The placement of Milreu's late geometric pavements and the common koine which they suggest may thus be significant, if the apsidal halls were indeed used for reception or for business transactions.

Late antique Milreu, however, is the only villa in the Roman Algarve to furnish extensive evidence for figural mosaics *alongside* its geometric mosaics (figs. 140, 141). We may consider these mosaics like the Bacchic statuary, in that they have a cultural

---

<sup>508</sup> Lancha and Oliveira 2013, 56-76 for a general summary of mosaics at the site.

<sup>509</sup> Rooms A.44-45, A46-47. For the architecture of these rooms and structural renovations in the late antique period (apses dated to Phase F) see Teichner 2008, 151-57. For the mosaics see Lancha and Oliveira 2013.

<sup>510</sup> For mosaics in the Roman Algarve and Alentejo, see Lancha and Oliveira 2013.



currency among a wide late-imperial audience which, by their regional singularity, would not have gone unnoticed by either local or visiting audiences of the Roman elite. Thus these figural mosaics simultaneously insinuate Milreu into broader dialogues of contemporary décor in Iberia and the later Roman world, but in the Roman Algarve, they clearly distinguish the estate from local peers and neighbors.

The high quality figural mosaic pavements, which do not appear in any of the villas we have discussed previously, are concentrated in important spaces for reception. In the peristyle and baths, they would have been highly visible to guests, and even passersby given that they adorn the façade of the temple complex (fig. 149). Floors are dominated by representations of marine animals, with different sized, colored tesserae are used to achieve the necessary detail of eyes and scales.<sup>511</sup> The latest study of the mosaics cites a North African workshop for these mosaics, based on the ambitious iconography and a lack of local parallels.<sup>512</sup> Like the later geometric mosaics at Milreu, the marine mosaics are dated to 350 CE.<sup>513</sup>

The eastern gallery of the peristyle is the only location with such adornment in the *pars urbana* proper (fig. 140). This gallery is paved with depictions of over 22 different

---

<sup>511</sup> To render the eyes of the marine creatures, the workshop used 2 x 4 mm tesserae. Larger 2 x 8 mm cubes were used for their bodies and the background (*ibid.* no. 37, 257).

<sup>512</sup> *Ibid.* 268-270. Based on comparanda, Lancha and Oliveira suggest an itinerant workshop from Africa Proconsular, specifically Byzacene. Earlier studies suggested that the workshop may also have been active in northern Lusitania and Gallaecia (Hauschild 2002).

<sup>513</sup> There is also evidence for the careful repair of earlier mosaics in later phases. A coin from the early 4<sup>th</sup> century was found in the mortar of a 3<sup>rd</sup> century mosaic in room F1, east of the temple complex, indicating later repairs (Hauschild 2002, 43).

species of mammals, fish, and molluscs (18.04m x 2.92m is preserved *in situ*).<sup>514</sup> Fish and dolphins swim alongside small clams, assorted molluscs, and squid, suspended on a white background and enclosed by a triple border of geometric designs. The detail and grace with which the fins and flippers of these animals are rendered suggests movement, as though the creatures are actually swimming in the current, moving to the north or south, just as a person circumambulating the peristyle would do. The eastern gallery's importance is underscored as the only means of access to the two aforementioned apsidal reception halls (A45 and A47), and the series of private apartments located on the elevated, eastern terrace. Thus the marine mosaics provide introduction to spaces used for the reception of guests and for more intimate activities.<sup>515</sup>

Similar marine mosaics were also used in the baths and the temple complex (figs. 141, 153). Perhaps due to design constraints in these spaces, the arrangement of fish is

---

<sup>514</sup> Lancha and Oliveira 2013, no. 37, p. 257-270. Most of the mosaic is covered today, but 6.23 m x 2.92 m is visible at the northern end. Evidence of an earlier phase of mosaic paving is preserved in the south wing of the first peristyle, against the southern wall of the later central peristyle garden. The first peristyle is dated to Phase C; it was expanded to the east and south in Teichner's Phase D, *terminus post quem* second quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (2008, Abb. 37 and 38, 168-174). Lancha and Oliveira date the earlier mosaic in the peristyle gallery, a geometric black and white composition (octogons within a swastika meander) stylistically to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, and thus contemporaneous with Phase C (2013, no. 36-38, 250-56; no. 38). The later mosaics were simply laid atop the older pavements. Interestingly, the eastern gallery is the only corridor of the peristyle with figural pavements; the other mosaics in the northern and southern galleries of the peristyle feature polychrome geometric motifs, and the western gallery has been lost due to erosion. For the northern and southern galleries (octogons interlocked in swastikas), see *ibid.* no. 40, 276-79, and no. 35, 250-56. These pavements are currently covered for conservation purposes.

<sup>515</sup> In other reception spaces like the triclinium, colored mosaic tesserae for pavements were recovered but none of these were found *in situ*. That there is no evidence for the design of pavements may be due to erosion in these sectors. We should expect, however, that these areas were also decorated with complex mosaics by virtue of their status as reception and entertainment spaces.

more orderly than in the aforementioned peristyle.<sup>516</sup> Fish “swim” along the mural mosaics of the podium of the cult building opposite the *pars urbana*, and along the floor and mural surfaces of the small *frigadarium* in the baths. The fish in the bath have noticeably swollen bellies, which Hauschild suggests was to compensate for the viewer, who would have seen them underwater.<sup>517</sup> Marine mosaics are not uncommon in the Roman world, but they are uncommon in this region. The rarity of such iconography would have impressed and delighted the vast majority of individuals who visited the estate; indeed, it may be for just such a purpose that this imagery is concentrated in highly visible areas with only semi-restricted access.

Previous scholarship has hypothesized greater meaning(s) for such imagery, in part because marine mosaics are also used in the associated cult building, which Hauschild suggests was a nymphaeum devoted to the worship of water deities in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. If this is the case, the small statuette of a small figure riding a dolphin may have had special meaning as part of the larger marine theme of décor (fig. 150). We do not know exactly where this statuette was found, since it was excavated by Estácio da Veiga, but its display may have been deemed especially appropriate in the later villa, given the marine imagery present in other two- and three-dimensional arts, mosaics, fountains, and

---

<sup>516</sup> These panels also lack the variety of species which appear in the eastern gallery of the *pars urbana*. Lancha and Oliveira 2013, no. 61, 360-66; no. 64, 373-99. A tank or possible fountain due north of the cult building is also outfitted with marine mosaics, but smaller species such as sea urchins and no fish (Lancha and Oliveira 2013, no. 63, 369-372). This decoration implies that the fountain was linked to the cult building; indeed, channels indicate the cult building received water from this tank (Hauschild 2002, 49ff; Teichner 2008, fig. 127, 250-268).

<sup>517</sup> Hauschild 2002, 29.

water features. Like the mosaic pavements, which are concentrated in reception spaces, this statuette (and likely the other marble sculptures) were probably placed in highly visible areas, as advertisements of the estate's cultural and socio-economic capital.

To my mind, it is equally possible that this marine program is a conscious reflection of the villa's location, that is, along the Mediterranean coast not far from what was likely a bustling port well into late antiquity. Beyond wine and oil, it is also possible that the estate participated in the profitable garum market. A large number of Almagro 51c amphora sherds, a local late antique container associated with fish sauce, were found at the site in late antique levels.<sup>518</sup> I note here that fragments of this local amphora are indeed common at other villa sites throughout the Algarve, such that it is difficult to mark Milreu as a producer, rather than simply a participant in this economy. In either case, however, we might also entertain the significance of the marine program in the context of the economic background of this area; the elaborate decoration of Milreu in late antiquity may be more directly tied to the economic identity of the estate than previously conjectures have presumed.<sup>519</sup> With the economic background of this villa, and possibly its decorative program, in mind, I turn now to the second set of statuary finds at Milreu, the private and imperial portraits. Such a portrait assemblage is, like the marine mosaics

---

<sup>518</sup> Most of these sherds (*terminus post quem* late 3<sup>rd</sup> century) are associated with backfill deposits in new rooms added to the oil pressing complex in Phase D-F (cf. find ensemble XXV in the storage room C.6, ensemble XXIV in C.7), but several fragments are also associated with backfill in the late antique "new" winery (XXXVI in D.2). See Teichner 2008, Vol. II for the deposits.

<sup>519</sup> Teichner 2008 does not make this suggestion explicitly. His study is heavily focused on the economic identity and fluency of this estate, but the study does not consider the decoration of the villa as a product in and of this identity.

and the antique mythological statues, a phenomenon particular to Milreu in this region, to judge from the archaeological evidence.

### **III. Portraiture at Milreu**

Among the recovered fragments, it is possible to discern at least ten portrait busts or statues, though the heads of only four remain intact. Three of these heads have received a great deal of attention in art historical scholarship because they are imperial busts, of Agrippina, Hadrian and Gallienus. The fourth head apparently belongs to a female private portrait, dated to the late Flavian or early Trajanic era.<sup>520</sup> The assemblage also includes a headless female bust of the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century, fragments of a two 2<sup>nd</sup> century females, fragments of two 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> century male portrait busts, and two interesting fragments of full-length portrait statues. The earliest piece documented piece in the assemblage is the portrait of Agrippina the Younger, and the latest is the head of Gallienus. As such, the assemblage spans a chronological period of three centuries.<sup>521</sup>

Scholarship has conjectured that at least four of the portraits – the heads – were imported, or manufactured using foreign marbles in state workshops, given the high

---

<sup>520</sup> The portrait of Agrippina the Younger and the portrait of Hadrian are both in the collection of the Museu Municipal de Faro. The portrait of Gallienus (Inv. 1418) is in the collection of the Museu Regional, Lagos. The private portrait of a female (Inv. 994.6.3), and several other portrait fragments recovered in Estácio da Veiga's excavations (see Santos 1972) are now in the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisboa.

<sup>521</sup> This fact does not, however, necessitate continuous use of the villa, although Fittschen argues for "ununterbrochene Nutzung der Villa" (1984, 197). The busts could very well have been purchased in late-antiquity for a collection of heirloom portraits. Unfortunately, we cannot trace acquisition.

quality of the craftsmanship and of the white marble stone.<sup>522</sup> The other fragments, however, appear to have been sculpted from a different marble, and several pieces are sculpted in white marbles with subtle color variations. Previous scholarship has suggested that these stones were locally sourced from the quarries of Estremoz, which opened in the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE and were located 270 km north of Milreu.<sup>523</sup>

The imperial portraits have attracted the most scholarly attention. This sizable and historic collection of imperial portraiture has led many to assume that Milreu was an imperial residence or a proconsular estate. Indeed, no other villa in the Peninsula has furnished comparanda for an imperial portrait display. Yet imperial portraits cannot be read as concrete evidence for claims of imperial *domini*. Such claims also forget that a larger assemblage of private portraiture was present at Milreu, and that these non-imperial portraits enjoyed similar antiquity and probable prestige. Of great importance is that fact that all portraits predate the late antique overhaul of the villa, and their explicit conservation is a sign of attributed value(s) vis-à-vis antique portraiture. This section will review these portraits in depth, beginning with the private portraits, and with an exceptional head of a female dated to the late 1<sup>st</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> century.

---

<sup>522</sup> Fittschen only suggests a provincial origin for the bust of Hadrian (1984, 207). The other three are associated with state workshops. Fittschen's discussion of the Flavian or Trajanic-era female portrait suggests it was sculpted by one trained in the state workshops, though it is difficult to know whether this workshop was in Rome or Lusitania (1993, 208-209). Portraits of Gallienus (Fittschen 1993b) and Agrippina (Trillmich 1974) are likewise assumed to have been made by Italian workshops.

<sup>523</sup> These portraits are held in the collection of the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia in Lisbon: Inv. 994.55.2; Inv. 994.6.2; Inv. 994.56.1, Inv. 994.56.2; Inv. 994.6.6. Local production was first suggested by Fernandes and Matos 1995 (see below for specific catalog entries), but to my knowledge, however, no conclusive petrographic tests have been carried out and the stone is identified as such based on visual analysis of its color and composition.

### III.1 Private Portraits

This piece is among the most celebrated finds from excavations at Milreu and is currently on display in the Museu Nacional de Arqueología (MNA) in Lisbon (fig. 151). The head was found in the course of Estácio da Veiga's excavations, and is reported to have come from the baths.<sup>524</sup> The portrait belongs to a middle-aged woman with a strong, commanding aura.<sup>525</sup> The head is turned slightly to the right; the eyes are smooth and unmarked, the nose aquiline, the lips small and pursed, and the chin soft. The skin is smooth and taut; it is thinner beneath the eyes, and there is slight puckering around the mouth, which quietly suggests the woman's distinguished age. This portrait is just under life-size at 0.29 m in height, and from the break at the neck it is unclear whether the head belongs to a portrait bust or statue.

The date of this portrait has fluctuated between 90 – 110 CE because of the sitter's elaborate hairstyle. Modern scholarship associates this work with 2<sup>nd</sup> century, citing local preferences in Iberia and in Emerita Augusta for archaizing interpretations of

---

<sup>524</sup> Rebello (1881, 189-190) says that the portrait was found in the area he identified as the women's baths, following Estácio da Veiga's original plan and interpretation of the site. The findspot was incorrectly published in Fittschen as "neben dem Bildnis der jüngeren Agrippina" (1993, 202). As there is little documentation on Estácio da Veiga's excavation methodologies, it is difficult to propose a precise date for the display of the piece. The piece argues for a *terminus post quem* of the late 1<sup>st</sup> century; the major modifications of the bath complex are dated to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century, mid 4<sup>th</sup> century (Teichner 2008, 181-187, Abb. 82, 83).

<sup>525</sup> MNA Inv. no. 994.6.3. Dimensions: 29 cm max. height; 19.1 cm max. width; 22.7 cm max. depth. This piece also entered the collection in 1894. For bibliography and catalog publication see Gonçalves 2007, no. 49, 178-80; see also Fittschen 1993. Although the left ear is missing and there are several abrasions to its surfaces, the piece is in rather good condition. Acid treatments in the late 19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup> century, however, have left its surfaces highly polished.

Flavian imperial female coiffures into the first third of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>526</sup> While this particular coiffure has several parallels, certain details lack comparanda. The woman seems to be wearing a hairpiece, a sort of crown or diadem of three stacked infinity braids with no apparent beginning or end.<sup>527</sup> The texture of this braided wreath differs from the hair at the back of the head, which may be the woman's real hair. Various braided plaits, summarily indicated with the chisel, have been gathered in a large bun.<sup>528</sup> This particular style of coiffure, with the elevated hairpiece atop the forehead, was widely popularized by the Flavian imperial women, and the fashionable nature of this coiffure and its intricacy emphasize the sitter's status as both an elite and a proper Roman matron.

<sup>529</sup> It is possible that this head belongs to a portrait of 2<sup>nd</sup> century Milreu's *domina*, and

---

<sup>526</sup> An early 2<sup>nd</sup> century date is preferred by modern scholars Fittschen 1993; Gonçalves *ibid*. See also Nogales Basarrate 1999 for the popularity of Flavian-style coiffures in early 2<sup>nd</sup> century private portraits of Emerita Augusta.

<sup>527</sup> The texture of the sitter's actual hair is different from the loops of the frontpiece. that is, braids without beginning or end, held together with stitching; there is no evidence of roots. The woman's own hair is visible from the back of the head in the bun and forward combed locks, as well as in a curl below her left ear. The contrast between the two textures, of the hair and the hairpiece, may be deliberate. Janet Stephens (personal communication) suggests that the locks of the hairpiece might actually have been made with a more pliable material, such as silk; rope braids of actual human hair would have been difficult to hold together and in place without a stiff backing and tight stitching.

<sup>528</sup> The treatment of the sculpture with acid upon discovery in the 19<sup>th</sup> century may have also contributed to a loss of detail. For further discussion of the hairstyle in detail, see Fittschen 1993, 202-205.

<sup>529</sup> Though Flavian imperial portraits of Julia Titi and Domitia are regularly touted as the prototypes for this style, D'Ambra has shown that this scholarly assumption is problematic and the fashion may have been instigated by the wives of elite senators (2013). As both T. Nogales Basarrate (1999) and E. D'Ambra (2013) have shown, the toupet coiffure was popular throughout the empire for approximately fifty years. D'Ambra (2013, 523-24) notes that although the style appeared ornate and luxurious, it required little beyond the slave who could execute the hairstyle; it evoked a diadem, or crown, yet required no extra materials or props. For the execution of such styles, see Stephens 2010. Nogales Basarrate (1999 *passim*) has further shown that this style of coiffure was exceeding popular in the Iberian Peninsula; there are many female terracotta portraits from Emerita Augusta bearing such hairstyles. There may be comparanda for this hairstyle style in a private portrait from the Uffizi gallery, and on an early Hadrianic stucco relief from Carthage, which depicts a seated Roman matron in the process of having her hair braided by a slave (see this comparanda in Fittschen 1993). The braided wreath is already in place, strengthening an argument for a



that its commission coincides with the foundation of the *pars urbana*. It is the display of this piece in the late Roman villa, however, which is of relevance in this discussion, because we can trace neither the ownership of this piece nor of Milreu over generations.

On that note, I introduce here fragments of five additional portrait busts, which have received far less scholarly attention than the aforementioned head. Visual analysis suggests that the remaining fragments belong to bust portraits made from Lusitanian marble, and presumably sculpted in local workshops.<sup>530</sup> One such fragment is a military portrait, and preserves the right shoulder of a male wearing the *paludamentum* (fig. 152).<sup>531</sup> The stone is a creamy white-pink marble, characteristic of a strain identified in the Estremoz quarries.<sup>532</sup> The drapery and execution of this piece suggest a mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century date, by which time the *paludamentum* is not merely indicative of high military rank, but is often used in imperial portraiture.<sup>533</sup>

Another fragment which may be sculpted in white marble from Estremoz, bears similarities to the aforementioned military bust (fig. 153). This small fragment preserves a portion of another male's right shoulder, which is covered in drapery. The garment falls

---

hairpiece. Another associated stucco relief depicts the same woman reading. Elizabeth Bartman (2001, 6) discusses these reliefs in the context of their provincial origin, and links both images – hairdressing and reading – to the expression of modesty and control befitting of a Roman matron.

<sup>530</sup> White marbles with pink or yellow veins (branco rosado) were mined here in the Roman period. Scientific analysis of the Milreu fragments would allow for more discourse on origins of the pieces. There are a number of petrographic analyses of known marble from the Estremoz quarries, though no ancient marble statues from Hispania have been tested (Taelman et al. 2013).

<sup>531</sup> MNA Inv. no. 994.56.2. Dimensions: 6.5 cm max. width; 6.7 cm max. depth; 16 cm max. length. For bibliography and catalog see Souza 1990, no. 128, 45, 71; Fernandes and Matos 1995, no. 12, 38-39; Gonçalves 2007, no. 69, 192-193. The stump of the bronze fibula or pin which fastened the *paludamentum* is still preserved *in situ*. This piece also entered the MNA's collection in 1894.

<sup>532</sup> First suggested by Fernandes and Matos *ibid.*

<sup>533</sup> Gonçalves suggests that the piece might be as late as the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century, Severan era (2007, 193).

in thick drapes, and is gathered atop the sitter's right shoulder.<sup>534</sup> It is possible that this individual also wears a *paludamentum*, and the fragment may belong to yet another military, or imperial portrait. The extant fragment is quite small, and its size complicates dating. Scholars have settled on a date in the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century or Severan era by the execution of the drapery and the use of the drill. The high quality of this fragment and the former suggests the work of official sculpture ateliers, which must have been locally based if the marble is indeed sourced from Lusitania's quarries.

Beyond these two military busts, however, most of the extant fragments of headless busts belong to female portraits, for example, a fragment which is similar in style, execution and marble to the male portraits, but apparently belongs with a female portrait (fig. 154).<sup>535</sup> The sitter wears a tunic with a rather high collar, and little of the upper chest is exposed. A swatch of fabric, probably the *stola*, is draped across her chest, and though damaged, the piece is technically sound; the drapery work suggests mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century manufacture. The head for this portrait, however, would have been carved separately; an insertion point is still visible. This is interesting, and it may be no coincidence that all extant fragments from Estremoz belong to portrait busts, as opposed to portrait heads. Perhaps portrait heads were imported, with busts worked locally from different marbles. If the heads for these busts were indeed imported, then these portraits

---

<sup>534</sup> MNA Inventory 994. 6.6. Fernandes and Matos 1995, no. 13, 38-29; Gonçalves 2007, no. 68, 192. The back of the piece exposes the struts and suggests that this was a portrait bust.

<sup>535</sup> MNA Inv. no. 994.56.1. Dimensions: 14.5 cm max. height; 19.8 cm max. width; 10.8 max. depth. For bibliography: Souza 1990, no. 178, 78, 173; Fernandes and Matos 1995, no. 11, 36-37; Gonçalves 2007, no. 73, 195-196. This piece also entered the MNA collection in 1894.

had a dual function: the busts promoted local marble and local industry, while the imported portrait heads made claims to good taste.

Another portrait bust of a woman dressed in the traditional *stola* and tunic of the Roman matron was recovered in Estácio da Veiga's excavations (fig. 155).<sup>536</sup> The piece was broken just above the breastbone, at the shoulders, and relatively high on the neck. It is dated to the Claudian era (41-54 CE) on the basis of the tunic type, and the low relief and schematization of the drapery.<sup>537</sup> The bust of Agrippina the Younger, which I will detail shortly, and this headless female compose the collection of 1<sup>st</sup> century portraits in the Milreu assemblage. It is curious that both pieces can be dated to the early-mid-1<sup>st</sup> century CE, though excavation suggests that the villa was not architecturally and artistically aggrandized until after 70 CE.<sup>538</sup> Again, we cannot be sure, but if both pieces were purchased for the 2<sup>nd</sup> century villa, they already enjoyed heirloom status in this era. Their value in late antiquity, we might assume, had only grown.

---

<sup>536</sup> MNA Inv. 994.6.2. Dimensions: 19.5 cm max. height; 29 cm max. width; 18.3 max. depth. Souza 1990, no. 122, p. 43, 71; Fernandes and Matos 1995, no. 10, 36-37; Gonçalves 2007, no. 53, 173. This piece entered the MNA collection in 1894.

<sup>537</sup> Gonçalves suggests that it could be a 2<sup>nd</sup> century Antonine piece *Schlichter Typus*, in which the tunic mimics the Claudian type (2007, 173). For a possible provincial origin, based on the marble color and its visual similarity to Estremoz marble strains, see Fernandes and Matos (1995, no. 10, 36-37) though to my mind, the superficial rendering of the drapery is simply characteristic of Julio-Claudian portraiture and biased by our hindsight regarding drapery techniques of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.

<sup>538</sup> For the discussion of the bust of Agrippina the Younger, see below section III.2. For the late 1<sup>st</sup> / early 2<sup>nd</sup> century aggrandizement of the villa, see section I.1.

Two final fragments of white marble, presumably from the Estremoz quarries, have been reconstructed as yet another headless portrait bust (Fig. 156).<sup>539</sup> The gender of this figure has been debated. The neck and upper chest preserve a figure dressed in tunic, with a cloak or mantle draped over the shoulders. The right shoulder is missing. Matos believe that this is a 2<sup>nd</sup> century portrait of a male, while Gonçalves identifies it as a female portrait of the Antonine era. I am inclined to agree with Gonçalves, and I cite the figure's hair as additional evidence.<sup>540</sup> Few scholars have discussed the figure's coiffure, and although there is no head, curled locks are visible on left side of the neck and to the right of the nape of the neck. These small locks could have easily slipped from the loose, low bun or overlapping front plaits seen in Antonine female coiffures, visible in the coin series of both Faustina the Elder and Faustina the Younger, and on private portraiture.<sup>541</sup> To judge from the execution of the drapery and the attention paid to the articulation of textures (hair, skin, and fabric) in this female bust, the quality is very fine and the work is that of a skilled, local sculptor.

The marble used in the aforementioned portraits must be analyzed before it is possible to speak with absolute assurance, but these pieces apparently attest to a rich

---

<sup>539</sup> MNA Inventory 994.55.2. Dimensions: 30.5 max. height; 35 cm max. width; 13.8 cm max. depth. Fernandes and Matos 1995, no. 9, 36-37; Sousa 1990, no. 126, 55, 70; Gonçalves 2007, no. 67, 191-192. The marble is thought to be from Estremoz.

<sup>540</sup> The drapery suggests the tunic and mantle style worn by Antonine imperial women; cf. the portraits of Faustina the Younger in the Louvre (Inv. no. Ma 1174, Ma 1175).

<sup>541</sup> Art Institute of Chicago, Inv. 2002.11.

industry of marble quarrying and sculpting in Hispania in the Imperial-era.<sup>542</sup> Though we cannot be sure that late antique *domini* at Milreu were aware of the origin of these marbles, if they were, their display may evince a concerted effort to celebrate Lusitanian industry, and mark Milreu as both an economic presence and a cultural touchstone.

Marble itself is rare in Lusitanian domestic contexts, and in the Iberian Peninsula more broadly, to judge from excavation. Even in late antiquity, the stone had monetary value, and perhaps greater value as it accrued age and cultural currency. Thus, the heirloom quality of the dynastic portraits found at Milreu, to which I now turn, merits further unpacking.

### III.2 Imperial Portraits

Three imperial portraits have been positively identified at Milreu: a portrait of the Empress Agrippina the Younger (49-54 CE), and two emperor portraits of Hadrian (117-138 CE) and Gallienus (253-268 CE). Together these pieces attest to over three centuries of the Roman Empire's relative stability in Lusitania. At present the latest securely dated imperial portrait is the head of Gallienus, who ruled jointly with his father Valerian from

---

<sup>542</sup> Petrographic analysis of these pieces would further aid us in advancing hypotheses for the motivations behind, and practicalities of purchasing locally produced sculpture, in both the high Imperial and late-antique periods. If locally made, these pieces suggest that Milreu's owners did not have to look or travel far to find antique, warehoused sculpture. Furthermore, if *domini* knew that the pieces were made in Lusitania, with Lusitanian marbles, it is possible that the purchase of such portraits was a concerted effort to celebrate regional identity and industry.

253-260, and alone from 260-268 (figs. 157, 158).<sup>543</sup> This piece was not recovered in Estácio da Veiga's excavations, but by a local landowner at some point between 1879 and 1895, when it was first published by Pereira Botto.<sup>544</sup> The head is finely carved in white marble and may be the product of an Italian workshop.<sup>545</sup> The piece is in good condition, with few abrasions, and facial features are immediately identifiable as Gallienus, from the forehead wrinkles at the inner corners of the eye, to the small lower lip and tapered chin. The beard is rendered with short chisel marks along the jawline and tightly wound curls at the neck, each one individually drilled.<sup>546</sup> Each lock of hair atop the head is undercut, and the placement of the forelocks looks to earlier portraiture of Augustus and Alexander the Great.<sup>547</sup>

Scholars classify the Lagos portrait as an example of the Emperor's second portrait type, commissioned c. 260 CE when Gallienus became the sole ruler of the

---

<sup>543</sup> Museu Regional de Lagos, Inv. no. 1418. Dimensions: 29 cm, height of head. The head was first identified as Gallienus by García y Bellido (1949, no. 29, 38).

<sup>544</sup> Pereira Botto 1895. The bust was found "in the ruins of Milreu". It became part of the personal collection Dr. Brack-Lamy, landowner of the estate, with whom it remained until it was donated in 1935 to the Museu Municipal Dr. José Formosinho in Lagos. It has since been published in many catalogues and studies of Gallienus' portraiture; for further bibliography see Gonçalves 2007, no. 16, 103-107.

<sup>545</sup> Fittschen suggests that it was carved in a state workshop and shipped to Lusitania (1993b, 226); Gonçalves also believes that the piece was made in Italy, a product of the artistic renaissance under Gallienus (2007, no. 16, 107). The piece is preserved to a height of 29 cm and broken at the neck; none of the shoulders or chest is preserved, and as such, it is difficult to say whether the head belongs to a bust or full-length statue.

<sup>546</sup> The hair and beard, however, mark a departure from the emperor's early portraits. The first portrait type is thought to have been commissioned when he became co-emperor with his father in the early to mid-250s, represented by a portrait in the Staatliche Museum in Berlin (Kleiner 1992, 373-74; Fittschen 1993b).

<sup>547</sup> Fittschen is less inclined to believe that Gallienus is imitating or evocating portraiture of Alexander the Great, and claims that the new coiffure may simply be a generic reference to Greek portraiture of gods or heroes (1993, 223). Bianchi Bandenelli cites Alexander's portraiture as unquestionably influential in his discussion of the Terme bust, (2000, no. 161); see also Kleiner (1992, 373) who suggests that Gallienus' beard was a stylistic departure from the generally longer beards of the Antonines and Severans.

Empire following the death of his father. The head has been compared to busts in the Quirinal Palace (Lagos type) and the Louvre (variant of the Lagos type). It may be significant that comparanda for this piece come from Rome, and may imply that the Milreu villa had connections in the capital city, to obtain such a piece.<sup>548</sup> If the piece was first purchased for the villa in the period of Gallienus' rule, it would have been displayed at Milreu in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and continuously into 4<sup>th</sup> century occupation phases.<sup>549</sup> Because the portrait is dated to 260 CE, its presence suggests that the clan who owned Milreu, like much of Southern Lusitania, did not ally themselves with the Gallic “Empire” of Postumus, which had gained control of a large part of the Iberian Peninsula in the early 260s. If so, the piece’s display in the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century villa may have a residual aspect. It is also possible, however, that the Gallienus portrait was purchased in a post-Gallienus period, and that its value lay precisely in the imperial identity of the sitter.

In either case, the association of this portrait with the late antique villa raises certain questions about the aesthetic preferences for sculpture in the late antique period. Readers may note that all of the statuary pieces discussed in this chapter, and in previous chapters as well, are of a traditional classical or classicizing style. With respect to the Gallienus head, portrait specialists regularly cite Gallienus’ portraiture as playing a pivotal role in what was a revival of classicizing style of art in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. It is

---

<sup>548</sup> Comparanda include the pieces mentioned in the text, all from Rome. The bust now in the Louvre, Ma 1041, was originally part of the Albani collection formed of objects from Rome and its surroundings.

<sup>549</sup> Under Gallienus’ sole rule of the Empire from 260-268, much of the West fell to the usurper Postumus, ruler of the so-called Gallic Empire. At its height around the time of Gallienus’ death in 268, the Gallic Empire included Britain, Gaul, and parts of Hispania, although southern Lusitania’s loyalty lay largely with Gallienus. The bust should therefore not be read as a strong demonstration of resistance.

interesting that this head is the latest piece in the entire Milreu assemblage, and is the only piece late can be dated to the post-Antonine era. As such, the piece raises questions about art appreciation in the later Roman era, and level of taste which played into the exhibition of antiques and/or classicizing sculptures. Taste is difficult to assess, when the later owners of Milreu in the 4<sup>th</sup> century and beyond are unknown, but the contemporary classicism in Gallienus' portraiture may have been perceptible.

The two other identified imperial portraits from Milreu, a bust of Hadrian and a portrait of Agrippina the Younger, are of the utmost importance to our understanding of imperial portraiture and collecting at Milreu, given their context. These portraits were found together in 1966 under the roots of a large olive tree that was cleared in the course of site cleaning and maintenance.<sup>550</sup> The earth in which they were interred was approximately 70 cm above the floor of the villa, which still preserved a mosaic.<sup>551</sup> Hauschild's original publication of the busts (1972) includes a plan which marks the findspot as a room on the south wing of rooms off the central peristyle, near the entrance to the villa (A2f-g in fig. 135).<sup>552</sup> The southern wing was modified with the expansion of the central peristyle to the south and east in Phase D of the villa, Severan – late 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>553</sup> The mosaics of these rooms have also been dated stylistically to the first half

---

<sup>550</sup> Hauschild 1972, 7; Pinheiro e Rosa 1969, 6; see also Quaresma 1966 for publication of the pieces in a local newspaper. shortly after their discovery.

<sup>551</sup> Hauschild 1972, 7.

<sup>552</sup> Hauschild 1972, plan 1; Teichner 2007, 117, fig. 42, 168-172.

<sup>553</sup> Teichner 2007, fig.43.



of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>554</sup> The 3<sup>rd</sup> century *terminus post quem* for these modifications, as well as the discovery of a 1<sup>st</sup> century and 2<sup>nd</sup> century bust together, argues for their display in the late-antique period as heirlooms.

The heroically nude bust of Hadrian is under life-size (43.2 cm) (figs. 159, 160).<sup>555</sup> The emperor's head is turned to his right, and his left shoulder is draped with the *paludamentum* and fastened with a round fibula. The rest of his chest is exposed, heroically nude. The right shoulder is missing, as is the original foot. While the piece is in good condition, there is damage to the forehead, the eyebrows and right eye, the ears, nose and beard, and abrasions on the cheeks, neck, chest, back of the head, and the folds of the *paludamentum*. The piece is sculpted from a white marble with small crystals, and was cleaned with acid upon its arrival to the museum.<sup>556</sup> The coiffure and beard clearly marks the piece as Hadrian: lightly curled waves atop the head are combed forward over the forehead, and the tightly coiled curls of the beard are sculpted with great care. The piece is thought to have been produced by a local state workshop, given its fine execution and attention to detail and texture, visible in the execution of the beard, hair, and drapery.

---

<sup>554</sup> The mosaics in Room A.14 (the presumed findspot of the pieces, according to Hauschild's 1972 plan) and A.13 (the room providing access to A.14 from the peristyle), as well as A.12 (the first room one would enter after passing through the villa's main entrance and vestibulum) correspond to Sector B1, rooms c and a, and Sector A2, room i in Lancha and Oliveira's study of the mosaics of the eastern Algarve (2013, no. 32, 244-247; no. 32, 241-43; no. 31, 238-40). The authors date these mosaics stylistically to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE.

<sup>555</sup> Museu Municipal de Faro (no. Inv. no.). Dimensions: 43.2 cm max. height of head and bust. The head was first published by Hauschild (1972), and with further details by Fittschen (1984); it has been featured in many publications of sculpture in Portugal, for an extensive bibliography see Gonçalves 2007, no. 15, 100-101.

<sup>556</sup> Fittschen 1984, 198.

This piece has been linked to the *Rollockenfrisur* portrait type, associated with Hadrian's third consulship in 119 CE. The type features a particular arrangement of curls over the forehead.<sup>557</sup> According to Klaus Fittschen, however, the Milreu portrait deviates from portraits of *Rollockenfrisur* type, in that individual features are less detailed, and the head is turned to the right instead of the left. The portrait has been marked by Fittschen as a *Klitterung*, an eclectic mix of types inspired by portraits of the *Rollockenfrisur* and *Chiara monti* types, both commissioned within a ten year period (119 – 129 CE).<sup>558</sup> We should note here that portraits of Hadrian notoriously stray from identified portrait types, in part because more portraits are preserved of Hadrian than of any other Roman emperor. Most scholars date the Milreu portrait to 121/122 CE, when the Iberian-born Emperor was in Hispania, a likely occasion for the production of a provincial portrait. The small scale of the portrait and its deviation from official types may suggest a familiarity or personal connection to the Emperor, and would have made it an attractive, unique piece.

The female bust discovered alongside the portrait of Hadrian was identified as Agrippina the Younger in 1974 by Walter Trillmich (figs. 161, 162).<sup>559</sup> At 29 cm this bust is just under life size, on a par with the head of Gallienus but noticeably larger than the portrait of Hadrian. Though the original foot is missing, the bust is largely intact.

---

<sup>557</sup> Fittschen 1984, 202-204 after Wegner 1956. The Milreu portrait does not, however, seem to be an exact copy of this type, but rather an eclectic mix of types, a *Klitterung*.

<sup>558</sup> For discussion, Fittschen 1984, 199-206.

<sup>559</sup> Museu Municipal de Faro. The bust was first identified as a portrait of Agrippina the Elder by Hauschild (1972). Dimensions: 47.5 cm, max height from top of head to bust. See also Gonçalves 2007, no. 9, 88-90 for bibliography.

There is damage to the nose and to the braids at the back of the head, as well as abrasions to the forehead, cheeks, lips, chin, and drapery folds, primarily on the left side of the face. Agrippina is dressed in the costume of a typical Roman matron of the Julio-Claudian age. She wears a tunic beneath a *stola*, with a mantle draped over her left shoulder. The two straps of the *stola* are clearly indicated over her right shoulder, which allows the sculptor to contrast the texture of the fabric with the sitter's smooth, delicate and idealized skin. She looks slightly to the right of center, and her visage is unblemished and unwrinkled, typical of Julio-Claudian female portraiture. The piece is dated to the late Claudian era (49-54 CE) by the sitter's coiffure, which is characteristic of the Florence-Milan type, though without that type's prominent corkscrew curls.<sup>560</sup>

This is the only portrait of the empress from Lusitania found in a private context; the only other portrait was found in a public context, in the Forum of Conimbriga.<sup>561</sup> As previously mentioned, this portrait is one of two pieces made before the peristyle villa was built (*terminus post quem* 70 CE). Its discovery alongside a 2<sup>nd</sup> century portrait of Hadrian evinces true connoisseurship, and the preservation of antique imperial portraiture. As a portrait which bears witness to imperial history, and the oldest in the

---

<sup>560</sup> For the discussion of the Milreu bust and its relation to the Milan-Florence type, see Trillmich (1974). Her hair is parted down the center, and on each side of the part are six segments of individually drilled corkscrew curls that continue down the side of the head, partially covering the ears. A frieze of smaller curls adorns the forehead at the hairline. The hair in the back of the head is gathered into a rope braid on each side beginning behind the ears, and gathered together in a double band at the nape of the neck, from which four thick ropes of hair emerge. A few strands have been loosened from this ponytail, and cascade from behind the ears falling over the front of her right shoulder and over the back of the left onto her tunic.

<sup>561</sup> Portrait of Agrippina Minor, Inventory nos. 67.377 (base), 67.379 (head), Museu Monográfico de Conimbriga. See this piece in Gonçalves 2007 catalog, no. 8, 87-88.

Milreu collection, we must ask whether later Romans could identify a piece like this as Agrippina, and in what light she was remembered. Though Agrippina is vilified in Suetonius' narrative, no such stamp of disapproval seems to have plagued her person in later eras. Rather, by the 2<sup>nd</sup> century she had become a powerful female role model, as a politically savvy Empress and mother. It is possible that this piece was treasured as a veritable antique of her image

Though scholarship has focused in depth on this portrait, and the heads of Hadrian and Gallienus as imperial images, there are several additional fragments which may also represent as-yet-unidentified imperial persons and merit discussion here. Fragments of two different statues, both in military dress, were recovered in Estácio da Veiga's excavations: a 20.7 cm tall fragment of a male's right tibia (no. 994.6.5), and a 99 cm tall fragment of a male's left leg (no. 995.32.1).<sup>562</sup> Fragment no. 994.6.5 preserves the top of a military *caliga* boot with straps interlaced on the front of the leg and wrapped below the knee (fig. 163). There is not enough detail in this *caliga*, however, to suggest a precise date and the piece is loosely ascribed to the 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE. At 20.7 cm tall with a maximum width of 19 cm, this fragment belongs to a statue that is over life-size; the colossal size and military dress do suggest a full-length emperor portrait.

---

<sup>562</sup> Both pieces are in the collection of the Museu Nacional de Arqueologica, Lisboa. For the tibia fragment Inv. no. 994.6.5, see Fernandes and Matos 1995, no. 15, 40-41; Gonçalves 2007, no. 42, 152-153. For Inv. no. 994.32.1, see Souza 1990 no. 130, 45, 71; Fernandes and Matos Matos 1995, no. 14, 40-41; Gonçalves 2007, no. 43, 153-154.

The second statue fragment no. 995.32.1 does not belong to the same statue, but rather to a second military full-length portrait (fig. 164). A left leg measuring 99 cm from knee to toe provides evidence of yet another colossal individual wearing military boots, though of a different design. As Gonçalves has noted with respect to this piece, the presence of a colossal military statue at Milreu raises questions about the function of a presumably private, residential villa.<sup>563</sup>

In summary, at least three imperial portraits are extant at Milreu, along with fragments that suggest two different colossal statues in military dress. Such a sizable antique collection of imperial portraits and possible emperor statues is uncommon in private contexts, and especially in the Iberian Peninsula. Imperial portrait groups like that of Milreu are more commonly found in public contexts, whether in temples, theatres or fora. To make sense of the Milreu assemblage, most scholars have looked abroad for parallels among the villas of Gallia Aquitania or the Italian Peninsula. In doing so, the assumption is that Milreu's owners were products of a trans-regional imperial bureaucracy, or themselves members of the imperial family. Such conclusions are attractive and possibly valid, but they underscore the presence of such portraiture in the late antique period, and its display in a local context. In both instances, the Milreu portrait collection – of imperial and non-imperial persons – stands out. We needn't associate the imperial portraits with imperial owners to mark Milreu as home to a powerful, influential *domini* with an impressive heirloom portrait collection in Late Antiquity.

---

<sup>563</sup> Gonçalves 2007, 154.

That said, this marble assemblage is but one aspect of the Milreu estate's portfolio, so to speak, and cannot be used as the sole piece of evidence with which to build a profile of its later *domini*. Other aspects of the Milreu estate caution against assumptions which privilege the "imperial" identity of the Milreu owners. Different aspects of the estate apparatus serve different purposes, and all must be considered in constructing a sociological profile of the villa's later *domini*, and parsing the full character of their identity as elite.

Multi-scalar analysis of this estate suggests that the vast majority of social transactions at Milreu were negotiated with a local audience, and that the villa's *domini* were invested in social status projection in their locality, even if they were *honorati* with extra-regional connections. In the final section of this chapter, I therefore explore other aspects of the Milreu estate, through analysis of various elements of the domestic assemblage beyond the marble statuary. In doing so I intend to establish a framework for synthesis of the marble heirloom collection, so that we may understand the social environment wherein these sculptures were viewed, and assess the power of such rare imagery among a local audience. The statuary and imperial portraits in particular, we shall see, were key to differentiating the occupants of Milreu as superior from their neighbors, and were likely important in peer polity negotiations.

To investigate late Milreu's engagement in peer polity and local socio-economics, I turn first to the villa's cult building, built in the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century. This next section embarks in a new direction, for it explores a singular aspect of Milreu – a built cult

building – that has local comparanda, and cannot be analyzed as a singular phenomenon like the statuary ensemble. It may seem strange that a villa like Milreu, with such impressive décor, “deigned” to compete with local *domini*, but we need only accept that local elite identity had importance to entertain this reality.

#### **IV. Peer Polity Competition: Cult (?) Buildings in the Algarve**

Much ink has been spilled over the function of the Milreu cult building, which has been described as a *nymphaeum*, a mausoleum, and more generally as a sacred space (figs. 142-43, 165).<sup>564</sup> The identification of a *nymphaeum* is based on the presence of the aforementioned marine mosaics that decorate the podium, and a water basin installed in the center of the building.<sup>565</sup> The building was later converted into a Christian church with a baptismal font in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, but the precise function of the mid-4<sup>th</sup> through 5<sup>th</sup> century cult building remains inconclusive.<sup>566</sup> No votive or cult objects have been found in situ. Perhaps most suggestive of a ritualistic or religious function is the building’s *umgangstempel* shape, a Gallo-Roman ambulatory type temple, named for rural pagan temples known from the Imperial period in Gaul.

---

<sup>564</sup> This structure has been identified by various scholars as a *nymphaeum* (Hauschild 1964; 1984; 1988; 2002), a mausoleum (Graen 2005) and a cult building (Teichner 1997; 2007; Bowes 2006; 2008).

<sup>565</sup> The water basin was visible in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but subsequent excavations have destroyed the floor level, and the basin is no longer extant. The presence of water can still be inferred, however, from pipes preserved outside the temple walls, which connect to the water basin/tank opposite the cult complex (Teichner 2007, 263, fig. 52C, 53E).

<sup>566</sup> Teichner 2007, fig. 128, 267-68; see also Schlunk and Hauschild 1983, 112-13; Hauschild 2002; Bowes 2006; 2008, 34-36.

The *umgangstempel* is a regional variant known in the northwestern provinces, a fusion of Roman and vernacular architecture. It is a concentric structure, a square (though occasionally round or polygonal) cella enveloped by a roofed ambulatory. The *umgangstempel* variant appears to have been popular in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries in Britain, Germany and Gaul; over 200 examples are extant. These temples normally stand alone in remote areas, completely separate from villas or towns, but inscriptions in Gaul show that even rural temples were financed by members of the local elite, to serve the surrounding community.<sup>567</sup> Thon Derks suggests that these cult centers catered to country residents and to passing travelers.<sup>568</sup> Along with small bronze objects and altars, they point to a less codified, less urban-centric religion than is found in Italy or the East in the early Imperial period.<sup>569</sup>

Outside of the northwestern Empire in the Imperial period, the *umgangstempel* form is almost unheard of. The quoting of this architectural form at Milreu would thus seem peculiar, were it not one of at least four known examples in southern Roman Portugal. *Umgangstempel* structures, strikingly similar to Milreu, have been excavated at the villas of Quinta de Marim (fig. 166) and São Cucufate (fig. 167); survey suggests

---

<sup>567</sup> Leday 1980; Derks 1998, 146-148, and passim.

<sup>568</sup> Derks 1998, 185-190. See also de la Bédoyère 1993; Leday 1980. These rural temples are not well understood, but probably functioned akin to rural shrines, albeit on a larger scale.

<sup>569</sup> In 1<sup>st</sup> century Gaul, Roman gods were joined to a pantheon that included local and Celtic divinities and spirits; many small bronzes, sadly lacking contexts, display syncretistic iconography.



another at the villa of Los Castellejos.<sup>570</sup> All four structures had a square cella with an apse and a peripteral colonnade.

Milreu's cult building is a square cella with an apse at its southern end is surrounded by a peripteral colonnade of Corinthian columns, which rests atop a 1 meter tall podium; the podium and building together were over 10 meters in height. We have already mentioned the exterior décor of the podium façade; the interior décor speaks of an even greater luxury. The walls of the cella appear to have been revetted with colored marbles from around the world: Egyptian red-purple porphyry, green serpentine from Sparta, giallo antico from North Africa and broccatello from northern Spain's Tartosa region. Some of the *opus sectile* work was figural: fragments include the wing of a bird, the hand and foot of a human figure, and numerous decorative floral elements like leaves (figs. 168, 169). Felix Teichner reconstructs a rider wearing a breastplate astride a horse.<sup>571</sup> Judging by the rider's breastplate and the stylization of the bird's wing, the Milreu *opus sectile* fragments date to the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. These scenes may have decorated the apse, and Hauschild suggests that the ceiling was studded with glass mosaics, having founded tesserae which were gilded in gold leaf.<sup>572</sup> The cult building

---

<sup>570</sup> For villa-temples see Bowes 2007; contra the funerary function of such structures proposed by Graen 2005. For Quinta de Marim: Santos 1972, 249-277; Graen 2006, 2008. For São Cucufate: Alarção et al. 1990; Alarção 2002.

<sup>571</sup> Teichner 2007, fig. 136, 263-267. The reconstructions are inspired by *opus sectile* work at the basilica of Junnius Bassus in Rome.

<sup>572</sup> Looking to Centcelles for comparanda, Hauschild reconstructs a glass mosaic ceiling (1964); tesserae found in excavations were not in situ, but rather found in collapsed layers. It is also unclear whether the figural and floral *opus sectile* scenes were used as floor mosaics, or as wall revetments; Hauschild and

was set opposite the entrance to the villa, and accessed through an archway that effectively marked a *temenos* and kept the complex separate from (though intimately connected to) the rest of the Milreu villa and its outbuildings.<sup>573</sup>

The temple structure at São Cucufate (Vila de Frades), 150 km north of Milreu, has also been dated to the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century; two niches in the apse provided space for small statues, which could suggest pagan cult practice. This temple was, like Milreu, converted into a Christian church, probably in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>574</sup> There is little evidence for the decoration at São Cucufate, but at the temple of Quinta de Marim, not 20 km from Milreu, finds make it clear that this building was lavishly decorated like Milreu. These include colored marble plaques and geometric mosaics, and a large bronze fragment with scale patterning (10.5 x 11cm), perhaps in imitation of shingles, was found in the area of the apse and may have adorned the roof.<sup>575</sup> The structure has been dated to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century, but ceramic finds should suggest the early to mid-4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>576</sup> A

---

Teichner propose the latter, given that the temple's floor was gutted in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and the ground level of the 4<sup>th</sup> century structure is lost (Hauschild 1964; Teichner 2007, fig. 136, 250-256).

<sup>573</sup> See Bowes 2006 for further discussions of sacred and liminal topography of villas and temples, and villas and mausolea.

<sup>574</sup> The site was converted into a monastery at some point in the post-Roman period, though excavators cannot say for certain when this occurred. Like at Milreu, post-Roman graves were also excavated in and around the temple (Alarção et al. 1990).

<sup>575</sup> Graen 2005; 2006.

<sup>576</sup> Graen (2005, 2006) maintains that temple/mausolea at Quinta de Marim was the first of its kind in southern Lusitania, imitated by Milreu and others. To make this claim, he dates the structure to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. The discovery of multiple fragments of ARS Hayes 50 ceramics should, however, suggest a terminus post quem of the early 4<sup>th</sup> century, when the ceramic type was a popular export.

secondary square masonry structure, 6m x 6m, was attached to the temple at Quinta de Marim, and may have acted as a mausoleum.<sup>577</sup>

By their proximity to villas, Kim Bowes sees these temples as intimately linked to the use of monumental architecture to project seigneurial power.<sup>578</sup> Here I wish to probe the estate-specific, socio-economic function of temples located on villa estates.<sup>579</sup> At Milreu, the location of the temple along the road and its elaborate exterior décor suggests that passersby were invited to ponder, and perhaps even enter, the cult space. At the Quinta de Marim, the temple-mausoleum was located almost 50 meters from the villa residence, strengthening the argument that these villa-temples were built to draw visitors in, and that they catered to the estate community, and to a community beyond the estate. The transformation of the Milreu and São Cucufate temples into Christian churches in the post-Roman period further implies that a community of visitors or worshippers existed and frequented these structures, which remain in use in the 5<sup>th</sup> century in spite of the contraction and ultimate discontinuation of other estate machinations.

---

<sup>577</sup> Dennis Graen, who has led recent excavations at the site, suggests that both structures were private mausolea, built in the late-antique period in imitation of imperial types. We see here again the persistence of a center-periphery model, though to my mind these temples should be analyzed as a regional phenomenon. At Milreu, two mausolea, dating to the imperial period, have been found at what is presumed to be the eastern edge of the property (Teichner 2007, 240-243; Hauschild 2002, 99-101). For villa-mausolea, see also Bowes 2006.

<sup>578</sup> Bowes 2006, 83-84.

<sup>579</sup> For a 4<sup>th</sup> century Christian house church see the villa of Lullingstone (Meates 1979); also Bowes 2006 for the place of the domestic sphere in the spread of Christianity, in the rural West in particular.

#### IV.1 Sacred and Secular Economies

We should acknowledge that these temple structures evince estates in dialogue, clearly looking to each other and implicitly involved in peer polity competition. What currency, then, did sacred economies have in 4<sup>th</sup> century Lusitania, such that multiple villa owners in the Roman Algarve were willing to invest space and money in a temple on their estate? Although the religion(s) practiced in these temples cannot yet be ascertained based on the excavated evidence, their prominence at Milreu, Quinta de Marim, and São Cucufate suggests a basic interest in catering to the rural population. Religion has the unique power to bring order through ritual, and not simply the ritual of cult practice, but the ritualized activity of pilgrimages and making offerings on a regular basis.

Beyond their probable sacred functions, recent studies of both late antique Christianity and paganism in the rural sphere have shown the religion was a subtle tool by means of which local *domini* consolidated power and patronage.<sup>580</sup> The proximity of these temples to the villa estates is clear evidence of such secular and social functions, namely the collection of a large body of clients under a powerful patron. Cult itself has the power to establish and maintain social bonds of patronage, and the provision of a structure for such activities functions as an auxiliary arm of the estate. Perhaps through the use of a non-standard *umgangstempel* form, which differed architecturally from the urban Roman temple or church basilica, *domini* could fashionably exploit the activities

---

<sup>580</sup> See Bowes 2008; Grey 2011; Brown 2013.

that often accompanied sacred cult practice: market exchange, tax and/or tenant tariff collection, and communication channels.<sup>581</sup> The association of temples with villas in the Algarve suggests that the rhythms of rural life were greatly affected by large estates, by virtue of the villa's function as a center for communication and exchange (material and immaterial). This may explain the shared form at multiple estates, which attests to veritable competition among elite *domini* for *local* clientele.

That the inhabitants of Milreu should have been so invested in local engagement and economics is at first glance surprising, since the villa's furnishings, mosaics and marbles in particular, indicate confidence and fluency in larger, less regionally specific markets of social and economic exchange. Scholarship on Milreu has explained its collection of sculpture as an attempt to garner attention and assert status in foreign circles: among the imperial court, the *honorati*, and collectors in all corners of the Roman world. I do not doubt the collection's value in these circles, but I rather draw our attention to its local marketability, and the functional role it may have played, similar to the cult building, in attracting patronage, ultimately establishing the *domini* as the dominant elite group in the region. In this environment, the statuary, and the imperial portraits in particular, bolstered the estate's standing as superior to others, as imperial portraiture suggests an affiliation with Empire.<sup>582</sup> Different aspects of the estate assert the

---

<sup>581</sup> For example see Shaw 1981 on periodic rural markets in North Africa.

<sup>582</sup> The villa's distance from the centers of Empire likely played a factor in the display of this collection. Scholarship has shown that aristocratic display in urban centers like Rome or Constantinople clearly articulated an asymmetrical balance between the Emperor and the aristocracy (Weiswieler 2012).

importance of the *domini* in different ways, both locally and “globally”. Milreu stands on par with neighbors through the competitive construction of cult structures, yet makes unparalleled and matchless claims to association with the ruling elite through the display of imperial portraiture.<sup>583</sup> The effect of these claims are reinforced when we consider that, aside from the imported heirloom imperial portraits, other marble portraiture came directly from Lusitania. With both local and imported portraiture, Milreu flaunts competency in local economics and social dialogue, but rises above local peers with the imperial portraiture, insinuating itself into the broader dialogues of estate display and elite behavior.

I conclude with a suggestion that such standing, and/or the ability to make such claims, is corollary to this estate’s economic clout in the region. The Algarve coast was a locus of diverse economic production in late antiquity; villas here appear to have had a stake in making their lands fecund, whether by means of viticulture and olive oil (Milreu), salt mines and garum (Quinta do Marim and Cerro da Vila), or purple dye (Cerro da Vila).<sup>584</sup> The level of engagement in productive economies among villas of the Algarve, and in sacred economies at several sites, suggests that economic strength was essential to achieving local dominance.

---

<sup>583</sup> As such, this differs from other regional clusters. For example, in Aquitania, villa owners living in close proximity seemed to have been engaged in a different sort of competitive collecting dialogue, with multiple owners (at Castelculier, Nérac, and Chiragan) displaying imperial busts, notably that of Marcus Aurelius, see chapters 5 and 6.

<sup>584</sup> The same cannot be said for villas in other regions: survey and study of many southern Gallic villas, for example, have suggested that land tenure and arable property was limited by the sheer volume of villas in the fertile river valley. See in particular Sillières 2002, 398-402; more generally Fages 1995.

Though it is impossible to identify land tenure archaeologically, Milreu's inhabitant(s) must have owned or managed a great deal of land. Indeed, the recent investigations uncovered wine production facilities that were newly built in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> century, and parallel those of other large villas in Portugal such as São Cucufate and Torre de Palma. The facilities for oil production are also truly exceptional. We should therefore assume that the villa was directly involved in the southern Lusitanian agricultural economy, and stood as a true economic force within the region.<sup>585</sup>

## **V. Conclusions**

I focus on the economic aspects of this estate at the end of this chapter, because these aspects paint a broader picture of the villa Milreu as an inhabited estate. This villa is important in the region because of its statuary, but statuary is a singular aspect of the late antique estate's apparatus. The display of heirloom portraiture is a unique phenomenon in the region, which suggests links to high culture and Empire, but those suggestions had preeminent weight among a local audience. These suggestions do not signal imperial owners. Rather multi-scalar analysis evinces estate dynamics in context, and the villa's participation in local circles, in peer polity dialogues and socio-economics. It is the local standing of this estate that is most traceable in the archaeological assemblage and that asserts its significance.

---

<sup>585</sup> Teicher (2008, 624) suggests that, given the size of the oil mill, the estate may have been allied or associated with Baetican oil production, known to have been widely exported in the ancient Mediterranean.

How might we use this analysis to flesh out the sociological profile of this estate?

It is significant that this estate has a presence and belonging to both local and extra-regional spheres. Several features, from the cult building to the geometric mosaics to the production facilities, have local comparanda and evince local engagement; others, namely the marble statuary, the figural mosaics, and the size of the production facilities, have no local comparandum, and belong within a broader tradition of elite display. The estate of Milreu stands out as major player, a trend-setter in the Roman Algarve, but also an active participant in elite culture writ broad. We might imagine that this villa's *domini*, therefore, had a stake in their local and extra-regional standing, and that their elite status was qualified on multiple social levels. Such nuances and degree of scale are, perhaps, a direction that archaeological scholarship should pursue, and in doing so parse the multifaceted nature of "elite" identity, and its fluidity in multiple spheres.



## CHAPTER FIVE

## Statuary Collections in the Villa of Novempopulania

The last three chapters have acquainted readers with the various sculptural types found among the late antique villas of the Iberian Peninsula, from the contemporary mythological statuettes at Quinta das Longas and Valdetorres de Jarama, to the antique or heirloom sculpture documented at Milreu, El Ruedo, Casa del Mitra, and several others. The variety of statues documented in domestic contexts across the Peninsula, however, does not equate to chronological range within individual assemblages. The two villas with imported late-mythological statuary do not furnish evidence for imperial-era statuary, and vice versa. Thus Iberia's statuary villas can be divided rather neatly into two groups – those with late-mythological statuary, and those with antique sculptures. That such chronological distinctions exist across statuary sets, however, is not surprising given the regional clustering of late-Roman villas in the Peninsula. Different social and economic factors are at play in each pocket of habitation, and subtle differences in the profile of Iberian villas and their owners are thus readily apparent.

This chapter and the next continue to utilize statuary as a lens into the varied social make-up of the late-Roman elite by directing our attention across the Pyrenees to the province of Novempopulania, in what is now modern Aquitaine. The material evidence for statuary here presents a sharp contrast to Iberia, insofar as individual assemblages document extraordinary variety, a true *mélange* of contemporary and

antique marbles. Such diversity suggests that the region's estates are not carbon copies of their Iberian neighbors, and that *domini* here evince a different set of approaches and attitudes towards marble. The following two chapters are dedicated to regional study of what remains the largest cluster of statuary villas in the late-Roman world.

### **I. A Brief Historiography of Study and Excavation in Aquitaine's Villas**

To say the countryside of southwestern France was densely populated in Late Antiquity is an understatement. In a 2001 catalogue of villas in Aquitaine Catherine Balmelle identifies no fewer than 64 sites, with another 50 conjectured from superficial evidence (fig. 170).<sup>586</sup> Late antique villas in Aquitaine cluster in the fertile alluvial plains of a landscape fed and fragmented by the Garonne River and its tributaries. This area has seen continuous occupation since the Roman period. Interest in the antiquity of this landscape is documented as early as the 17th and 18th centuries, via antiquarian reports of marbles, mosaic pavements, and ancient walls standing beyond a meter in height.<sup>587</sup> Such discoveries raised interest in what lay beneath the surface, and the first archaeological campaigns were carried out in rural Aquitaine in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Excavations were

---

<sup>586</sup> Balmelle (2001) records 64 late antique villa residences in her catalogue; the remaining 45 which she includes have not been formally excavated. Balmelle's work remains the most useful and current catalogue of late antique villa sites, even as the number of identifiable late-Roman villas has risen in the last fifteen years. For villas and the Gallo-Roman countryside more broadly (in both the early Empire and late antique period) the *Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* remains an excellent resource. The CAG is divided into volumes which coincide with modern France's political départements; for the villas discussed in this chapter see Lapart and Petit 1993 (CAG 32 Le Gers); Sion 1994 (CAG 33-1 La Gironde); Fages 1995 (CAG 47 Lot-en-Garonne); Massendari 2006 (CAG 31-1 La Haute-Garonne); Sablayrolles and Beyrie 2006 (CAG 31-2 Le Comminges).

<sup>587</sup> For summaries of antiquarian activity in the region see Lapart in Lapart and Petit 1993, 29-31; Sablayrolles in Sablayrolles and Beyrie 2006, 51-54; Fages 1995, 35-38.

directed either by antiquarian enthusiasts or amateur archaeologists, and financed by a host of regional governmental bodies, museums and wealthy donors. The selection of sites for excavation was based largely on superficial finds, thus elaborate décor was taken as evidence of a rich site worthy of further exploration. It may come as no surprise that the vast majority of sites surveyed in this chapter, as large estates with impressive marble remains, were first discovered in 19<sup>th</sup> century excavations.<sup>588</sup>

Among the first to be uncovered was the villa of Chiragan. The site is located along the right bank of the Garonne approximately 60 kilometers southwest of ancient Tolosa (Toulouse), near the modern commune of Martres-Tolosane. Chiragan became the subject of a large-scale campaign after an impressive array of marble sculptures was uncovered in a storm.<sup>589</sup> Excavations from 1826-30 were focused on salvaging fragments of more than one hundred marble statues, but little thought was then given to the archaeological context of the pieces. The Chiragan marbles gained renown in regional circles, and seem to have contributed to the flurry of archaeological investigation which took over Aquitaine's countryside in the years that followed. Like Chiragan, many other villas were uncovered only to be mined for luxury arts and analyzed in a rather cursory

---

<sup>588</sup> We may also note that many of the villas surveyed in this chapter are among the largest extant in southern Aquitaine to the present day, cf. Chiragan at 16,000 ha. Many early reports of these sites describe ancient walls still preserved in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. At Chiragan, antiquarian surveys reports walls 3-4 meters in height (see chapter 6). While such reports are not to be taken as documented fact, it appears that the ruins of many sites excavated in the pre-modern era were still visible, and therefore it is not surprising that early antiquarians were drawn to these sites.

<sup>589</sup> We will discuss the complicated excavation history of this villa briefly below in section II.5, and in greater detail in Chapter 6, section I. The essential publication of the site remains Joulin's monograph in 1901. For recent summaries of the excavation history of the site see Balty and Cazes 2005, 21-45; Massendari 2006, 213-265.

fashion. The villa of La Garenne-Nérac, roughly 20 kilometers southwest of Aginnum (modern Agen), was excavated less than a decade after Chiragan, encouraged by superficial finds of mosaic pavements and assorted marbles.<sup>590</sup> Only 14 km south of La Garenne, the villa Bapteste in Moncrabeau was excavated from 1871-73, in order to bring its vibrant polychrome geometric mosaics to light.<sup>591</sup> Other sites, such as the villas of Lamarque (Castelculier, 6 kilometers southeast of modern-day Agen) and Séviac (Montréal, 12 kilometers north of Eauze), were known, recorded, and explored summarily, though never fully uncovered.<sup>592</sup>

This rich history of 19<sup>th</sup> century excavation has played a defining role in the development of Gallo-Roman archaeology and, given the grandeur brought to light in this rural landscape, in the genesis of appreciation for domestic sites and for Late Antiquity. Early archaeologists dated most of the sites they uncovered to the Constantinian era

---

<sup>590</sup> For more information on the excavation of La Garenne-Nérac see below section II.2.

<sup>591</sup> The villa Bapteste at Moncrabeau was excavated from 1871-73 (Faugère-Dubourg 1873; 1874; 1875). A large villa organized around a central square courtyard was brought to light, loosely dated to the late antique period. Many floors were paved in polychrome mosaics, and a portrait of a child was found in 1873 though no findspot was specified. For a summary of these campaigns see also Manchi 1994; Fages 1995, no. 174, 246-49; for recent discussion see Jacques 2006. This villa is mentioned here, if only because the sole portrait found at the villa lacks a context. That said, villas like Bapteste speak to statuary displays and probable collections as a regional trend in southern Aquitaine, and to dense settlement in the nexus of central Aquitaine between Elusa and Aginnum.

<sup>592</sup> As such, both Lamarque and Séviac have proved fruitful venues for modern archaeological research. At Séviac, a half century of chance finds and the discovery of a colossal bronze toe spurred excavations in 1911, but these campaigns were stalled by the second World War; excavation did not begin again until the 1950s. A detailed excavation history of Séviac follows in section II.3, but see Lapart 1994 for a summary of the the pre-WWI excavations. Excavations at Lamarque happened in a similar fashion; the site was known in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century as a source of ancient marbles and mosaics. Excavation, however, did not begin until the 1980s, see section I.1.

based on coin finds.<sup>593</sup> Francophone study of Late Antiquity has thus been less affected by theories of decline or decay than perhaps other scholarly traditions, given the material evidence for a Gallo-Roman aristocracy.<sup>594</sup> However, the dearth of stratigraphic excavation at these large, important estates has complicated any concrete synthesis of the late antique period in Aquitaine. Nineteenth-century archaeology simply did not meet our standards for scientific analysis, and much of the necessary information for stratified dating and levels of occupation has been lost at sites like Chiragan, La Garenne, and Moncrabeau.

Yet the absence of real archaeology here in the 19<sup>th</sup> century is not without some benefit, in that it has paved the way for the rise of processual and post-processual archaeology in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and for innovative field methodologies which continue to shape modern scholarship and spur new lines of research. In villa scholarship, study has largely moved away from luxury art objects and towards the social and economic history of this densely inhabited region. Modern research questions the role of local and trans-regional economic systems in ancient Aquitaine, the nature of land use, and the diachronic evolution of the landscape from the pre-Roman to post-Roman era.<sup>595</sup>

---

<sup>593</sup> At Chiragan, a final phase of occupation (Phase IV) was dated to the Constantinian-era, based on numismatic finds. (Joulin 1901, chapter 6, section I.1). At nearby Montmaurin, excavator Georges Fouet dated the expansion of the late antique villa to c. 330 CE, its floruit to c. 350, and its demise to c. 374 based almost entirely on numismatic evidence. For discussion of this chronology and recent revisions, see section II.4 in this chapter.

<sup>594</sup> This is in part because of this material evidence, but also because of the rich literary testimony provided by the late Gallo-Roman elite (see below nt. 604).

<sup>595</sup> Cf. the edited volume of Réchin in 2006 for a compilation of recent work in this area. See also Amiel and Berthault 1995 for late antique commerce; Leveau, Sillières and Vallat 1993 for land use and farming

Statuary villas like Chiragan and Séviac have benefitted greatly from these research agendas, as study of both sites has been renewed in either systematic sondages or intermittent excavation.<sup>596</sup> So too has the shape and character of Aquitaine's rural landscape come to light in broad surveys of land use and occupation in the Roman era. But in general, sites like Chiragan have lost some of their allure, in that modern archaeology is often more concerned with untouched ground, unexcavated sites, and undiscovered things. The sites and objects which so attracted 19<sup>th</sup> century antiquarians are given only secondary importance by many archaeologists and have rather migrated into the purview of traditional art history.<sup>597</sup> Such a fate undermines the social function of such objects in antiquity and of the unparalleled wealth of statuary evidence which is securely connected to late antique villas here. This chapter thus aims in part at a rehabilitation of the villas and domestic statuary assemblages that were first excavated in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Sites like Chiragan, Séviac and La Garenne do, in fact, furnish tangible material evidence for the allure of statuary among this region's late provincial elite.

---

in the Roman and post-Roman; Vergain 2006 for villas in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century and the estate's role in Christianization of the landscape. The work of Catherine Petit (survey), Briec Fages (diachronic site studies) and Phillipe Leveau (landscape study and land use) has been quite influential.

<sup>596</sup> For the sondages at Chiragan in 2001 see summary in Massendari 2006, 227-29; for Séviac see Gugole 2006; Fages et al (*forthcoming*).

<sup>597</sup> I note, however, that this sentiment is somewhat personal. And although field archaeologists may eschew these sites from time to time, they remain of great interest to other academics, and to non-academics and cultural enthusiasts alike. The site of Lamarque has become a major tourist destination, a reconstructed Roman villa where visitors have access to the site, a museum, and a host of cultural events from educational programs to ancient dining experiences. So too is the statuary from Chiragan a major focus of the Musée Saint-Raymond's ongoing exhibition, and incorporated in social media for promotion of the museum in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Before beginning analysis of these sites and sculptures, however, I note here the pioneering work of Catherine Balmelle and Lea Stirling, whose studies have been essential in resurrecting research of southwestern France's villas in the present era. Both have wrestled with pre-modern archaeological evidence and demonstrated that analytical study is not only possible, but enlightening. Balmelle assembled the aforementioned gazetteer of villa sites, which builds on her longtime stylistic study of mosaic traditions and workshops in southern Gaul.<sup>598</sup> Stirling has worked with the late-mythological statuettes recovered in these villas, and has analyzed the production of such material in 4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> century Asia Minor and its importation to Gaul as mark of a late antique collection habit, practice by the elite around the Empire.<sup>599</sup> The work of these two scholars has repositioned art in archaeological discourse, thereby paving the way for further analysis of the social-historical ramifications of a statuary habit shared among this region's landowning elite. Both Balmelle and Stirling suggest the regional importance of this area, but why this region thrives, and why such prosperity is tied to landowners and to their villas, mosaics, and impressive statuary assemblages, is still unclear. In this chapter, I begin to answer these questions through re-analysis of the statuary habit. I mark this region as home to a particular group of landowning, Aquitanian *domini*, whose make-up

---

<sup>598</sup> See Balmelle 1980; 1987; 2001. Balmelle is currently co-director of ongoing work at the villa Séviac, alongside Briec Fages.

<sup>599</sup> Stirling 1996; 1997; 2005. Stirling continues to work with this material, but in broader contexts outside of Gaul, cf. 2007; 2008; 2014; 2015. While the focus of Stirling's work is late-mythological statuary, her doctoral dissertation and first published book do discuss other statuary pieces (portraits, antique mythologizing statuary) in depth (1994, 2005).

and habitus are correlated with the creation of Aquitania as three distinct provinces in Late Antiquity.

### I.1 The Three Aquitanias of Late Antiquity

Before exploring statuary assemblages here, and statuary ownership of the habit of a distinct *domini* group, a historical survey of Gallia Aquitania is in order. The province was founded in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE following Caesar's invasion of Gaul.<sup>600</sup> Its borders were naturally fixed by the Atlantic Ocean to the west and the Pyrenees to the south, and less concretely by the Garonne River and newly defined provinces of Lugdunensis and Narbonensis to the north and east/southeast respectively. Aquitania enjoyed real prosperity in the Imperial era, judging from the urban infrastructure in place at smaller cities like Aginnum (Agen) and Lugdunum Convenarum (Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges).<sup>601</sup> In the 3<sup>rd</sup> century this area was largely spared from the political crises at the northeastern borders of the Empire; there is little evidence of any shock which might have accompanied the rise and fall of the Gallic Empire in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>602</sup> In the course of Diocletian's reforms, Aquitania was subdivided into three new administrative units— Gallia Aquitania I and II in the north and northeast, and Aquitania III, or

---

<sup>600</sup> For the "Romanization" of Gaul see Caesar *DBG*, and revisionist work by Woolf 1998.

<sup>601</sup> I note that the urban landscape of major cities in the Imperial era like Burdigala and Tolosa is difficult to trace, given continuous occupation. For Aginnum (Agen) see Fages 1995, no. 001. Most of the archaeological finds date to the 1<sup>st</sup> and mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century, and in this period an amphitheater and a theater are built in the city. Burials in assorted necropoleis attest to the richness of the city's inhabitants. In Lugdunum Convenarum (Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges) see Sablayrolles and Beyrie 2006, no. 472, 259-60 for late antique history of the city. Of note is a 5<sup>th</sup> century basilica, and nearby, a large habitation site, richly decorated with polychrome mosaics (260).

<sup>602</sup> For the Gallic Empire (and events largely focused outside of Aquitaine) see Drinkwater 1987.



Novempopulania to the south, wherein most of the villas in the discussion that follows lie (fig. 171).<sup>603</sup>

The urban landscape of the former Aquitania in Late Antiquity has proved difficult for archaeology to reconstruct, though evidence points to the 4<sup>th</sup> century as relatively peaceful and prosperous. A large urban center like Burdigala (Bordeaux) in Aquitania I would have thrived.<sup>604</sup> The city of Elusa (Eauze) was elevated to the status of Novempopulania's new provincial capital,<sup>605</sup> and smaller urban settlements may also have continued, buoyed by additional municipal structures and ongoing commercial exchange.<sup>606</sup> Survey and research document a dense network of roads running through

---

<sup>603</sup> I note here that the effects of this reorganization in Aquitaine are difficult to synthesize given a dearth of Tetrarchic era literature and inscriptional evidence more broadly. Interdisciplinary study of Novempopulania as a province and of itself is necessary. For Diocletian's reforms see Bowman 1992; see also Bowes 2010 for a possible correlation with villa building in the West, and Kulikowski 2004, 62-84 for the Iberian Peninsula with a focus on the urban landscape.

<sup>604</sup> But there is little evidence for this because of continued occupation, see a summary of extant late-Roman finds in Sion 1994 for Burdigala. Some of the best evidence for the prosperity in this city, however, may be inferred from the lives and works of late Gallic elites, cf. Ausonius (born in Burdigala and educated in Tolosa, who praises both cities often in his poetry cf. Aus. Order of Famous Cities, sections 18 and 20 (on Tolosa and Burdigala); Paulinus of Nola, also from Burdigala. For the Gallic aristocracy see Sivan 1993.

<sup>605</sup> Little is known of late antique occupation in the city and research has focused largely on the surrounding villas. Several late antique coins and ceramics are known in ancient Eauze, and one large *domus* is thought to have been built in the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century, with coins and ceramics of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> extant (Petit in CAG 32, 143-44). Urban structures of the ancient city are not well known, and have only been identified in aerial survey. The dates of a forum and baths are therefore unknown (*ibid.* 151).

<sup>606</sup> In Novempopulania, some of the major cities in the late antique period provide no evidence for city walls which contradicts trends of late-wall building in other urban areas of the Western Empire, cf. Aginnum (Agen), Elusa (Eauze), Beneharnum (Lescar). This may or may not speak to the region's stability. However, other cities along major transport routes *were* walled: Lactora (Lectoure), Elimberrum (Auch), Lugdunum Convenarium (Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges) (Maurin et. al. 1992, 181-83). Though evidence for city walls or lack thereof cannot be taken as evidence of threats or invasion (see critique in Kulikowski 2004, 100-108), the evidence is inconclusive at present. At Aginnum, the amphitheater was abandoned by the 4<sup>th</sup> century (Fages 1995, 111). Further excavation and study of major urban centers like Tolosa and Burdigala is warranted; also cities placed along major roads like Aginnum. At present, the Late Antique period is largely documented in superficial finds or sondages, cf. Lectoure (Petit and Lapart CAG

Aquitania, connecting it to other Gallic provinces and to trans-Mediterranean trade. Survey and scattered finds suggest a road running parallel to the Garonne, connecting Burdigala to Aginnum and to major cities in central southern Novempopulania: Lactora (Lectoure), Elimberrum (Auch) and Lugdunum Convenarum in the foothills of the Pyrenees. The route is mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary, and recovered milestones mark its continued importance in Late Antiquity.<sup>607</sup> Another important route connected Tolosa (Toulouse) in Narbonensis to Elimberrum, Elusa and ultimately Burdigala and the Atlantic ports.<sup>608</sup> Connections to Narbo Martius (Narbonne) and the Mediterranean ports were likely secured through this route and through Tolosa.<sup>609</sup>

Although recent survey and excavation have struggled to document the continuity of urban populations here in Late Antiquity, a strong resurgence in the countryside is evident, in the form of villa building.<sup>610</sup> The vast majority of Roman villas cluster in central and southern Aquitaine (largely the province of Novempopulania), in close

---

32 1993, no. 157); Elimberrum (*ibid.* no. 14), or literary evidence. Ammianus Marcellinus (*His.* XV.11.14) reports that ancient Auch (Elimberrum and sometimes referenced as a city of the Auscii under a different) played an important role in affairs here, though archaeology cannot confirm this.

<sup>607</sup> The Antonine Itinerary mentions Lacura, Elimberrum, and Belsino (not securely identified with a modern-day village or town). Milestones were found in the communes of Mons and Castelnaud-Magnoac, both south of Auch; five of the six extant milestones date to the Constantinian era (Lapart and Petit in *CAG* 32, 35-36.). From Aginnum this road likely led east into Lugdenensis, ultimately to Lugdunum. The route is also mentioned later in medieval texts (*ibid.*; see also Maurin et. al. 1992, 57-62) and may have run along the same path as the modern N21/D929.

<sup>608</sup> The road from Toulouse-Auch-Eauze-Bordeaux is mentioned in the medieval Peutinger Table and the Bordeaux Itinerary at Jerusalem (Maurin et. al 1992, 59-61); traces have been detected via aerial survey (Lapart and Petit 1993, 35). See also Massendari 2006, 58-62 for networks in and around the Garonne.

<sup>609</sup> For routes south of Toulouse, to Augustua Auscorum for example, see also Massendari 2006, 62-63.

<sup>610</sup> The prosperity of the late antique period is best reflected in the region's villas, see above nt. 1 for bibliography; Petit in *CAG* 32, 36-37. Our knowledge of rural occupation in the Imperial era, however, is scant. Most of the sites with proposed Imperial-era chronologies are known only through survey and/or aerial prospection. No major catalogue of villas in the Imperial age has been compiled; see volumes of the *CAG* passim.

proximity to the Garonne River network, which was apparently navigable in antiquity.<sup>611</sup> This nexus of rivers created fertile valleys and a pleasant climate conducive to cultivation and habitation, no doubt an advantage to settlement.<sup>612</sup> While the favorable climate parallels settlement patterns in other regions of the Western Empire,<sup>613</sup> the situation in Aquitaine may be unique. Survey has identified villas in such close proximity to each other that large *fundi* can hardly be suggested for most sites. Villas are especially dense in the river valleys of northern Novempopulania near its capital city of Elusa, and across the border around the city of Aginnum (fig. 170).<sup>614</sup> For example, the villa La Garenne-Nérac lies in a rich nexus of habitation alongside the late antique villa of Causour (4 km to the north), the villa at Duroy et Graouilla (6.5 km to the south) and the probable villa at La

---

<sup>611</sup> Navigation of the Garonne in antiquity is attested by ancient authors (Strabo, *Geo.* IV.1.14, IV.2.1) and Pomponius Mela (*Chor.* 2.21). This is no archaeological evidence for its navigation, however; no wrecks have been discovered to date (Massendari 2006, 59-60). A port has been conjectured at the villa of Chiragan, between the river and the rustic part of the establishment; it has been suggested that a large complex nearby, with multiple room divisions, may have been used for storage of large goods arriving via the river (LXII/LXXIII) (see Joulin 1901, 43-45); the structure is similar to one known at Bussens, in which amphorae were found. Other scholars suggest that the Garonne was used to ship St. B at marbles (Lizop 1931; see Braemer 1982; 1984 for its circulation and prevalence in southern Aquitaine). Other navigable rivers in the region may include tributaries of the Garonne like the Tarn, the Air ge, the Save and the Ba se (discussion in Sablayrolles and Beyrie 2006, 47-48; Massendari 2006, 61-62).

<sup>612</sup> The agreeable climate and terrain was suited for grain and wine production, for which it was highly regarded in antiquity, *Stra. Geo.* IV.2.1. See also discussion of the landscape and possible production in Fages 1995, 67-69; Massendari 2006, 72-75; Sablayrolles and Beyrie 2006, 78-82). That said, few rural production structures have been identified in the archeological record, which may be a product of early excavation techniques and methodologies. For summaries of the archaeological evidence for production see Lapart and Petit 1993, 37-39; Fages 1995, 62-68.

<sup>613</sup> Cf. surveys of Roman Britain (Scott 2004); the Danube (Mulvin 2001); the Italian Peninsula (Sfameni 2006); Iberia (Chavarr a Arnau 2007).

<sup>614</sup> Just north of Aginnum a number of the Garonne's tributaries join with the river. These smaller rivers have created a series of temperate fertile valleys. Countless villa sites have been identified along the G lise, the Ba se, and the Gers. Those villas lie in a sort of nexus between two major cities just south of the G lisa, the aforementioned Aginnum and Eauze, capital of Novempopulania. For an excellent map of the identified late villa sites see Balmelle 2001, *Carte des sites* pp. 443.

Gouardère (4.5 km to the E/NE).<sup>615</sup> Further south in the foothills of the Pyrenees the situation is not so different; the grand villa of Chiragan lies only 4 km south of the lesser known villa of Sana, and just 30-40 km east of the massive complexes at Valentine and Montmaurin.<sup>616</sup> Such density of “elite” habitation must be questioned further, since many unexcavated archaeological sites have been labelled as villas based on superficial finds of mosaics or marble.<sup>617</sup> Still, the compact nature of rural habitation in southern Aquitaine lends great importance to study of local networks and socio-economic interchange among landowning groups.

## **II. Late Antique Villa Estates in Southern Aquitaine**

To explore the statutory habit(s) of the landowners in southern Aquitaine in greater depth, this next section introduces five sites which serve as case studies for more thematic discussion. Three of these sites cluster in northern Novempopulania in the river lands between Aginnum and the capital Elusa: the villa Lamarque in the commune of Castelculier (Lot-et-Garonne); its neighbor La Garenne-Nérac (Nérac, Lot-et-Garonne) only 33 kilometers to the west; and the villa of Séviac (Montréal, Le Gers), 12 kilometers

---

<sup>615</sup> Fages suggests that around the river La Garenne (near the city of Eauze and the villa of La-Garenne Nérac), sites are attested in such density that no more than 1000 hectares seems plausible for any estate (1995, 64-67). Estates were presumably founded here to take advantage of both the fertile terrain and proximity to Novempopulania’s smaller *urbs* and commercial exchange.

<sup>616</sup> Joulin’s publication of the villa of Chiragan (1901) was actually focused on the regional context of this villa, and includes discussion of the site at Sana (164-69). For the villa of Sana see also Balmelle 2001, no. 56; Massendari 2006, no. 530, 336-39. For additional evidence of probable villas around Valentine and Montmaurin see Sablayrolles and Beyrie 2006, 78-82, fig. 34.

<sup>617</sup> Many sites have been marked as villas based on superficial finds or evidence, without actual excavation to verify such claims (as a brief look at volumes of the *CAG* will affirm). This is not uncommon in the Western provinces, cf. Gorges 1979; also Neudecker 1988.

north of Elusa. A fourth site includes the villa Montmaurin (Montmaurin, Le Comminges), nestled in the foothills of the Pyrenees, approximately 35 kilometers west of the villa of Chiragan (Martres-Tolosane, Haute-Garonne), which is discussed in this chapter and the next in further detail. I present a brief introduction to each of these sites, their excavation histories, and the statuary finds which have come to light.

### **II.1 The villa Lamarque (Castelculier, Lot-et-Garonne)**

The villa Lamarque differs from others in the ensemble, in that it was discovered in the 19<sup>th</sup> century but not excavated until the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. The estate lies on the right bank of the Garonne, two kilometers from the river and only six kilometers southeast of Aginum.<sup>618</sup> Initial reports of a site here emerged in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century when antiquarian Jean-François Boudon de Saint-Amans identified a Roman villa based on visible remains of building foundations, hypocausts, mosaic pavements, and marble columns.<sup>619</sup> Among the recovered finds, Boudon de Saint-Amans cites a male portrait, which he loosely dates to the Antonine period (fig. 172) now marked as a 1<sup>st</sup> century portrait), and a heavily damaged female head that is no longer extant.<sup>620</sup>

---

<sup>618</sup> This rural landscape was densely populated in late antiquity, see above nts. 614, 615. Just north of Aginum, Lamarque is technically not situated in the Novempopulania but at the extreme southern end of late Aquitania II.

<sup>619</sup> Boudon de Saint-Amans 1859, 58-9, 198-99, 211, 217-8, 241.

<sup>620</sup> Boudon de Saint-Amans signals these two pieces as some of the more interesting objects found in the excavations of Aginum and its environs (1859, 217-8). He publishes a drawing of the male portrait, which he thinks may represent Lucius Verus or Marcus Aurelius, if not simply an Antonine era male (Pl. 1, no. 3); the piece is now conjectured to be a work of the 1<sup>st</sup> century. Unfortunately he did not include a drawing of the female portrait, citing the piece as too disfigured and seemingly unfit for publication. This female portrait is now lost.

Much of this villa's statuary did indeed come to light as superficial finds in non-stratigraphic investigation, before the first campaign of excavation began in 1986. The bust of an early 3<sup>rd</sup> century headless male was found by a local laborer in 1958 (fig. 173),<sup>621</sup> and a fragmentary late-mythological statuette of Minerva (fig. 174) and a trapezoidal sarcophagus appeared in the 1970s.<sup>622</sup> These marbles, and other assorted finds spurred a series of aerial surveys and sondages in the 1980s, which revealed a large complex organized around two rectangular courtyards, extending over 1.5 ha.<sup>623</sup> Six campaigns of excavation have been carried out at the site, with the most recent directed by Phillipe Jacques in 2000.<sup>624</sup>

Imported sigillata finds suggest that the estate was founded 90 – 110 CE, though little structural evidence of pre-late antique levels remains.<sup>625</sup> Earlier iterations of the villa were largely obliterated by the extensive renovations in Late Antiquity, *terminus*

---

<sup>621</sup> A marble bust 39 cm tall and 48 cm wide is reported in 1963, found in 1958 by a M. Borini, the farmer of the local landowner (Coupry 1963, 528, fig. 40a and b).

<sup>622</sup> The Minerva statuette's initial appearance is a photograph in an annual summary of work and finds in the department (Coupry 1987-88, 39, fig. 58). The statuette had been found by local laborers and has no stratigraphic context. It was first identified as a late-mythological sculpture by Lea Stirling (1996, 222-23; 2005, 67-9). The sarcophagus was found in 1979 in the southeastern sector of the site in agricultural work (Jacques 1998, 102); this piece has not been systematically published.

<sup>623</sup> See fig. 59 in Coupry 1987-88. The aerial prospection efforts were led by Fr. Didierjean in conjunction with the 1986 sondages led by one of the site's first excavators (Stéphanus 1987).

<sup>624</sup> Sondages began in June of 1986 in conjunction with aerial prospection. Work was spurred by the impending construction of a housing complex near the site. Six seasons of excavation were directed by Fr. Stéphanus and Phillipe Jacques in 1986-87, 1993-94, 1995, and by Jacques in 2000. For the most recent synopses of research at the site see Fages 1995, no. 051 Castelculier 185-195; Jacques 2006.

<sup>625</sup> Jacques 1987, 84; Stéphanus and Jacques 1994, 31; Jacques 2000, 82, 84, fig. 3. Ceramic finds includes sigillata Drag. 35, 36, 37, ceramics with stamps MALCIO and NEDOLIS. Jacques has proposed a gallery *in aulae* villa plan with the minimal evidence that remains for Phase I occupation. A colonnade seems to have run along the southern façade, and a probable bath complex lay in the west wing to judge from hypocaust constructions and a 1.5 meter deep rectangular pool paved in marble revetments (Jacques 2006, 82).

*post quem* mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century (fig. 175).<sup>626</sup> The *pars urbana* was re-organized as a peristyle villa, with rooms around a central square court measuring 50 x 50 meters. A bath complex was appended to the southern gallery of the peristyle, and a large rectangular court north of the *pars urbana* served as the *pars rustica*.<sup>627</sup> The peristyle plan of this late antique villa is preserved through the 5<sup>th</sup> century, though with significant alterations; excavators document structural and decorative modifications through the 4<sup>th</sup> century in the *pars urbana*, and into the early 5<sup>th</sup> in the baths. Polychrome geometric mosaics dated stylistically to the first two thirds of the 4<sup>th</sup> century were added to the southern peristyle,<sup>628</sup> and the eastern entrance was monumentalized with a colonnade and polychrome geometric pavements in the later 4<sup>th</sup> century or possibly the early 5<sup>th</sup>.<sup>629</sup>

These renovations are concurrent with lavish architectural modification of the bath complex. Jacques identifies no less than five phases of construction in the baths over the 3<sup>rd</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> centuries: various apsidal arrangements are added over the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and in

---

<sup>626</sup> The proposed date for the construction of the extant late antique peristyle and *pars urbana* in the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century or second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, is furnished by ceramics in a waste context outside the walls of the peristyle with many sigillata fragments (Drag. 37, 45, African C and Hayes 50) (for Phase II see Jacques 2006, 84, 86).

<sup>627</sup> This rectangular court measured 50 x 80 meters. Sondages in this zone have permitted archaeologists to identify rooms on the southern corridor, perhaps devoted to storage or occupation. An entrance porch, located at the center of the western corridor and accessed via a stone path or simple road, was added at some point, though the dates and chronology of both the early and later phases remain unclear due to a lack of excavation and the poor preservation of the terrain. However, the *pars rustica* likely remained in use through the 4<sup>th</sup> century; materials associated with viticulture were discovered in the excavations (Jacques 2006, 84, 86; see also fig. 4). Boudon de Saint-Amans also reports half of a millstone found at the site in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (1859, 217-18).

<sup>628</sup> Jacques 2006, see “Phase III”, 86.

<sup>629</sup> These mosaics have not been formally published, but Jacques sees stylistic parallels with the mosaics of the bath complex of Phase V, dated to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century or early 5<sup>th</sup> century (Jacques 1998, 102; 2006, 87-88 for the entrance).

the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> century, a sigma-shaped peristyle is added to the entrance, along with an octagonal structure with exedrae that likely served as the *caldarium* (figs. 176, 177).<sup>630</sup> The ceiling vault of a circular room in the baths, perhaps the *tepidarium*, was adorned with a polychrome mosaic of grapes and vines, with tesserae in brick, marble, and glass.<sup>631</sup>

The lavish decorative program of polychrome geometric mosaics, wall paintings and marble revetments must also have included free-standing sculptures, both antiques and contemporary late antique pieces. Though it is not possible to reconstruct the display of superficial finds like the 1<sup>st</sup> century male portrait, the now-lost female portrait, the headless draped 3<sup>rd</sup> century bust and the Minerva statuette (fig. 178), the late date of the Minerva statuette suggests that the villa's owners were acquiring and displaying statuary through the 4th century and perhaps into the 5<sup>th</sup>.<sup>632</sup>

Several sculptures have been found in excavation, but in levels dating to the abandonment of the site (Phase VIII). A head of Marcus Aurelius was found in 1994 (fig.

---

<sup>630</sup> For the most comprehensive summary of the baths see Jacques 2006, 82-90, figs. 5-6 for the baths in particular; see also the earlier summaries in Fages 1995, 187-91. Apsidal arrangements vary in Phase III and IV; the sigma-shaped entrance and octagonal structure were added in Phase V and preserved through Phase VII, though structures off of the octagonal complex are modified heavily over Phases V, VI and VII (Jacques 2006, 86-89 for discussion).

<sup>631</sup> This iconography is not rare, as the vine is frequently seen among Aquitaine's mosaics, especially south of the Garonne, see Balmelle 2001, 283, 295-96. However, the motif is generally used in pavements or borders. No other mosaic-decorated ceilings have been identified in the region. See Jacques 2006, 87 for a description of the mosaic; fig. 27 for a color photo.

<sup>632</sup> These superficial finds should indeed be associated with late antique occupation of the villa. Jacques' excavations have found little evidence of pre-late antique structures, and we may infer that the early superficial finds come from destruction layers at the site, like the head of Marcus Aurelius or the two late antique private portraits (discussion of these pieces follows in the text).



179).<sup>633</sup> It likely belongs with the furnishings of the later villa and may have been displayed in the room off the southern gallery of the peristyle where it was found, which was expanded in the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century and redecorated with wall-paintings, painted doors, and limestone columns.<sup>634</sup> At some point in the late 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> century (Phase VIII), however, the door to this room onto the southern gallery of the peristyle was walled over, and the room was narrowed with the addition of another wall. This new room seems to have served a non-residential purpose as a space for artisanal activities in Phase VIII. A stone bed was added to the center of the room, and here excavators found the fragmentary Marcus Aurelius head mixed into a probable trash dump, alongside fragments of amphorae, late decorated ceramics, and a number of bronze and iron objects.<sup>635</sup>

Two late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 4<sup>th</sup> century male portrait heads were also found in excavation, interred together near the villa's monumental entrance in a Phase VIII

---

<sup>633</sup> This piece is now in the site's museum at Villascopia. The piece was severely damaged and broken beneath the nose. It is possible that it was pillaged or purposefully broken. At some point in the late 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> century, the door to the room in which it was found (no. 3001, see Fages 1995, fig. 123 for plan) was walled up and the room was narrowed with the addition of another wall, suggesting a new function. A stone bed was found in the center of the room, and here the fragment of the portrait head mixed with fragments of amphorae and late antique decorated ceramics, and a number of bronze and iron objects, which suggests a trash dump for artisanal activities (Jacques 1994, 55). For publication of the head see Rosso 2006, no. 22, 218-19.

<sup>634</sup> Salvage excavations in 1994 were restricted to five sondages at the southern edge of the site, at the southwest corner of the *pars urbana*; only 1 was positive and led to excavation of 70m<sup>2</sup> space. The trenches reached the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> century (to judge from a Dressel 20 fragment) in a sector of the *pars urbana*. Excavations document renovations to this sector in the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century: the *pars urbana* is extended to the southwest, with the addition of two new rooms. Associated with this phase are fragments of red painted fresco, some still *in situ* on the preserved walls. Limestone elements (columns and capitals) were also recovered (see Jacques 1994).

<sup>635</sup> Jacques (1994) reports that the found objects (common amphorae, DSP ceramics, the Marcus Aurelius head, a glass creuset, and metal objects, including bracelets, rings, and plaques) were mixed in with a demolition layer alongside tile, paint fragments, limestone fragments. This phase is now dated to the late 5<sup>th</sup> or early 6<sup>th</sup>, see below no. 636.

context (figs. 180, 181).<sup>636</sup> As late antique private portraits they support arguments for ongoing statuary commissions in the late antique period. The context of these finds near the monumental entrance may suggest that they were once displayed in a nearby reception room. By the context of their internment, however, it appears that they were removed from display at some point in time which may coincide with the cessation of the villa as an elite habitation. In Phase VIII, the bathing complex and several other rooms along the southern and western galleries of the peristyle were destroyed and reorganized for artisanal production, perhaps bronze-working; a lime kiln is also built on the premises (fig. 182).<sup>637</sup> It is possible that these two late portraits were destined for that kiln and lost in route, but then again, they may also have been buried for safe keeping; the two heads were found interred with a marble cup.<sup>638</sup>

The late 5<sup>th</sup> or early 6<sup>th</sup> century context with which these two heads and the Marcus Aurelius portrait fragment were found suggests that statuary had lost its importance, and that the villa lost its function as an elite residence. The latest possible date at which statuary commission and display can be firmly attested is thus based on the

---

<sup>636</sup> Phase VIII is the period in which excavators document the dilapidation of the *pars urbana*, for synthesis see Jacques 2006, 89-90. For the archaeological context of these portrait finds see Jacques 1998, 102; Jacques 2006, 90. Jacques dates the pieces to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 4<sup>th</sup> on Louis Maurin's opinion. The pieces remain on the publication docket of Jean-Charles Balty (Université de Paris-Sorbonne).

<sup>637</sup> Jacques 2006, 89-90. The presence of a lime kiln suggests that many other statues were burnt in a post-occupational period in Phase VIII (*terminus post quem* late 5<sup>th</sup> century).

<sup>638</sup> Jacques 2006, 90. See also the find context of a late Roman male portrait at the villa Séviac in section III.3.

late-mythological statuette and the two male heads, roughly the 4<sup>th</sup> century and possibly the early 5<sup>th</sup>, or Phases IV-VII of the villa's occupation.<sup>639</sup>

In summary, the Lamarque statuary assemblage hints at what was likely a larger program of statuary display in the late antique period. The extant sculptural assemblage is small but extremely diverse: a 1<sup>st</sup> century male portrait; a now-lost female portrait, an imperial portrait of Marcus Aurelius; three 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> century male portraits; and a late-mythological statuette, along with imported architectural marbles like red and green porphyry.<sup>640</sup> The chronological and typological variety of sculpture found here should be noted, because other sites in the region mark such variety as a decorative signature of the region's *domini*. I turn now to explore another site just west of Lamarque, the villa of La Garenne-Nérac.

## II.2 La Garenne (Nérac, Lot-et-Garonne)

Less than 33 kilometers to the west, the villa La Garenne-Nérac has much in common with Lamarque. This villa occupies a terrace on the right bank of the Baïse River, yet another tributary of the mighty Garonne and one that was navigable in antiquity. The site was known in the 15<sup>th</sup> century as a garden-park of the Château of Henri IV, but its

---

<sup>639</sup> Phases V, VI, and VII are marked only by renovations in the bath complex (Jacques 2006, 86-89, fig. 6-8); the *pars urbana* is largely untouched from Phase V on, until Phase VIII when it is modified for non-occupational purposes (see above nt. 636).

<sup>640</sup> Boudon de Saint-Amans cites among the 19<sup>th</sup> century finds, precious marbles like green and red porphyry and granite (1863, 58-59). A recent synopsis of the site by excavator Ph. Jacques reports *passim* "numerous marble plaques, of different origins" (2000, 91). Jacques also suggests that with such quality marbles, mosaics and sumptuous décor, the villa may have been inhabited by a local elite with connections to Aginnum, perhaps a municipal official of some sort.

Roman ruins were not excavated until the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>641</sup> As is typical of this region, the discovery of lavish mosaics and architectural marbles motivated the excavations that were carried out from 1832-33.

Reconstructing the history of 19<sup>th</sup> century excavations at the site, however, has proved difficult. Several reports were published, but even these are complicated by a series of archaeological forgeries. Veritable antiques were recovered here – architectural structures, marbles, *opus sectile* and mosaic pavements – but their presence was undermined by fictitious inscriptions attesting to the Gallic Emperor Tetricus as *dominus*, which were authored by the excavation's resident artist, M. Chrétin.<sup>642</sup> The site was therefore heralded as an imperial estate. When Chrétin's forgeries were brought to light in 1835, experts were called in to examine the extant material objects and verify the validity of these objects and the site itself. Alexandre du Mège, the former director of excavations at the villa Chiragan 1826-30 and then the Antiquities director of the Musée de Toulouse, was involved in synthesis of the recovered archaeological material, and it is still unclear whether he had knowledge of the forged inscriptions or not.<sup>643</sup> Not until 1865 was a thorough report issued, assembling the narratives of various participants and

---

<sup>641</sup> No formal excavation report of the site has been published, for reports see the series published by du Mège in 1832-33. For a brief synopsis of excavations at the site see Fages 1995, no. 195, 257-59; Balmelle 2001, no. 39, 390-92; Stirling 1997; 2005, 62-67.

<sup>642</sup> Samazeuilh 1865, 263-278; 345-356; 435-455.

<sup>643</sup> Du Mège did indeed publish the inscriptions in his reports and speaks *passim* about the villa as the imperial estate of Tetricus, 1832-33a-c *passim*; 1832-33d. It is unclear, however, whether this evidence is incriminating. As Stirling notes, the extent to which du Mège was conscious of the scandal, is not clear (2005, 62-66). However, Stirling excuses him from tampering with the statuary evidence, *ibid.* Balmelle (2001, no. 39).

casting blame on Chrétin, thereby absolving others like du Mège and most of the antiquities recovered in excavations.<sup>644</sup> A lack of stratigraphic context for most of the finds, however, has further hindered analysis.

The site was only partially excavated and reburied soon after the 1832-33 excavations. Current scholarship thus depends on written report of the site plan published by Du Mège, which is generally accepted as uncorrupted.<sup>645</sup> Foundations for the villa's *pars urbana* suggest a gallery-façade villa overlooking the river (fig. 183).<sup>646</sup> A monumental entrance has been identified to the east. Here, foundations suggested a rectangular tripartite façade which opened onto a large, circular vestibule. Large, apsidal rooms lay on both sides of this vestibule, to the northeast and southwest.<sup>647</sup> What lay beyond these structures is unclear. Though the gallery-façade plan is not used as frequently as the peristyle villa in Aquitaine, it is well suited for a residential complex in such close proximity to the river.<sup>648</sup> Vegetal mosaics appear to have decorated the *pars urbana*, and opus sectile marble pavements adorned the baths.<sup>649</sup>

---

<sup>644</sup> Samazielh 1865.

<sup>645</sup> Du Mège 1832-33b, 231-36.

<sup>646</sup> Two galleries were excavated and recorded by du Mège (*ibid.* 235; most of the discussion here is, however, concerned with the baths). The larger is an 80 meter long corridor that runs NE/SW, parallel to the Baïse. A second corridor was excavated 30 m to the north, running perpendicular to the former and extending a length of 50 meters (Fages 1995, 257). Balmelle notes the mosaic décor of these areas as particularly impressive; she dates the vegetal designs to the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century (2001, 390).

<sup>647</sup> The apses about the vestibule such that neither seems to have been accessible from the circular vestibule. Rather, from the entrance one could move through the circular vestibule to the corridor overlooking the river. On this corridor, excavators document a side entrance to the southeastern apsidal hall. No similar entrance has been identified for the other apsidal hall.

<sup>648</sup> The villa of Jurançon (Pont d'Oly), further southwest of Nérac and Eauze in the foothills of the Pyrénées, was built along the left bank of the Néez River in the Gave de Pau leading to the Atlantic. The

An interesting assemblage of statuary was also found at the site.<sup>650</sup> Unfortunately, many of these marbles are now lost and no longer recoverable, like a fragment of a small, diademed female head preserved only in a drawing (fig. 184),<sup>651</sup> and other sculpture fragments cited in 19<sup>th</sup> century reports: a bronze Minerva (?) statuette, two additional larger-than-life-size heads, another small head, and a hand holding a cup.<sup>652</sup> The hand with a cup presumably belongs to an idealizing statue or genre piece. It is unclear whether the heads belonged to idealizing sculptures or to portraits; the monumental size of one head may be significant.<sup>653</sup> A Marcus Aurelius portrait is also associated with the villa, reportedly found not far villa's entrance (fig. 185).<sup>654</sup>

---

*pars urbana* of this villa was built in a gallery-façade plan, with the bath complex located across the river, see Balmelle 2001, no. 21, 354-57, for further bibliography.

<sup>649</sup> The mosaics survive in watercolors, which have been studied in depth by Catherine Balmelle passim in her survey of late-Aquitainian mosaics (2001, 238-301).

<sup>650</sup> The statuary seems to have been spared tampering. It was moved into storage upon recovery and held as the property of the city of Nérac (see Stirling 2006, 62-67).

<sup>651</sup> Du Mège 1832-32, 405. See excellent discussion of this head in Stirling 2005, 64-66.

<sup>652</sup> Samazeuilh 1865, 451-52 for heads; Du Mège 1832-33, 235 for the bronze statuette; Stirling (2005, 64) suggests it may be the unlabeled image on page 349 of his report. Stirling has also suggested (*ibid.* 66-67, nt. 152) that additional pieces in the Nérac museum without provenance may have come from this villa. These pieces include and oversize hand holding a cylindrical rod, fragments of a nude life-size statue, and knees of at least two male statuettes. It is possible, however, that they come from the aforementioned villa of Bapteste (see above nt. 591); Most Roman-era finds in the Musée de Nérac come from these two villa sites.

<sup>653</sup> Unfortunately we do not know the dimensions of this head, and its whereabouts are unknown. It is mentioned briefly in Stirling 2005, 66-67. Colossal or monumental sculptures are not, however, unknown in villas of this region. A colossal bronze toe was found at the nearby villa of Séviac; it too is no longer extant (nt. 661). The monumental head of Nérac may thus belong to a large idealizing sculpture (as at Chiragan, cf. the statue of Isis, chapter 6) or to a larger than life-size portrait head (extant examples again at Chiragan, see the Portrait of "Maximian", chapter 6, section IV.1).

<sup>654</sup> This head is now in the Musée de Nérac, Inv. no. 47.1.346; 37 cm max. height). This piece lacks a provenance and may have come from La Garenne-Nérac, or from Excisum or Agen (discussion Fages 1995, 259, no.195.8, fig. 180). For a recent publication see Rosso 2006, no. 23, 219-220.

Several of the extant statuary fragments have been dated to the late antique period by Lea Stirling.<sup>655</sup> These include a headless statuette of a draped female figure, a Venus-Victory, and the small aforementioned diademed head of a female, preserved only in Du Mège's drawing.<sup>656</sup> A third fragment preserves a statuette base with a hoofed leg, a tree stump, and a human foot. Stirling has identified this piece as a probable Pan-Nymph group (fig. 186).<sup>657</sup> A leaping animal (a dog?) may be associated with this piece, or with yet another late-mythological group.<sup>658</sup> Two to four late-mythological statuette may thus have been present.

Although only late-mythological pieces and the head of Marcus Aurelius are extant, with the aid of some archival research we can hypothesize the display of private portraits and idealizing sculptures, which itself suggests that the coupling of antique and contemporary statues in private displays may have been standard practice here. The latest pieces in the La Garenne assemblage – the late-mythological statuettes – suggest statuary purchase and display in the later 4<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> century, that is, at a period contemporaneous with the villa of Lamarque.<sup>659</sup>

---

<sup>655</sup> Stirling 2005, discussion 62-67.

<sup>656</sup> For the Venus-Victory statuette (Inv. no. 47.1.148) see discussion in Stirling 1997; 2005, 64. Braemer (1982, 135-36) dated the piece to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century on account of the stylized drapery.

<sup>657</sup> Stirling 2005, 65-66, nt. 145. The piece (Inv. 47-1-417; 47-1-439; other tree branch fragments without joins) is not recorded in the excavation of the villa, but resides in the Musée du Château Henri IV in Nérac along with the other material from the site. The piece has no provenance in the museum catalogue, though it entered the collection before 1926. It could also possibly have come from the villa Bapteste (Moncrabeau, see above nt. 591).

<sup>658</sup> Stirling 2005, 65, note 148. Inv. 47-1-426, Musée du Château Henri IV. Stirling notes that the piece is unfinished in the back, like the statuette base with tree trunk and goat leg.

<sup>659</sup> What is more, they are key pieces for the occupation of the villa in Late Antiquity. At present, the late antique date of this site is known only by recovered finds, late mythological statuary but also coins of

At both villas, the esteem for marble in Late Antiquity evinces active engagement with one or more art markets. Owners here imported foreign marbles (both statues and architectural stones), displayed or perhaps collected antique sculptures, and at Lamarque, commissioned contemporary portraiture. Contemporary portraiture appears to play an important role in this region, though its functions are not well understood. With this in mind, let us turn to yet another villa in this region with evidence for a late antique portrait head dated to the turn of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, at the villa of Séviac.

### II.3 Séviac (Montréal, Le Gers)

Séviac is located 12 kilometers south of ancient Elusa in the Montréal-du-Gers commune. Like La Garenne the estate sits along the banks of the Baïse River, less than 30 kilometers to the southwest. Two centuries of excavation at this site have brought to light a rich late-Roman peristyle villa with an attached bath complex. The earliest report of this villa dates to 1864, when mosaic floors and a marble torso of a Hygeia statue were found by a local agricultural laborer; more mosaics emerged in 1866/67.<sup>660</sup> Antiquarian interest in the site built in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and a colossal bronze toe was discovered in 1905.<sup>661</sup>

---

Constance II 355-60, and late architectural column capitals (composite type). See Fages 1995, no. 195.6 for the recovered finds; Balmelle 2001, page 220, fig. 110; 111 for the recovered capitals.

<sup>660</sup> These discoveries were first reported in by J. Noulens in 1864; additional mosaics were found in prospection and reported by the local abbé M. Monnier. The material reported by Noulens – the marble torso and mosaics – were uncovered amidst the construction of a house, which is today thought to be the 19<sup>th</sup> century farm l’Hospilat, which lay atop the vestiges of this villa (Lapart 1993, 13).

<sup>661</sup> Lauzun 1911, 274, no. 2. The toe is described as both wider and larger than life-size: 5 cm long, 3.5 cm wide and 3 cm thick (3 cm from the nail bed to the tip of the toe and 2 cm across the nail bed). The piece weighed 390 grams.



The first formal series of excavations were carried out from 1909 – 1913, but these were interrupted by the Second World War when funds ran low.<sup>662</sup> This hiccup was actually fortuitous in that it preserved the site for scientific excavation, which began in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century.

Over the past 60 years excavations have brought to light a host of late antique structures and occupation phases.<sup>663</sup> Excavations in the 1950s-70s were directed by C. Aragon-Launet and were focused on the *pars urbana*.<sup>664</sup> The associated bath complex, south of the peristyle, was excavated in the late 70s and early 80s.<sup>665</sup> Research in the 90s explored post-Roman occupation levels at a nearby early Christian basilica and necropolis associated with the site.<sup>666</sup> Now in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, attention has turned once

---

<sup>662</sup> Two reports of the early excavations were published as articles and the site was tentatively identified as a villa (Lauzun 1911; Métivier 1913 (with a plan of the site). Documented structures include several walls and a polychrome geometric mosaic *in situ*, 70 centimeters below ground level. Various scattered finds are detailed in the reports: ceramics, tegulae, imbrices, marble plaques sculpted with acanthus, and column flutes in red and grey marbles (probably Pyrenean marble). These excavations appear to have taken place along the western corridor of the *pars urbana*. For summaries the 1909-1913 excavations and correspondence regarding the site pre-WWI see Lapart 1994; Aragon-Launet 1959.

<sup>663</sup> For detailed syntheses of the excavation history at Séviac see Lapart and Petit 1993, no. 324, 266-282; Gugole 2006. Most of the extant structures date to the late antique era. An earlier phase of occupation is documented and tentatively dated to the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century based on sigillata finds, but the extent of this earlier iteration is unknown; only a northern sector has been excavated. However, the peristyle plan of the later villa may preserve the general layout of the earlier villa, to judge from recent sondages. This earlier villa seems to have had a square shape, probably with a central peristyle, and may also have had baths and perhaps a temple, see Gugole 2006, 52-54; see also Fages 1995, 266-67.

<sup>664</sup> Aragon-Launet published the results of these excavations in a series of articles in the *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Gers*, Aragon-Launet 1959; 1962; 1971; 1974; 1977.

<sup>665</sup> These excavations were published as a monography by excavators, Monturet and Rivière 1986.

<sup>666</sup> For the paleo-Christian basilica see Lapart and Paillet 1991. For a summary of post-Roman activity at the site, see Lapart 1991; Gugole 2006, 62.

again to Séviac's *pars urbana*; efforts to preserve the site and its mosaics *in situ* are ongoing.<sup>667</sup>

Most of the extant structures at Séviac date to the late antique period, from the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century through the 5<sup>th</sup> (fig. 187).<sup>668</sup> Architectural and decorative renovations are documented throughout the villa's later occupation, in a manner that is typical of the bustling late antique landscape of southwestern Gaul. The peristyle villa is organized around a central court, 30 by 30 meters, with a monumental entrance along the eastern façade and a separate bath complex to the south.<sup>669</sup> In the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century, a covered portico gallery and garden court were added to the southern gallery of the peristyle; coin finds provide a *terminus post quem* 330 – 340 CE for these

---

<sup>667</sup> Fages and Balmelle, *forthcoming*.

<sup>668</sup> An earlier phase of occupation also known at Séviac, though there are few remains of this earlier iteration and its plan is not well known (see Gugole 2006, 51-54 for a recent synopsis). Excavators have identified remains of this earlier villa beneath the east gallery of the late antique peristyle, which was built atop earlier levels to compensate for a natural sloping of the terrain in this sector. Recovered material (sigillata, Drag. 44, 46, 47) suggests that the structures beneath were built in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Excavators hypothesize a complex organized around a square, central court, approximately 11 meters on each side. A bath complex seems to have lay to the south (see also Monturet and Rivière 1986, Pl. 10 Phase A). Approximately 40 kilometers from the site, a small rectangular structure has also been identified; archaeological material suggests its construction in the late 1<sup>st</sup> or first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century date. Activity at the site in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century is also poorly understood. Renovations in the bath complex are documented (Monturet and Rivière 1986, Phase A.2). Recovered materials include 3<sup>rd</sup> century ceramics (sigillata Hayes 44) and several amphorae which have not been published in depth. Amiel and Berthault (1996, 258) also identify several amphorae from Séviac as 3<sup>rd</sup> century Dressel 30 imports.

<sup>669</sup> The *pars urbana* was entirely uncovered in the 1970s' excavations, see Aragon-Launet 1977 for the final plan. The central court measures 50 by 50 meters with 4 meter wide galleries. Piping around the complex suggests a system of drainage; for synopsis of the plan see Gugole 2006, 54-56. Aragon-Launet's excavations did not record stratigraphic layers, and thus the construction of this complex is dated loosely to the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Aragon-Launet reports finds of many 4<sup>th</sup> century bronze coins, concentrated in two rooms (no. 21 and 22, see fig. 186 in this dissertation) off the eastern gallery of the peristyle (Aragon-Launet 1977, 322, 324). In Room 22, two phases are documented from two different pavements; a gold coin of Constantine was found, and 17 4<sup>th</sup> century bronze coins. In Room 21, 150 bronze coins of the 4<sup>th</sup> century were found; pottery, however, was practically non-existent in these rooms.

constructions.<sup>670</sup> The peristyle of the *pars urbana* was also paved with new polychrome geometric pavements, stylistically dated by Catherine Balmelle to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>671</sup> In the early 5<sup>th</sup> century, a large apsidal reception hall in the northeastern corner of the peristyle was redecorated with a sumptuous mosaic of fruit trees and birds, which Catherine Balmelle has dated to the second quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century (fig. 188).<sup>672</sup> The baths at Séviac were also modified extensively over the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, with new mosaics, architectural marbles, and apsidal halls added.<sup>673</sup> Renovations in this area continue through the second quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, at which point a triple-bayed apsidal room, probably a caldarium, is added to the southeastern corner of the baths.

Though the site is best known for its late polychrome geometric and vegetal mosaics, the sculptural assemblage is equally significant and may shed light on the chronological parameters of statuary display at this villa, and in the region more broadly. We must assume that the recovered marbles are but vestiges of what was once a larger

---

<sup>670</sup> Bronze coins of Constantine II 322-323; Constance II or Constans 341-348, Monturet and Rivière 1986, 53, 200 no. 19, no. 29).

<sup>671</sup> See Balmelle 2001, 297-98; no. 38, 386-390 and passim; also Balmelle and Aragon-Launet 1987. For synopsis see Gugole 2006, 58-69.

<sup>672</sup> This mosaic has brought to light in the 1974-76 excavations in the apse of room no. 25 of the northeastern corner of the peristyle (Aragon-Launet 1977, 322). A thin layer of lime covered the mosaic pavement, which was largely intact and extended over a 4 by 2 meter space. The mosaic depicts a series of trees with fruits and flowers of different varieties. This pavement has been dubbed the most beautiful at Séviac and was dated by Balmelle to c. 525 (2001, 297-98). Beneath this mosaic a sondage revealed an earlier pavement, a mortar floor 90 centimeters below; hypocausts had been added to heat the room, and a portrait head dated to 400 CE was found at this level in the southern half of the apse (first dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century, Aragon-Launet 1977, 323; discussed in text). Other pavements in the northeastern corner of the *pars urbana* (rooms 29-32) and in a room on the western gallery of the peristyle (no. 1) have been marked as contemporary with the fruit tree mosaic of no. 32 (Balmelle and Aragon-Launet 1987, 178; Balmelle 2001, pages 297-98, fig. 226).

<sup>673</sup> The third phase of the baths is dated to the late 4<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup>, see Monturet and Rivière 1986 for full synopsis of excavations and study.

statuary display, given that all extant pieces are fragmentary, scattered finds; many still await publication.<sup>674</sup> Pre-excavation finds include an oversize limestone hand, a colossal bronze toe (now missing), and a statuette of Hygeia. The oversize limestone hand and the colossal bronze toe probably belong to idealizing sculptures, presumably antiques like the Hygeia statuette. Aragon-Launet's excavations also recovered four portraits and various fragments of a late-mythological statuettes, which were piled in the central courtyard of the *pars urbana*.<sup>675</sup> There is no date for this deposition, but the context suggests that they were destined for destruction.

The late-mythological groups, however, suggests statuary purchases in Late Antiquity, and such claims are corroborated by a male portrait head dated to 400 CE (fig. 189).<sup>676</sup> This head is a curious find, in that it was not found alongside the other statuary fragments in the central courtyard. Rather, it had been buried beneath the mosaic floor of room no. 32, that is, the apsidal hall with an elaborate mosaic pavement of fruit trees

---

<sup>674</sup> A publication of some new statuary fragments is in preparation by Lea Stirling (personal communication) and by Jean-Charles Balty (Brieuc Fages, personal communication). The site has been the subject of intense study in recent years, and a major publication of the 21<sup>st</sup> campaigns and analysis will no doubt contribute to a larger understanding of these sculptures, the late antique villa and the networks in which it participated. Current work at the site is directed by Brieuc Fages and Catherine Balmelle, and is primarily directed towards analysis of recovered material and conservation of the extant mosaics.

<sup>675</sup> Aragon-Launet (1971, 236) describes the 1970 excavation of the central courtyard as proceeding one meter below ground level, where it reached traces of a floor covered with a thin layer of yellow mortar. On this floor, excavators found a mix of marble fragments and roof tiles, also sculpted ivories, bones, and fragments of lead. The court was uncovered fully in the 1972-76 campaigns, see also Aragon-Launet 1974; 1977 for discussion *passim*. Aragon-Launet only mentions them marble finds briefly in her published reports, and other (as-yet-unpublished) fragments were apparently associated with this context, and will be published by Lea Stirling in Fages and Balmelle *forthcoming*.

<sup>676</sup> For the late-mythological group see Stirling 2005, 69-70. The extant fragment belongs to the torso of a small child who is probably an accessory figure in a larger group statuette. The torso may belong to an Eros or Cupid, or perhaps an infant Adonis like the statuary group at Montmaurin, see discussion of the Montmaurin fragments in section II.4 and section III.

dated to c. 425 CE.<sup>677</sup> It is possible that this piece provides a bookend for statuary display at Séviac (*terminus ante quem* 425 CE), an idea discussed in greater depth in conclusions about the villa habitus in Aquitaine, at the end of this chapter.

Before examining two additional villas in southern Novempopulania, a brief synthesis of the similarities across Séviac, Lamarque and La-Garenne-Nérac may be useful. All three inhabit the densely populated countryside at the northern border of Novempopulania, clustering between the ancient cities of Elusa and Aginnum. All three villas were bedecked with polychrome geometric mosaic pavements in important spaces (peristyle galleries, apsidal reception halls, bath complexes), and the latest pavements have been dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> century by Catherine Balmelle. Colored marbles were also used as architectural adornment, and in *opus sectile* floor pavements largely restricted to the baths. Only two of these villas have been fully excavated, but both Lamarque and Séviac record programs of 4<sup>th</sup> century architectural renewal with a special focus on the decoration of the *pars urbana*, and structural and artistic renovation of the baths. The peristyle plan of both sites is typical of other extant villas in the area.<sup>678</sup>

Among the sculptural assemblages, late-mythological statuettes are common, as are portraits of all periods. Type 4 portraits of Marcus Aurelius, interestingly, are known at both Lamarque and La Garenne. The close proximity of these three villa sites, and the

---

<sup>677</sup> See above nt. 672.

<sup>678</sup> Cf. the villa of Bapteste at Moncrabeau (nt. 591) less than 14 kilometers south of La Garenne-Nérac. For regional analysis of villa settlement in Lot-et-Garonne and the villas of Bapteste and Lamarque in particular see Jacques 2006.

similarities across their domestic assemblages betray aspects of peer polity interactions among estate owners. These sites and their *domini* likely participated and competed in the same networks, for social promotion, but also for access to luxury goods like imported marbles and mosaic ateliers.

To add further nuance to the profile of villa *domini* that is emerging I now introduce two sites in southern Novempopulania – the villas of Montmaurin and Chiragan. Both sites have much in common with Séviac, Lamarque, and La Garenne-Nérac, but subtle difference merit characterization. The lesser known villa in this duo is arguably that of Montmaurin, a villa in the valley of the Save river, 100 meters from its left bank near the foothills of the Pyrenees.

#### **II.4 Montmaurin (Montmaurin, Le Comminges)**

The site of Montmaurin (Le Comminges) was first identified in 19<sup>th</sup> century reports, which record an area littered with marble columns and capitals, and extensive ruins quoted at 2-3 meters in height.<sup>679</sup> Two excavation campaigns were carried out at this site from 1879-92, and from 1947-60.<sup>680</sup> The first amateur explorations and sondages were led by Jean-Micheal Couret and François Miró, who believed they had stumbled upon a

---

<sup>679</sup> Couret 1903, 40-55. See also a brief synopsis of the antiquarian reports of the site, and early excavations see Balmelle 2001, no. 35, 379-385; Sablayrolles and Beyrie 2006, no. 385, 198-199.

<sup>680</sup> The 1879-92 excavations were published in a short article by excavator Jean-Michael Couret (1903); Fouet's excavations from 1947-60 were published in a monograph as a supplement to the journal *Aquitaine* (Fouet 1969, re-issued in 1983).

small city based on the quantity of marbles, coins, burials, altars, ceramics and glass.<sup>681</sup>

An initial plan of the site was published in 1903 but no steps were taken to further excavate or protect it, leading to a good deal of pillaging in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. During this period a number of marbles came to light, including an early 2<sup>nd</sup> century portrait head, two additional masculine busts, and various architectural fragments of friezes and capitals.<sup>682</sup> In 1931 the site was identified as a villa based on probable structures of a *pars rustica*.<sup>683</sup>

Extensive excavations did not begin again until 1946 under the direction of Georges Fouet. Over the next fifteen years a massive architectural complex was brought to light, the bulk of which Fouet dated to the late antique period, c. 350 CE (fig. 190).<sup>684</sup> This villa was built on a series of terraces: a monumental sigma-shaped entrance court to the southeast, a central peristyle and a series of apsidal gardens and terrace apartments in the rear of the complex. An elaborate bath complex was accessed from the western corner of the peristyle, and the courtyard of a *pars rustica* lay due northwest of the entrance court. Fouet's late antique chronology for the site includes a number of renovations in the

---

<sup>681</sup> Couret 1903.

<sup>682</sup> The two portrait busts are now missing, see below nt. 703.

<sup>683</sup> Lizop 1931.

<sup>684</sup> Fouet summarized the many excavation campaigns in monograph of the site, published as a supplement to the journal *Gallia* in 1969. A reedited edition was issued in 1983, though no changes were made to the proposed chronology. For the chronology see Fouet 1983, 46-96.

central peristyle c. 330 CE and another series of renovations around 350. He posits a final destruction in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century based on a coin of Valentinian II (c. 375).<sup>685</sup>

Fouet's dates are based almost exclusively on coin evidence and have been called into question recently by Catherine Balmelle, among others.<sup>686</sup> The bulk of the recovered coins (351) date to the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and 29% of those date to the reign of Constantius II (337-361).<sup>687</sup> Some of these were found beneath mosaic pavements, which Balmelle rightly notes provides a *terminus post quem* rather than a precise date for the villa's renovation in the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>688</sup> The stylistic dating of the mosaic pavements, the architectural marbles, and the late-mythological statuettes push for later dates of occupation in the late 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> century, and argue against the purported destruction of the villa at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>689</sup>

Balmelle associates the mosaics – polychrome geometric designs – with the 5<sup>th</sup> century and cites regional parallels.<sup>690</sup> One of the latest mosaics is located in the terrace apartments at the far northwestern corner of the complex, and may speak to the late-4<sup>th</sup> or

---

<sup>685</sup> *Ibid.* 91-96. Fouet cites coins of Valentinian I and Gratian mixed in with destruction levels, as evidence for the probable denouement of the villa at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century (92). While there is indeed evidence for burning and destruction, the coin dates provide a *terminus post quem*, as Balmelle has suggested (see below).

<sup>686</sup> Balmelle 1980, passim discussion of nos. 70 - 77; 2001, no. 35, 379-385; Lea Stirling 2005, 47-49.

<sup>687</sup> Labrousse in Fouet 1969, 335-381.

<sup>688</sup> Balmelle 1980; 2001, 379-395; Stirling 2005, 47-49.

<sup>689</sup> For Balmelle critique see 383, 385. Stirling identified fragments of an Aphrodite statuette and a statue base with a tree trunk and small human feet as belonging to two statuette groups depicting the myth of Adonis; she dates the pieces generally to the later-Roman period and so by her account to the 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> century (Stirling 2005, 40-45).

<sup>690</sup> Balmelle 1980, no. 70-77.



early 5<sup>th</sup> century renovation of this entire wing.<sup>691</sup> Lea Stirling has also dated the late-mythological statuary finds to the late-4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>692</sup> A number of late Roman ceramics (stamped ware, African amphorae of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries) also suggest occupation beyond the conjectured abandonment of the villa c. 375 CE.<sup>693</sup> New research in numismatics, moreover, suggests that the 4<sup>th</sup> century bronze coins found frequently in the region's villas remained in circulation for more than two centuries, and cannot be taken as secure evidence of concurrent occupation, or as an indication of a villa's destruction moment when found in such contexts.<sup>694</sup> If occupation at Montmaurin continues into the 5<sup>th</sup> century, the absence of 5<sup>th</sup> century coins should not be surprising given that Gaul was no longer minting bronze coins at that time.<sup>695</sup> Current scholarship thus argues for the villa's occupation through the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, that is, for a good deal longer than originally conjectured. Thus, late antique occupation may be set conservatively from the first third of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, into the 5<sup>th</sup>.

This period is of importance for Montmaurin's statuary assemblage, because it securely marks an early 2<sup>nd</sup> century portrait bust found in excavation as a veritable antique. In 1950, excavations recovered a fragmentary male bust on the floor of a room in

---

<sup>691</sup> It should be noted that there are relatively few mosaics in this villa; marble pavements take precedent (discussion follows below, for *opus sectile* pavements and the use of architectural marbles at Montmaurin see below section III.2). We may thus assume a high degree of thought in the commission of the mosaics, and should take note of the early 5<sup>th</sup> century date proposed by Balmelle (discussion below).

<sup>692</sup> Stirling 2005, 47-48.

<sup>693</sup> On the stamped ware see Fouet 1961, Rigoir 1968. The African amphorae are mentioned in Amiel and Berthault (1995), and their brief discussion remains the most recent report of the Montmaurin ceramics.

<sup>694</sup> See L. Callegarin's recent study of coin hoards at the villa Lalouette (Pyrénées-Atlantiques) west of Montmaurin for synthesis of monetary circulation patterns in the villas of Aquitaine, in F. Réchin's 2006 edited volume.

<sup>695</sup> Gauthier 1975, 34 (cited by both Balmelle 1980; Stirling 2005).

the northwestern corner of the central peristyle, towards the rear of the *pars urbana* near the upper terrace apartments (fig. 191).<sup>696</sup> The room is a pseudo-atrium with central colonnade and was paved in marble. The stratigraphic level coincides with the destruction of the villa, that is, the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. The bust joins with a 2<sup>nd</sup> century portrait head that was found years earlier by François Miró in 1926, in the peristyle of the entrance court, half a meter below surface level.<sup>697</sup> It is unclear what event led to the separation of this portrait head from its bust but it likely occurred in ancient pillaging in a post-occupational period.

Other statuary fragments were also found in Fouet's excavations.<sup>698</sup> Several bronzes – a statuette of an ephebe and a head of Helios-Serapis – were found in destruction layers on the site.<sup>699</sup> The ephebe stands 9.6 cm in height and may have decorated a niche or a lararium.<sup>700</sup> It was found in the north corner of room no. 140, near

---

<sup>696</sup> Fouet 1969, 186-87. The piece measures 52cm in height, including the foot (15cm diameter, 8cm tall). The bust has a maximum width of 40 cm across the shoulders, and a maximum depth of 24cm. The piece is currently displayed in the Musée de Montmaurin and merits detailed art historical study; it has not yet been published in catalogue form.

<sup>697</sup> Jean Miro, one of the site's early investigators, remembers its discovery in 1926 (Fouet 1983, 186). The piece remained in his private collection until the 1950 excavation found the matching bust piece. The head was found in the court of honor, about 60 cm below ground level, see fig. 191 in this dissertation for the findspot).

<sup>698</sup> The statuary was first published in the site monograph (1963, 168-72, 186-87). Fouet suggests that Montmaurin's owners were not great sculpture collectors based on such a small assemblage of portrait sculpture in comparison to that known at Chiragan or described in Pliny's Letters (1963, 186-87). To make such judgements on the extant evidence is unfair, given the remarkable preservation of the Chiragan sculptures and the sizable if smaller statuary assemblage at other villas in the region.

<sup>699</sup> First published in Fouet 1969, nos. 1, 2 168-69.

<sup>700</sup> The statuette, according to Fouet, is an excellent piece. The right arm is now missing but would have been raised, and the left arm hung down at the figure's side and presumably held an attribute. The bent right knee suggests that the right foot was raised. The piece is somewhat damaged, Fouet reports, probably from agricultural activity. The bronzes were never studied in great depth and their location is now unknown. They do not appear in the collections of the Musée de Montmaurin.

the entrance to the villa. The Helio-Serapis head measures 8.5 cm tall by 7.5 cm wide (fig. 192). The god wears a thick beard and a mustache, and a crown of seven symmetrical rays; the piece may have been gilded. It was found amidst collapsed roof tiles in the peristyle of the central garden court no. 90. Michael Labrousse dated this bronze by its poor manufacture to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>701</sup> but such a date is inconclusive. Late-mythological marble statuettes, however, were also recovered in these same layers: a Venus-Victory figure was found in the rear garden portico of the upper terrace (fig. 193), and fragments of Venus and Adonis group statuettes were also strewn in this garden portico, and the baths (fig. 194).<sup>702</sup> Alongside these pieces are the two male heads found in non-stratigraphic contexts in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These pieces were sold on the antiquities market, and thus little is known of these portraits.<sup>703</sup>

Although the villa of Montmaurin is much further south than the three villas discussed previously, it has much in common with northern Novempopulania's estates, and with its neighbor 35 kilometers to the east, the villa of Chiragan. The complicated history which surrounds Chiragan and its statuary, however, is such that I reserve the

---

<sup>701</sup> Labrousse is quoted in Fouet 1969, 168-69.

<sup>702</sup> Stirling has admirably detailed these late-mythological statuettes in her section on the villa Montmaurin, and I direct readers to her work for a thorough synthesis (Stirling 2005, 39-46 for the pieces). The Venus and Adonis group pieces have received the greatest attention, see Labrousse 1949; Braemer 1982, 138-39; Stirling 2005, 40-46. The analysis of both Braemer and Stirling makes the attribution of a Venus/Adonis group secure – fragments of a tree trunk, the torso of a Venus Anadyomene, and a boar are still extant. This group(s) will be mentioned again in the text.

<sup>703</sup> Early 20<sup>th</sup> century excavator François Miró reported that these heads were fine quality works – a fully preserved bust of a bearded male, and another fragmentary portrait bust (Fouet 1969, 186). Fouet suggests that Miró also found these busts in the court of honor, and notes that they were sold on the antiquities market for five francs a piece by 1914. The taste of 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century art collectors suggests that we regard them as Imperial-era portraits. I note that our understanding of a larger portrait collection, and its chronological age is hindered slightly by the loss of these two pieces.

excavation history of this site for further discussion in the next chapter. Still, its inclusion in the present chapter, that is, in the context of Novempopulanian villas and the habits of their late antique *domini*, is of great importance.

### II.5 Chiragan (Martres-Tolosane, Haute-Garonne) in Context

As I noted in the introduction to this dissertation, an unprecedented number of marble statues were found at Chiragan. All of these were brought to light in 19<sup>th</sup> century excavations, and most were found in a large “pit” of sculptural debris in the *pars urbana*, during the first campaign of research at the site under the direction of Alexandre du Mège from 1826-30. The statues in this deposit were probably destined for a lime kiln, and range in date from the 1<sup>st</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> century CE. The deposit comprises late antique mythological statues, reliefs, and contemporary private portraits, but also Imperial-era portraits, emperor portraits, and *idealplastik* of all sizes. The portrait assemblage is particularly impressive, with over 20 imperial portraits and more than 30 private portrait heads or busts.<sup>704</sup> Over a dozen private portraits date to the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> century, and thus this villa furnishes important evidence for private statuary commissions in the late antique period.

---

<sup>704</sup> For recent publications of the portrait assemblage (heavily focused on imperial portraiture) see Balty and Cazes 2005; 2008; Balty and Rosso 2012; Rosso 2006 *passim*. See also Bergmann 2007 for a discussion of the later portraiture, from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century on. A brief publication history of these marbles follows in chapter 6, section II.

Like other villas discussed in this chapter, Chiragan was built along the Garonne River. Though the focus of du Mège's investigation was the recovery of these marbles, additional campaigns were carried out at the site later in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and revealed a large Roman villa, with large reception halls, a bath suite, and possible structures of a *pars rustica* (fig. 195). Our understanding of the site today is largely dependent on the last campaign of excavations from 1897-99 under Léon Joulin. Joulin's study of construction techniques in the *pars urbana* suggests multiple phases of occupation into the late antiquity period; the floruit of the villa is now loosely dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>705</sup>

Chiragan's *pars urbana* was apparently organized around a small peristyle, but with a proliferation of attached apartments, gardens, galleries and audience halls added in the later Roman era, extending north and east of villa's core. Little is known of the occupation history of this complex, however. The size of the statuary assemblage has dwarfed study of other aspects of the site, leading scholars to mark Chiragan as an anomaly and possibly an imperial estate.<sup>706</sup> The arguments against such claims are reserved for the following chapter. At present, rather than assume that Chiragan stood alone in Novempopulania, I suggest that readers remember the four aforementioned villas as neighboring estates. Antique and contemporary portraits, imperial portraits, and

---

<sup>705</sup> For discussion of excavations at the site in greater detail, and the occupation chronology proposed by Léon Joulin see chapter 6, section I.1. For brief summaries of the site and its late antique occupation see Balmelle 2001, no. 28, pages 367-70; Massendari 2006, 213-65.

<sup>706</sup> Recent analysis of several late antique portraits and relief panels has led to the identification of the villa as the imperial estate of the Tetrarchic Emperor Maximian (Balty and Cazes 2008). Discussion and critique of Balty and Cazes' argument follows in chapter 6, section IV. I reserve this discussion, and full explication of the Chiragan site for the next chapter, because I think it important to situate the late antique villa in a regional context before analyzing its statuary assemblage as distinct.

mythological statuary of various sizes and epochs are also known at the villas of Lamarque, La Garenne, Séviac and Montmaurin. In concert with Chiragan, these sites suggest that the display of statuary was a shared habit among *domini*, and that sculpture (both antique and contemporary marbles) had an important social function in the villa estate. It may be that Chiragan's extensive statuary assemblage actually preserves the regional *habitus* that is mostly lost to us at other villas in the area.

As noted, the bulk of the Chiragan sculpture was found assembled in a large pit, probably for lime burning.<sup>707</sup> The context of sculpture finds at the other villas discussed in this chapter suggests that marbles in Novempopulania often met such fates in the post-Roman era. At Montmaurin, marble fragments were strewn throughout the complex, suggesting a ransacking or pillaging in an abandonment period.<sup>708</sup> Marbles may have been carried off as building materials, such that the site furnishes but a fraction of what was once displayed there. At Lamarque, superficial statuary finds suggest that pieces were removed from display in a post-occupational period and scattered across the site, as at Montmaurin. Evidence of a lime kiln is securely documented in Phase VIII, that is, at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> or early 6<sup>th</sup> century when occupation of the villa had ceased.<sup>709</sup> At

---

<sup>707</sup> For further discussion of this "pit", I refer readers to chapter 6, section I.

<sup>708</sup> Fragments of late-mythological statuary were strewn in the baths and in a garden complex of the upper terrace (see above IV.4, see also Fouet 1969, 91-93; Stirling 2005, 37-39, 45-49). The only extant portrait was recovered in two separate excavations, in different contexts: the head was found in Fouet's excavation in an atrium room off the peristyle, while the head had been found thirty years earlier by the site's first excavator, François Miró.

<sup>709</sup> Superficial 19<sup>th</sup> century finds include a 1<sup>st</sup> century male head and a now lost female portrait (nt. 620); a headless 3<sup>rd</sup> century draped male bust (1958, nt. 621); and a statuette of Minerva and a late sarcophagus (1970s, nt. 622). Marble statuary uncovered in excavation is also associated with post-occupational

Séviac, most fragments of sculpture were found in a heap in the central courtyard of the peristyle villa, likely assembled for burning.<sup>710</sup> Curiously, at both Séviac and Lamarque, late antique male portrait heads are preserved because, unlike the other statuary pieces, they were buried and safely stowed away from later pillagers.<sup>711</sup> Thus it is possible and perhaps even likely that these villas once held larger assemblages of statuary, perhaps similar to that known from Chiragan.

While this study is largely concerned with statuary objects, it should be noted that these objects, and the context of such finds, belong within a larger corpus of similarities across the domestic assemblages of southern Aquitaine's villas, as evidenced by these five sites. Such parallels suggest that even if the site of Chiragan is exceptional, it should also be regarded as a member of a regionally distinct culture of villa habitation. This section is therefore concerned with the character of the elite estate in 4<sup>th</sup> century Novempopulania, and will discuss Chiragan as a single site within a larger corpus.

The chronological parameters of the late antique estate in Novempopulania are well-documented. Although precise occupation chronologies for La Garenne-Nérac and Chiragan do not exist at present, the revised chronology of Montmaurin's late antique occupation parallels the excavated chronologies of Lamarque and Séviac: structural and decorative renovations are documented throughout the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and occupation

---

contexts (nts. 633, 636). The lime kiln was located near the bath complex on the southern end of the peristyle, see Jacques 2006, 89-90.

<sup>710</sup> See above nt. 675. The statuary finds have yet to be published in depth, see Stirling in Fages and Balmelle *forthcoming* for the statuary finds.

<sup>711</sup> See above nts. 636, 672.

endures into the first quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century at least.<sup>712</sup> Across all five sites, late-mythological statuettes evince statuary purchases in the later 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>713</sup> Thus at these five villas, the 4<sup>th</sup> century appears to have been the floruit of statuary display in southern Aquitanian villas.

Although individual site plans for each villa vary, there is a clear preference for the peristyle villa. Séviac and Lamarque show uncanny similarity in the use of a square central peristyle in the *pars urbana*, with monumental entrances located to the east. Further to the south at the villa Chiragan, the profusion of architectural structures which may have been added in Late Antiquity radiates out from the oldest part of the *pars urbana*, a small peristyle.<sup>714</sup> Montmaurin is organized in a similar fashion, that is, as a central peristyle villa with a number of late antique architectural limbs. Montmaurin's peristyle is built on a terrace with an additional complex of garden apartments to the north, a bath complex to the west, and an elaborate entrance at its southeastern end in the form of a sigma. The only outlier here is the largely unexcavated villa of La Garenne-Nérac.<sup>715</sup> The monumental entrance to its *pars urbana*, however, also appears to be located at the eastern end. The architectural shape of the gallery-aulae villa, moreover, is

---

<sup>712</sup> As mentioned previously, occupation is documented somewhat longer than in other areas of the Roman West, see discussion in Balmelle 2001, pages 104-118. Literary testimony, it should be noted, supports arguments for villa occupation into the 5<sup>th</sup> century, see below and discussion of Sidonius' villa letters nt. 721.

<sup>713</sup> This date is further corroborated by late portrait finds at both Séviac (c. 400) and Chiragan (Theodosian era or early 5<sup>th</sup>), see below section IV.3.

<sup>714</sup> In Phase IV of Chiragan, Joulin documents the addition of a number of large structures northeast of the central core of the *pars urbana*. These include a sizable courtyard with large galleries, leading to an apsidal hall at the northern end of the complex. See also chapter 6, section I.1.

<sup>715</sup> While the gallery-aulae is uncommon in Aquitaine, there may be local comparanda, cf. Juraçon in the Pyrénées-Atlantiques (Balmelle 2001, no. 21, 355-57).



a sort of parallel for the entrance court identified at Montmaurin. In both, architecture is used to impress upon approaching visitors the significance of the *adventus*.<sup>716</sup>

The construction of sigma-shaped galleries is a particular regional hallmark, for outside of Aquitaine it is seldom documented.<sup>717</sup> At Montmaurin, the entrance court is echoed structurally by two hemicycle peristyle galleries in the rear terrace of the *pars urbana*, which mirror each other and enclose a small garden that effectively separates the private suite of terrace apartments from the central peristyle. The sigma shaped peristyle also appears nearby in the baths of Chiragan. Further to the north the entrance to the baths at Lamarque was marked by a sigma-shaped entrance court in the mid-to-late 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>718</sup> The pavements of these hemi-cyclical galleries are often elaborately paved with geometric pavements, whether mosaics, or marble as at Montmaurin.<sup>719</sup>

Bath complexes too are heavily renovated in this region through the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and in many instances into the 5<sup>th</sup>. Multiple phases of construction have been securely

---

<sup>716</sup>An entrance court like that at Montmaurin's is also documented at the nearby villa of Valentine, though that of Valentine is not sigma-shaped and is much larger (see below, nt. 757 and section III.2). It is possible that grand courts of this size are a particular feature of southern Novempopulania's villas. See also the large, u-shaped entrance court to the peristyle villa of La Hillière at Montmaurin (Balmelle 2001, no. 36). For the *adventus* in Late Antiquity as an event in both life and art, see MacCormack 1981.

<sup>717</sup> See Balmelle 2001, 147-152; Bowes 2010, 95-97. We see the form's selective use at Cercadilla (Córdoba, see Hidalgo Prieto 1996), and at the villa Casale at Piazza Armerina (Wilson 1983, among many others).

<sup>718</sup> Survey has shown that these forms are common in Novempopulanian villas more broadly. The sigma shape is also used in entrance corridor to the *pars urbana* of the villa Valentine, not 20 kilometers south of Montmaurin (see discussion of this site below, nt. 75 and section III.2). It also appears in two villas in the valley of the Gave de Pau, a tributary of the extreme southwestern Adour river system. At Lescar, a sigma shaped entrance court has been documented, and at Juraçon sigma-shaped porticos appear around a small peristyle garden. For bibliography of both sites see Balmelle 2001, no. 21 (Juraçon); no.26, 363-65 (Lescar).

<sup>719</sup> For the use of architectural marble as pavement at Montmaurin, and the nearby estate of Valentine, see below section III.2.

documented at Lamarque and Séviac, and possibly Chiragan.<sup>720</sup> These baths may have functioned as distinct entities, given their separation from the primary living quarters, and ongoing investment in such structures in Late Antiquity. At both Lamarque and Séviac the baths are appended to the south/southwestern galleries of peristyle; at both, the design of the baths is in a constant state of flux in the 4<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, with apsidal constructions replaced by triple-bayed halls, spherical vaults, mosaic pavements and elaborate peristyle entry courts. At Nérac the baths stood as an independent complex along the bank of the Baïse river; so too at Chiragan, where the baths were located east of the villa's residential core, overlooking the Garonne. These baths likely played an important role in reception and entertainment of local elites, and possible patrons or clients.<sup>721</sup> Such commitment to the grandeur of the baths gestures to the seignorial power of an Aquitanian landowner and his or her ability to harness indispensable resources for personal pleasure or entertainment.

In addition to architecture are the numerous parallels within the vast corpus of interior decoration at these villas, study of which has focused largely on mosaics as

---

<sup>720</sup> For the baths at Séviac, Monturet and Rivière remains an essential resource (1986); for Séviac see synopsis by Lapart and Petit 1993, no. 324, 266-82; Jacques 2006, 82-90.

<sup>721</sup> Separate bath complexes are frequent in Aquitaine, and appear to be a late antique fashion. For example, the bath complex at Valentine also functioned as a separate entity, several kilometers southwest of the *pars urbana*. At the aforementioned villa of Juraçon, the bath complex was built independently on the left bank of the Gave de Pau, opposite the *pars urbana* of the villa which sat on the river's right bank (see above nt. 718). Often cited as evidence for the importance of bathing facilities in Late Antiquity is a letter of Sidonius to a friend Domitius, Epis. II.6. The letter is modeled on a letter of Pliny the Younger (Epi. V.6) and is thus a literary topos, but of note is Sidonius' lengthy discussion of his villa's separate bath complex (*contra* Pliny's letter, wherein the baths are appended to the main residence). Sidonius suggests that it not decorated with mythological frescos or imported marbles, but his lengthy discussion suggests that these structures were a tool of the late-Roman elite apparatus (see discussion in Visser 2014).

opposed to sculpture. Catherine Balmelle's work on Aquitania's mosaics suggests that in the Late Antique period, mosaics were laid by regional workshops, which consciously developed their own style and compositions. Intricate geometric pavements dominate in Aquitaine, and although the repertoire of motifs and designs shows African and Eastern influence, the organization of these motifs appears regionally distinct.<sup>722</sup> In general, the mosaic carpets have no privileged orientation.<sup>723</sup> Standardized geometric or vegetal motifs are used in novel arrangements from villa to villa, which Balmelle suggests is a hallmark of Aquitaine's local ateliers.<sup>724</sup>

Balmelle's work also has shown that vegetal decoration is used selectively and in hierarchical spaces – large halls, apsidal vestibules, baths and occasionally the peristyle galleries. Acanthus and the vine are common motifs, as are vegetal pyramids and fruit trees.<sup>725</sup> Balmelle is careful to note the subjectivity of stylistic dating but generally attributes the most original or complex pavements to the early 5<sup>th</sup> century. For example, a

---

<sup>722</sup> Balmelle 2001, 259-61. There are few parallels for these Aquitaine carpets in Iberia, though this may not be strange given the prevalence of figural pavements in the latter.

<sup>723</sup> *Ibid.*, 253-55. Balmelle notes the frequent use of “des compositions libres”, both in vegetal and geometric pavements, and with the occasional mythological figures who appear on blank backgrounds (see also below nt. 725).

<sup>724</sup> Balmelle 2001, 331. Balmelle's study of these pavements is largely iconographic. She does not interpret the use of vine and vegetal motifs as a statement of the *dominus*' power over the world, as is often done with animal or hunting pavements in Iberia or North Africa. Nor does she offer any hypotheses for the value of mosaic pavements or development of a local industry. The relationship between mosaic production and patronage is thus rather vague. For hunting pavements and animal motifs as a symbol of the *dominus*' *authoritas* see comments in Dunbabin 1999; also studies of Piazza Armerina, (Wilson 1983).

<sup>725</sup> Mythological or figural pavements are rare, and appear executed by foreign artisans. These pavements are often to the baths when they do appear, and figures like Oceanus and Nereids are prominent, see discussion in Balmelle 2001, 299-301. The greatest evidence for figural pavements is the villa Saint-Rustice (Haute-Garonne, 29 kilometers north of Toulouse), where Greek inscriptions accompany images of Thetis and a triton. A head of Oceanus and a Nereid (Dido?) are also extant (Balmelle 2001, no. 53, page 406, fig. 256-258). These pavements appear to have been laid in a seven-apsed structure, probably associated with the baths.

c. 425 CE polychrome pavement at the apsidal reception hall of Séviac is decorated with large fruit and laurel trees.<sup>726</sup> These pavements, however, are concentrated in the villas of northern Novempopulania (Séviac, Nérac, Lamarque; Bapteste); mosaic pavements are less frequent in the southern villas like as Montmaurin, Valentine, and Chiragan. Also of note is the timing of the increased popularity of these vegetal pavements in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century, that is, possibly after the floruit of statuary display.

Previous scholarship has interpreted the mosaic decoration of these villas, the impressive programs of architectural renovation, and the prevalence of statuary and marble as a manifestation of elite culture, but more specifically of a particular Gallo-Roman elite culture. Indeed, the regional concentration of these sites and the profile that emerges from study of their domestic assemblages stand as evidence for a shared elite habitus, inherently linked to ancient Aquitaine. But this material evidence is rarely allowed to stand on its own. Rather, these villas have been read as vessels for a very particular type of Gallic elite, particularly because sociological profiles are very frequently defined by the literary testimony of late Gallo-Roman elite like Ausonius of Bordeaux and Paulinus of Nola (originally from Bordeaux). These literary witnesses do indeed provide testimony for a vibrant landscape in late Aquitania, but the personal biography of Ausonius as an imperial official is particularly distracting, in that it

---

<sup>726</sup> With respect to the villas which have also furnished statuary evidence, those that lie farther north like Séviac, Lamarque, and Nérac have much greater evidence for mosaic pavements; see also Saint-Rustice, above nt. 725. At villas like Valentine and Montmaurin, marble pavements are more frequent, see discussion below.

encourages speculation into the imperial or bureaucratic identity of villa *domini*, and roots financial success and social standing in court service. The effects of this are subtle, but they situate these habits of decoration or display in the court, in regional bureaucracy or a pan-elite habitus, rather than *in situ*, that is to say, rather than in this particular locality and among a local land-owning aristocracy.

Similarities across the statuary profile of the five villas discussed here, I argue, make a strong case for certain decorative traditions as locally embedded and oriented. Statuary display is *not*, like mosaics or apsidal halls, such a common late antique find. The eclectic statuary mélange at Novempopulanian villas is unlike that known in other villa clusters of the late-Roman West. Thus the second half of this chapter explores the particular constellation of these statuary assemblages in greater depth, with an eye towards the social and economic factors that engineered the formation of said assemblages *in situ*. While the importance of the late antique bureaucracy as a means of social promotion must be considered, I examine those elite *domini* who owned statuary here as residents in and of Novempopulania. I argue that the unique composition of statuary assemblages here – late-mythological statuary, with a strong emphasis on both antique and contemporary portraiture – is interrelated to the social make-up of 4<sup>th</sup> century Aquitania. The *domini* in the villas discussed here may have achieved social recognition beyond their locus for the first time in Late Antiquity, but evidence suggests that they identified themselves first and foremost as members of a long-standing regional aristocracy, perhaps less obliged to imperial structures than we may have previously

appreciated. Discussion begins with late-mythological sculptures and follows on the work of Lea Stirling in questioning the prominence of this genre and the apparent status it was granted by late-Gallic *domini*.

### **III. Late-Mythological Sculpture and Questions of Acquisition**

Late mythological statuary has already been discussed in some depth but a short review is in order here, especially in light of Lea Stirling's work with the late-mythological statuettes in Aquitaine's villas, which has largely defined the genre, and her synthesis of these objects as elite collectables.<sup>727</sup> From among the villas surveyed here Stirling's research has identified a Minerva statuette at the villa of Lamarque (fig. 178); at Séviac, a small torso of a child (5.2 cm) possibly associated with a tree branch, and an additional group statuette base; at Nérac, a Victory statuette, a group statuette with Pan (?) and a human figure, and the head of a diademed goddess (figs. 188, 190); and at Montmaurin, a Venus-Victory statuette and Venus and Adonis group(s) (figs. 197, 198).<sup>728</sup> At Chiragan, Stirling has also identified a Dionysius (fig. 196), an Ariadne

---

<sup>727</sup> Stirling 2005; see also 1996; 1997. For review of this material see chapters 1, 2. Stirling's stylistic analysis of the late-mythological genre is heavily indebted to finds from a villa in northern Aquitaine, 45 km east of Bordeaux. This site, the villa Petit-Corbin in Saint-Georges-de-Montagne, is home to the celebrated Diana of Bordeaux and a statuette of Venus now in the Louvre. Both were part of a larger assemblage of statuettes and portraiture (Braemer 1982, 114-125). This villa is a good deal further north than sites like Lamarque and Nérac. This villa is a good deal further north than sites like Lamarque and Nérac. The villa Petit-Corbin is only a few kilometers from the Dordogne River which like the Garonne flows into the harbor at Bordeaux. As such, it shares some similar features with Aquitainan villas more probably, but may have operated in slightly different socio-economic networks than southern Aquitaine, where most extant finds of late-mythological sculpture are concentrated.

<sup>728</sup> Stirling (2005) discussed all three villas in depth, for Lamarque see pages 67-69; for La Garenne-Nérac pages 62-67; for Montmaurin see pages 37-49 and for Séviac pages 69-70. The piece from Séviac is not

statuette (fig. 197), and the head of a female goddess with an s-curl on the forehead (fig. 198).<sup>729</sup> Stirling's thorough stylistic study of these pieces has securely marked them as late antique manufactures, and the quality of her work is such that individual characteristics of each piece do not bear repeating here.<sup>730</sup>

Her analysis of the genre's prominence in Gaul has suggested that these objects were collectables, and that late antique *domini* were themselves collectors, interested in these statuettes as visual testaments of *paideia*, or a shared elite habitus. Stirling's work cites Ausonius as the sort of elite individual who would have been interested in this type of imagery. While the presence of this kind of statuary in Ausonius' Gaul does evince an interest in mythological imagery, and mark such displays as an acceptable mode of social status projection in Novempopulania well into the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, we cannot securely mark found objects as consciously collected. If we focus however on the appeal of imported statuettes, and on acquisition as opposed to collection, the means by which such statuettes were traded, purchased, or commissioned becomes a promising field for a

---

published in any reports of the site, and will likely appear in Fages and Balmelle's study of the site (*forthcoming*).

<sup>729</sup> Stirling 2005, 49-62. Stirling's stylistic analysis of these pieces is such that only a brief review here is necessary. The Bacchus statuette (Inv. no. 30348, fig. 196) is rather large for a late-mythological statuette, though the lack of depth in the figure and other stylistic qualities mark its late antique date. The god leans against a tree, his body languid and long. His hair falls in long, loose curls over his shoulders, and the head is topped with an elaborate wreath of vines and grape leaves. Surfaces are highly polished, and drillwork in the coiffure is particular good. The Ariadne statuette (Inv. no. 30350, fig. 197) preserves a sleeping Ariadne. The drapery is stylized and the body is quite soft; the angle of the upper right arm is somewhat awkward. The final late-mythological piece at Chiragan is a small head of a female goddess, or nymph (Inv. no. 30354, fig. 198). The goddess wears a fillet around her head. The eyes have a dreamy, vacant expression, characteristic of late-mythological goddesses. The late antique date is suggested by the style of the piece, and the subtle bridgework in the coiffure.

<sup>730</sup> See Stirling 2005, 91-117 for a review of the stylistic qualities and manufacture of this genre.

socio-economic approach to their study. Stirling and others have suggested that the production of late-mythological statuettes may correlate to the rise of Constantinople as a new center of politics and culture with a great need for traditional Greco-Roman imagery.<sup>731</sup> As such, the circulation of these objects is by implication linked with late antique court culture, and in Gaul, with persons like Ausonius. While this is an enticing argument, it remains unclear how these objects came to inhabit Aquitaine's villas, and whether we are to assume the circulation of the objects, or the villa *domini* who owned them.

A brief glance around the Western Empire suggests that access to late-mythological sculpture may be more limited than previously assumed.<sup>732</sup> As we saw in the Iberian Peninsula, late-mythological statuettes have been documented at only two villas, Quinta das Longas and Valdetorres de Jarama.<sup>733</sup> There are shared types across these two assemblages (panther, griffin, anguipeds) and both include more than a dozen figures. Given the rarity of such material in the Peninsula, I too have suggested that the villa *domini* procured them while engaged in imperial service and/or through socially

---

<sup>731</sup> Similar arguments have been made by Bergmann vis-à-vis Aphrodisian statuary in Late Antiquity (1999) and by Bassett in her work with antique statuary imports to Constantinople to cope with a palpable dearth of such imagery in the capital founded virtually *ex novo* (1996; 2000; 2004). Gazda's study of the Carthage Ganymede (1982), associated the production of such imagery more specifically with the Theodosian Renaissance, perhaps given the later date she ascribed to the piece.

<sup>732</sup> Stirling (2005, 165-227 for sites with late-mythological statuary around the Empire) regards late-mythological statuary possession as a mark of *paideia* and sees statuary around the Empire as evidence of a universal elite collector type (162-227). While an idealized, universal "elite" may indeed exist in the Late Antique Empire (see discussion of *paideia* in chapter 1, section IV.1), focus on this aspect of elite identity eschews the regional identities of particular groups within the later elite class.

<sup>733</sup> These assemblages are sizable with over a dozen late antique statuettes, a much greater number than what is known in Aquitaine. This may reflect Iberian owners' accessibility or lack thereof to imported statues in the later Roman era, as I have argued *passim* in chapters 2 and 3.



restricted networks. Looking beyond the Peninsula to the villas of Roman Britain, there is a rich tradition of late antique mosaic floors that parallels interests in Iberia and Aquitaine, but statuary is seldom found in villas.<sup>734</sup> Only one extant late Romano-British villa furnishes evidence for late-mythological statuary. At the villa of Woodchester (Gloucestershire), a Diana statuette and a Cupid and Psyche group are part of a larger assemblage of portraits and imported architectural marbles, all of which mark this villa as a rare find in late antique Britain.<sup>735</sup> In other corners of the Empire, and in the East in particular, the private display of these statuettes is an urban phenomenon. Finds are documented in urban *domus* in Carthage, Ostia, Corinth, or Aphrodisias.<sup>736</sup> The pervasiveness of statuettes here in the East may correlate to the proximity of these sites either to Eastern workshops or to the East's capital, if they were manufactured for Constantinople's elite. But in the Roman West, the near ubiquity of late-mythological statuary in rural villas of southwestern Gaul is a unique phenomenon.

Although the number of villas in Aquitaine with late-mythological statuettes is sizable, it is important to note that the objects themselves are documented in small numbers. Fragments of only two or three statuettes are extant at each villa, versus the

---

<sup>734</sup> For mosaics and villas in Britain see Scott 2000; also 2004. For mosaics in Gaul see work by Catherine Balmelle (1987; 2001) and for Hispania see Lancha 2003. For the Western Empire more broadly see Dunbabin 1999.

<sup>735</sup> Stirling 2005, 191-92. The villa is better known for its magnificent Orpheus mosaic c. 325 CE, see also nt. 19 in the Introduction.

<sup>736</sup> For Carthage see Gazda 1981; and for North Africa more broadly Barrate and Chaisemartin 2015; also de Bruyn and Machado 2016; for Corinth, Stirling 2008. For Ostia, Muntasser 2003; also Boin 2013 *passim*; for a summary of Aphrodisias see Smith 2016. Most of the late antique material from Aphrodisias, however, comes from public settings or statuary workshops, cf. Smith 1990; 1997; 2002; Smith et al. 2006.

dozen or so known at the two Iberian villas. But in Gaul the context of the late-mythological finds may suggest that these are fragments of larger late-mythological assemblages, no longer preserved. The variety of late-mythological statuette types in Aquitaine also differs from the known Iberian examples, and there are few iconographic parallels across these two regions. In Aquitaine, moreover, several copies of similar statuettes types are extant but a great variety is documented even across these iconographies.<sup>737</sup> For example, the diademed heads of female goddesses at Nérac and Montmaurin (fig. 184, 199).

The Nérac head is only preserved in a drawing, but the goddess wears a high diadem and loose waves brushed back into a chignon. No s-curl is visible across the forehead.<sup>738</sup> The eyelids are heavy, the brow strong, the nose aquiline and the mouth slightly parted.<sup>739</sup> The Montmaurin head is heavily fragmented such that it is not possible to reconstruct the height of the diadem, but the goddess clearly wore one. The loose

---

<sup>737</sup> Victory statuettes appear at both Nérac and Lamarque, both the pose of the figure differ such that they cannot belong to the same statuette type. The Victory statuette of Nérac wears a belted peplos, with finely sculpted drapery that frames her body and billows behind her. The piece was meant to be viewed from the front. The Victory of Lamarque, however, is a “Venus of Capua” type and intended to be viewed in three-quarter profile. The goddess’ left foot is raised upon a block or stump and her body is twisted to the right. The chiton she wears has slipped over her shoulder. A Venus-Victory has been inferred from the pose of the figure and the small fragment of a left arm holding a cylindrical baton, which Stirling reconstructs as a staff (Stirling 2005, fig. 15). The closest possible parallel across sites are the torsos of small children attached to horizontal struts which have appeared at both Séviac and Montmaurin. Without photos of the former, however, it is difficult to assay any true iconographic parallel across both pieces. The Séviac torso measures 5.2cm in height and is attached to a horizontal strut of some sort Stirling compares this piece to the torso of the infant emerging from the tree branch at Montmaurin, 6.cm tall (2005, 68, nt. 160 and 161).

<sup>738</sup> As in the late antique goddess head from Chiragan, see above nt. 729.

<sup>739</sup> This piece, however, is preserved only in a drawing, such that we must be cautious about using it as evidence for a statue type or for a particular iconography. That said, I have full confidence in Lea Stirling’s work with this material.

waves of her hair are also brushed back from the face and gathered at the back of the head. Though the face is heavily abraded, the eyelids appear heavy. It is possible that both this head, and the Nérac head, represent Venus.

A local comparandum for a diademed Venus is indeed present in a well-known statuette from the villa of Petit-Corbin, in northern Aquitaine (fig. 17).<sup>740</sup> In the Petit-Corbin statuette, Venus Anadyomene stands flanked by a triton and a putto on her left, and a putto riding a dolphin to her right. These secondary figures provide structural support for the goddess and distract from the struts coming out of her left flank and right hip. Venus' gaze is directed to the left, probably towards a mirror that is no longer extant. In her right hand she holds stylized locks of her hair. She too wears the same coiffure as the Nérac and Montmaurin goddess – a diadem sits atop centrally parted hair, its waves pulled back from her face. Her brow ridge is strong, the eyelids are heavy, the nose is aquiline and the mouth is small and closed.

At present, however, only the Montmaurin head can be identified as a Venus, and further as a Venus Anadyomene because of other fragments found at the site: a female torso that preserves the left arm and hand holding locks of hair, and a right forearm and hand holding additional locks of hair (fig. 189). Stirling's work at Montmaurin has reconstructed these three fragments in two different Venus Anadyomene group statuettes

---

<sup>740</sup> Stirling 2006, 30-36 fig. 7; Braemer 1982, 116-19.

(fig. 200).<sup>741</sup> The break along the neck of the diademed head, and along the neck of the torso fragment do not align and cannot be reconstructed to do so.

The pose of the nude female torso fragment is similar to that of the Petit-Corbin Venus, but in the Montmaurin fragment the goddess grips her hair in her left hand, palm closed. From the break along the right shoulder it is also clear that the right arm was raised directly above her head. Thus the Montmaurin statuette cannot be reconstructed as a facsimile of the Petit-Corbin Venus, and stands as a variation of a well-known type.

The other fragments – the diademed Venus head and the right forearm holding locks of hair – also likely belong to a Venus Anadyomene statuette, but this one in the guise of the Petit-Corbin piece. Indeed, the grip of the right hand echoes the Venus of Petit-Corbin. But unlike the Petit-Corbin piece, the Montmaurin fragments do not belong to a statuette of Venus at her toilet, flanked by dolphins and putti. Other late-mythological fragments found at Montmaurin suggest instead two statuettes of Venus Anadyomene coupled alongside a visual narrative of the myth of Adonis: a fragment of a tree trunk with a small torso (an infant?) emerging from it, a boar, and a small headless adult male torso, heroically nude with a chlamys draped over the shoulder. Thus Stirling reconstructs a Birth of Adonis statuette group with the Venus Anadyomene torso and the fragments of the tree with an infant's torso attached to it, and a Death of Adonis group with the fragments of the diademed Venus head, the right forearm, the small male torso and the boar.

---

<sup>741</sup> Stirling 2006, 39-46, fig. 20 and 21 for reconstructions of the Venus Anadyomene groups.

If such reconstructions are valid, and I believe they are, the Montmaurin Anadyomene Venus figures attest to the recycling of the Anadyomene type for a rich iconographic variety of late-mythological Venus statuettes among Gallic villas. Such variation evinces the output of late antique statuary workshops, and supports suggestions of statuary workshops which specialized in this genre. Such variation within Aquitaine, to my mind, also suggests a heightened level of access to these objects.<sup>742</sup> Does special access to late-mythological statuary, however, reflect the special admission of Gallic *domini* to the imperial court, or an art market that was heavily oriented towards southwestern Gaul? Do we imagine people travelling to obtain these objects, or do we imagine the circulation of the objects themselves? It is possible that Aquitanian homeowners acquired these objects abroad, while engaged in either Constantinople's Senate or court functions in the new capital. The prevalence of these objects in southern Gaul, however, may suggest that these statuettes are less tied to the court than previously assumed, or that there were special markets for their circulation in Gaul. To explore these ideas, the next section examines trade in southern Aquitaine, and the possible networks in which late-mythological statuary may have moved.

---

<sup>742</sup> I note here that no parallels exist for Chiragan's Bacchus or Ariadne; for Lamarque's Minerva; nor for the group base of Pan and a human figure at Nérac.

### III.1 The Possible Acquisition Modes of Late-Mythological Statuettes

As chapter 2 has shown, it is difficult to reconstruct the means by which late-mythological statuary moved or was traded. Yet the association of these statuettes in the West with cities or regions intimately connected to Mediterranean trade is suggestive. I note finds in Ostia, Carthage, and in southern Aquitaine as areas that had long enjoyed immediate access to traded goods. In Novempopulania, the overland network linking the province to Tolosa and ultimately to Narbo Martius may point to the circulation of late-mythological statuary in Mediterranean trade. That the harbors of Gaul's Mediterranean coast were an entry point for products from the Eastern Mediterranean, including statuary, may be inferred by a small, diademed head of female goddess found at Arles.<sup>743</sup>

The Arles head is quite similar to those of Nérac and Petit-Corbin, and possibly Montmaurin: a female goddess with heavy eyelids and strong brow ridge, who wears high diadem over centrally parted waves of hair gathered at the back of the neck. The Arles head would seem to suggest the importance of the harbor in Narbonensis, from which goods would have been circulated via terrestrial or riverine networks to the Gallic interior.<sup>744</sup> Ongoing excavations at the harbors of ancient Narbonne, however, have found

---

<sup>743</sup> Musée de l'Arles Antique, Inv. FAN 9200 1191.

<sup>744</sup> The aforementioned head of the diademed goddess was found in the theater which was in use through the 4<sup>th</sup> century (Lantier 1947-155 in Stirling 2005, nt. 183). Both the excavator and Stirling remark that the style of the piece does not particularly suit a theater. Another piece in the Musée d'Arles preserves the body of a dancing maenad and may be late antique in date to judge from its molded base, though if so it is among the best preserved examples in Gaul. The drapery work is quite fine (see Stirling 2006, 65; first published by Esérandieu in a 1920 catalog of statuary from Nîmes).

no evidence for imported marble of any sort.<sup>745</sup> Nor have excavations in the Rhône found any extensive evidence for late antique marble transport, although late antique extra- and intra-regional trade is well-documented. Without any direct evidence for the networks in which this statuary moved, we may want to admit that Atlantic cargo networks played a greater role in the circulation of these statuettes and trans-Mediterranean goods.<sup>746</sup> The frequency with which late-mythological statuettes appear in Gallic villas connected to Garonne, and to a lesser extent the Dordogne, may be significant. Both rivers flow into the Atlantic via the harbor at Burdigala. These rivers, and nearby terrestrial networks were used to transport Atlantic cargo goods into southern Aquitaine.<sup>747</sup>

To broaden our understanding of extra-regional transport networks in Aquitaine, an examination of the evidence for imported ceramics is in order. Unfortunately there is little ceramic evidence that can be securely attached to the villas discussed in this chapter, given that most were first excavated in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when interests lay in luxe decoration as opposed to fragmentary ceramic and faunal evidence. Recent study of late antique amphorae in the urban sphere, however, has brought to light important evidence for extra-regional commerce in the 4<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> centuries.

---

<sup>745</sup> Personal communication, Guillaume Duperron (director of excavations at Saint-Martin, a harbor of Narbonne, associated with CRNS *Les ports antiques de Narbonne* project, directed by Corinne Sanchez).

<sup>746</sup> Arguing for the use of Atlantic trade routes seem to be the findspots of late-mythological statuettes in Roman Iberia and Britain. These are found almost exclusively in villas which would have privileged Atlantic trade routes for the circulation of Mediterranean products, for example Quinta das Longas in Lusitania (Olisipo).

<sup>747</sup> As conjectured by recent studies, see discussion of Aquitaine networks above.

Excavations at both Tolosa and Burdigala have augmented the extant ceramic corpus in Aquitaine. Both cities have minimal evidence for imports in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, such that evidence for imports in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries is striking.<sup>748</sup> At Tolosa the 4<sup>th</sup> century is dominated by Iberian and African imports. In the 5<sup>th</sup> century Iberian commerce continues, but African products decrease while imports from the Eastern Mediterranean rise. Evidence for the 6<sup>th</sup> century is scant, and specialists are unsure whether it reflects reality: Iberian and African containers disappear, and there are only a few vessels from the Eastern Mediterranean. In sum, the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries show similar numbers of amphorae fragments, with Spanish products dominant in both centuries. Contrary to this is evidence in Burdigala, where African containers are much more frequent than Spanish amphorae in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Both Spanish and African products, however, decline in the 5<sup>th</sup> century amidst a rise in Eastern Mediterranean products.

With this rise documented in both cities in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, we may admit the increased transport of goods from the East – food stuffs via amphora containers, but possibly statuary imports too. That said, the subtle differences across assemblages of Tolosa and Burdigala in the 4<sup>th</sup> century in particular underscore important differences between northern and southern Aquitania, suggesting a greater complexity within intra-regional trade networks. How the villas participated in the region's economic networks and exchange is also unclear; the villas in this study are a good deal south of Bordeaux, and west of Toulouse. Both Spanish and African amphorae have been found at

---

<sup>748</sup> Amiel and Berthoult 1996.



Montmaurin and Lamarque, but the ceramic corpus is so small that little information is extractable from either site. Strangely, few ceramics from the Eastern Mediterranean are identified in either villa. In either case, products from the Eastern Mediterranean do not document a rise in urban centers until the 5<sup>th</sup> century. It is therefore possible that late 4<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> century statuettes did not move in the same networks as traded food products.

### III.2 A Specialized Marble Market?

But perhaps they moved in more specialized markets, and/or marble markets. In Novempopulania, there *is* evidence for marble trade, not only in the form of imported statuettes, but also imported and local architectural marbles. In addition to free-standing statuary, these estates also use marble in pavements, wall decorations, and architectural elements such as columns and pilasters. Scholarship has placed great emphasis on evidence for imported colored marbles, which concentrates in the northernmost villas in this study (Séviac, Lamarque, and Nérac).<sup>749</sup> Both 19<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century reports at Lamarque record green and red porphyry fragments.<sup>750</sup> A fragment of a green marble column was found in the excavations of the large apsidal reception room in Séviac, alongside scattered finds of marble revetments or fragments in red, grey, green and white stones in destruction or abandonment levels.<sup>751</sup> An exquisite *opus sectile* pavement is

---

<sup>749</sup> Braemer 1982; 1984; Balmelle 2001, 206ff.

<sup>750</sup> Though it is unclear what form these fragments took; they seem to have been marble plaques used as wall revetments or pavement tiles, given that Boudons does not refer to them as capitals or column fragments (Boudons de Saint-Amans 1963, 58).

<sup>751</sup> See Aragon-Launet 1977 for the green marble; see also reports of excavations in 1971; 1966 *passim*.

recorded in the baths of Nérac, with green, red, white, gray, and violet-blue colored marbles reported.<sup>752</sup>

The use of colored marble and architectural marbles, we may note, is often restricted to the bath complexes of these villas, again marking their importance as areas for reception or status projection. At Lamarque ongoing excavations of the baths have brought to light many marble plaques used both for pavements and wall revetments, as well as white and rose-colored marble columns.<sup>753</sup> At Nérac, at least four of the bath rooms were paved in marble, plus the aforementioned floor in colored *opus sectile* (fig. 187).<sup>754</sup> Monturet and Rivière's study of the Séviac baths has also highlighted the use of marble decoration in the baths: colored stones as wall revetments and pavements, and white local marbles as columns and capitals (fig. 201).<sup>755</sup>

Evidence for the frequent use of colored, imported marbles at Lamarque, Séviac, and Nérac, however, contrasts with the architectural marble habits in the villas which lie farther south, like Montmaurin or Chiragan. At these sites, white or gray local marble figures prominently and is used extensively, as opposed to imported colored marbles. The use of marble pavements is also note restricted to bath complexes; marble is used more frequently in pavements than mosaics, to judge from Montmaurin and the nearby villa of

---

<sup>752</sup> See Balmelle 2001, no. 21, 354-57.

<sup>753</sup> Jaques 2006 *passim*.

<sup>754</sup> Colored marbles were used primarily in architectural decoration – *opus sectile*, revetments, column capitals and flutes. Porphyry plaques are also cited (see Balmelle 2001, 227; 390).

<sup>755</sup> Monturet and Rivière 1986 for the monograph synthesizing excavations in the Séviac baths. The excavators are primarily concerned with charting the chronology of renovations in the bath complex, but decorative renovations are admirably charted.

Valentine. At Montmaurin, marble is used in the baths and in pavements of the entrance court, in the apsidal peristyle galleries, and in three rooms on the upper terrace, which, to judge from their elevation and distance from the entrance, must have been elite quarters or devoted to specialized functions (fig. 202).

The villa of Valentine is situated on a natural terrace less than 30 km southwest of the site of Chiragan and 20 kilometers south/southeast Montmaurin, overlooking right bank of the Garonne. Valentine was also excavated by Georges Fouet, the excavator of Montmaurin, in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>756</sup> Fouet's excavations uncovered a series of monumental residential structures: a peristyle *pars urbana* with a large, rectangular entrance court, a separate bath complex, and a possible temple or 4<sup>th</sup> century mausoleum.<sup>757</sup> Fouet documents at least two phases of renovation, in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century, and again in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>758</sup> No free-standing statues were found at Valentine, but recent study of its architectural marbles has been fruitful. Marble pavements were used in the baths, in a large garden pool in the *pars urbana*, and in a large square room with exedrae off the peristyle, seemingly designed for important functions. Robert Sablayrolles has found that over 88% of the extant marble plaques and

---

<sup>756</sup> The site today is largely reburied and lies 1 kilometer west of the modern town of Arnesp. For publications of the 20<sup>th</sup> century excavations see Fouet 1965; 1971; 1978; see also summaries in Balmelle 2001, no. 64, 424-26; Sablayrolles and Beyrie 2006, no. 656, 459-66.

<sup>757</sup> For this mausoleum see Fouet 1980 and chapter 6, section IV.3 where an epitaph associated with the mausoleum will be discussed in greater detail.

<sup>758</sup> It is not possible, however, to identify these two phases from the extant publications and plans. Additionally, much of the excavated material remains unpublished: late stamped ceramics, terracotta fragments, and 4<sup>th</sup> century coins. Catherine Balmelle has examined the site's mosaics, which are few in number when compared to the marble pavements. She notes geometric and vegetal designs, the most complicated of which is associated with the baths, (Balmelle 2001, no. 64, 424-26; fig. 194 for the mosaic).

fragments are white and gray marbles from the quarries of the Pyrenees, most likely those around Saint-Béat.<sup>759</sup> Only 12% of the fragments are colored brèches and griottes, but they are not imported and also come from local quarries. Thus at present, evidence suggests that populations living in close vicinity to the Pyrenean mountains privileged local stones in construction, whether in the urban sphere or in large, luxurious villas like Valentine and Montmaurin. It is clear that the use of architectural marbles here differs from northern Novempopulania and villas like Lamarque, Nérac and Séviac. Locally quarried stones enjoyed greater popularity among villa owners in southern Novempopulania, but whether the use of local marbles in lieu of imported stones marks a particular preference, or whether such penchants point to market availability as geographically determined is unclear.

The high level of access to luxury goods like marble, both locally sourced and imported, must be correlated to a certain interest in marble itself. Thus the use of architectural marbles in these villas demonstrates a high regard for this stone, and an esteem that was seemingly shared among elite villa owners. The sheer variety of marbles in circulation here does suggest dynamic markets, both intra- and extra-regionally. Imported architectural marble must move in extra-regional markets, and thus the trade of late-mythological statuary may be inferred, even if it cannot be verified absolutely at this time.

---

<sup>759</sup> Sablayrolles and Fabre 2002, on pavements at Valentine, and quarries in the Pyrenees.

That late-mythological statuettes are prominent in Novempopulania, that is, in a region with important local marble quarries, is interesting in and of itself. The same is true of the villa Quinta das Longas in central Lusitania, with its late-mythological statuary assemblage and unique floor pavements in local marble sourced from nearby quarries. It is possible that the acquisition of imported marble, whether statues or decorative stones, was motivated in part by the locally rooted prestige granted to this stone as a prized object. Thus, resident elite taste for imported marble may not have been motivated by outside factors, but from within. Thus high concentration of late-mythological statuary here may be correlated to aristocratic landowners' penchant for marble objects, whether they purchased said objects in local or foreign markets. To explore the nature of marble display and décor as a localized habit of a specific body of landowners in greater depth, the next section turns to another free-standing marble statuary genre, and a highly codified one at that. Based on the extant finds, it appears that the preferred genre of Novempopulania's elite *domini* was, in fact, portraiture.

#### **IV. The Portraiture Tradition in Novempopulania, Part I**

Novempopulania's villas furnish a particularly rich evidentiary corpus for portraiture, with pieces from the 1<sup>st</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> centuries extant among the aforementioned villas. At Lamarque, at least six portraits were recorded and five are still extant: a 1<sup>st</sup> century male head; a 3<sup>rd</sup> century draped male bust, now headless; two late antique male portrait heads; and a fragment of a Marcus Aurelius portrait. At Nérac, only a head of Marcus Aurelius

is still extant, but fragments of three other heads (one monumental) were recorded in 19<sup>th</sup> century reports.<sup>760</sup> At least three portraits were found at Montmaurin, though only the whereabouts of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century male bust are known today. A late antique male head c. 400 CE has recently been identified at the villa of Séviac, where at least three other portraits are extant.<sup>761</sup> The largest assemblage of portraiture is undoubtedly that of Chiragan, in part because this villa's marble assemblage did not meet the fate for which it was destined.<sup>762</sup>

#### IV.1 The Portrait Assemblage of Séviac

The quantity of portraits recovered in this region and the inherent variety (antique and late antique, private and imperial) is such that this chapter can only scratch the surface of what appears to have been a rich tradition of portrait display in southern Aquitaine's late-Roman villas.<sup>763</sup> Instead of a comprehensive treatment of the entire assemblage, which

---

<sup>760</sup> It is possible that these heads do not belong to portraits but to idealizing sculptures. The monumental size of one of these heads in particular may suggest a larger than life-size mythological statue, or perhaps an imperial portrait head. See above nt. 652.

<sup>761</sup> See below section IV.1.

<sup>762</sup> See chapter 6, sections IV, V, VI and Appendix 6.1 for discussion of the Chiragan assemblage. I note here that the number of imperial portrait heads in this assemblage is debated. Balty and Cazes (2008) identify a portrait statuary group of the Tetrarch Maximian and his family, but this dissertation exposes problems with this analysis, chapter 6, section IV. For discussion of the imperial portraits, see also Balty and Cazes 2005 (Augustan and Julio-Claudian era); 2012 (Antonine dynasty); see also Rosso 2006, n0. 210-239, 440-90. The purported "imperial collection" of Chiragan is discussed in chapter 6, sections V and VI, alongside the two Marcus Aurelius portraits known from Lamarque and La Garenne-Nérac.

<sup>763</sup> Discussion of the portrait habit evident in southern Aquitaine's villas continues in the following chapter. I note here that, although previous scholarship has not analyzed this purported habit in great depth, other scholars have commented on the unique character and quantity of portrait finds in Aquitaine: Rosso 2006 (in a catalogue of portrait sculpture in modern France), 173-79; Stirling 2007 (in comparison of statuary collecting habits in Aquitaine versus Iberia); Witschel 2016 (in a study of epigraphic habits vis-à-vis the dedication of public portraiture from the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century on), 75-77.

would distract from the larger goals of the chapter, I aim to restrict discussion here by focusing on one particular type of portrait, and that is the private portrait, beginning with several pieces in the marble assemblage at the villa of Séviac to note the variety and breadth even within the “private portrait” typology.

At least four portraits have been documented at this site. Two are dated to the late antique period, and two additional portrait busts, sculpted in yellow-rose colored marble, may date to the Imperial-era:<sup>764</sup> a fragment of the upper right portion of a nude male chest with a visible clavicle bone;<sup>765</sup> another fragment of a nude male chest, with drapery over the right shoulder;<sup>766</sup> an additional drapery fragment;<sup>767</sup> and another fragment of a bust.<sup>768</sup> The small size of these fragments has complicated their analysis, but at least two different busts are securely documented, since both chest fragments preserve the right shoulder of

---

<sup>764</sup> These pieces are mentioned in Aragon-Launet’s excavation report only *passim*; individual fragments are not described (1971, 236). These pieces are scheduled to be published in greater depth by Lea Stirling (no. 2-5), in a statuary catalog as part of a larger publication of the villa of Séviac (Fages and Balmelle *forthcoming*) (previously mentioned in Stirling’s doctoral dissertation in 1994). I thank Brieuc Fages for permission to read a preliminary synopsis of the forthcoming publication, and to discuss them briefly here. I include only the essential details, in order to honor the author’s right to their publication.

<sup>765</sup> M15, 18.5 cm max. height; 24 cm max. width; 7 cm max. depth. The portrait fragment is broken at the neck, and along the chest below the clavicle. The piece will be published in Stirling’s catalogue (no. 2) of the statuary assemblage at Séviac, Fages and Balmelle *forthcoming*.

<sup>766</sup> M16, 15.7 cm max. height; 12 cm max. width; 5 cm max. depth. Stirling marks the individual as a youth by his non-muscular chest (no. 3 in *ibid.*). In my opinion, the nipple is quite prominent, and the lumpy shape of the musculature bears similarities with several tondo portraits known at Chiragan (section III.1). Drapery is preserved along the right shoulder, and may have wrapped around the chest to judge from partial folds beneath the chest bone.

<sup>767</sup> M17, 13.2 cm max. height; 8.6 cm max. width; 5.5 cm max. depth; no. 4 in Stirling’s catalog, *ibid.* The drapery cluster is very small, and the folds are such that it is impossible to mark them clearly as superficially rendered or admirably sculpted. The shape of the extant fragment, however, suggests to me that the piece belongs to a drapery element on the shoulder, but whether the right or left shoulder of a figure (and thus whether evidence of a third portrait, or not), is unclear.

<sup>768</sup> M18, 14.5 cm max. height; 7 cm max. width; 9.6 cm max. depth, no. 5 in Stirling’s catalog, *ibid.* The front of the surface is smooth, and there is a broken protrusion, probably from a piece of drapery or a hair element.

a male and cannot belong to the same piece. Stirling's study also suggests that the surfaces of these fragments were primed for the attachment of other marble pieces, though no evidence of adhesive or insertion points for joins or dowels remain. It is thus unclear whether the breaks and worked surfaces point to ancient repairs, or to the initial piece-work manufacture of the portraits.<sup>769</sup>

Stirling compares one of the chest fragments and its soft musculature to the Trajanic-era youth portrait at Montmaurin (fig. 191), who is also heroically nude with drapery across the right shoulder.<sup>770</sup> It is therefore possible that the Séviac portrait also dates to the Imperial-era, and stood in the villa as an antique. All of these fragments were found in the larger assemblage of marble remains in the central courtyard of the villa, that is, alongside several fragments of late-mythological statuary fragments.<sup>771</sup> Thus we may conclude that these portraits were displayed at least through the late 4<sup>th</sup> century occupation of the villa. As antique portraits, they would have stood as a visual endorsement of later owners' (purported or actual) familial ancestry.

The presence of multiple antique, colored marble portrait busts is also significant. The marble is a mottled yellow stone with red veins, arguably from Chemtou quarries in

---

<sup>769</sup> In discussion of pieces no. 2-5, in Fages and Balmelle *forthcoming*.

<sup>770</sup> The Montmaurin bust is discussed in greater depth below, section IV.3. Stirling makes this comparison but is cautious about dating this piece (and the others) to the imperial-era. She marks the fragments as "Gallo-Roman". Interestingly, she notes the schematized form of the drapery on one of the male chests (above nt. 767, no. 3 in her study), but does not associate this late antique production.

<sup>771</sup> The late antique pieces will be discussed in Stirling's catalog (*ibid.*) and were discussed briefly in her book (2005, pages 69-70), see nt. 676 for the published fragments of a child's torso and a possible statuette base. For a short note regarding the context of these marble finds see Aragon-Launet 1971, 236.



modern Tunisia.<sup>772</sup> Colored statuary is not common in this region, in spite of the frequent use of colored marble in architectural pavements and revetments.<sup>773</sup> Thus at Séviac, the use of colored marble in portrait sculpture signals the estate's high standing, and echoes the design of the later *pars urbana*.

Another portrait fragment from Séviac was recently published by Lea Stirling, and has been identified as a possible late antique head of a philosopher, likely imported from Asia Minor's workshops (fig. 203).<sup>774</sup> It is sculpted in white marble and extremely fragmentary, but preserves a male figure, a wrinkled forehead, unkempt hair, and a fillet around the head. Stirling has suggested that the display of such a piece marks the learned and erudite character of the villa owner, and, if contemporary, marks the continued relevance of *paideia* among the elite class.<sup>775</sup>

Because there is less evidence for the display of philosopher portraits here in the Roman West than in the Eastern Empire, this piece is notable.<sup>776</sup> A local comparandum

---

<sup>772</sup> To my knowledge, no petrographic analyses have been carried out. The colored marble, however, was recognized as important from the moment of its discovery (Aragon-Launet mentions a rose-colored marble bust of a young man found in the 1970 excavation (*ibid.*) and has been mentioned by Stirling (2005, 69; *forthcoming*).

<sup>773</sup> For discussion of architectural marbles see above section III.2. The only other polychrome pieces extant in this region are two statues from the villa of Chiragan, though neither are portraits. A small torso of an old fisherman, sculpted in dark marble and presumably from Aphrodisias (see Hannestad 1994, 134-35, fig. 90-92) and a statue of Isis, with the body sculpted in a dark porphyry (see chapter 6, section VI).

<sup>774</sup> M48, 9.6 max. height; 19.8 max. width; 13.5 max. depth. Stirling 2008, 308. See also Stirling's discussion of this piece (no. 1) in the Séviac statuary assemblage in Fages and Balmelle *forthcoming*.

<sup>775</sup> Stirling 2008, 308, nt. 8.

<sup>776</sup> Perhaps the best example of a philosophical portrait tradition in Late Antiquity is the assemblage of shield medallions known from the so-called Bishop's House in Aphrodisias. The pieces have been studied and published by R.R.R. Smith (1990), who dates them to the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Recent study of the finds context, the so-called Bishop's House, argues that this complex is not a semi-public library as Smith conjectured, but an urban *domus* (Berenfeld 2009).

for a philosophical portrait tradition is present in the form of a relief panel of Socrates found at the villa of Chiragan, the presence of which again marks southern Aquitaine as an area of unique tastes (fig. 204).<sup>777</sup> Portraits of philosophers at both sites signal erudite owners, but in the context of the larger statuary assemblage at both Chiragan and Séviac it is important to highlight the antiquarian aspects of this particular strain of *paideia*. At Séviac, the philosopher portrait fragment was found in the central courtyard alongside fragments of antique portraiture, and late-mythological statuary, suggesting that at one time, all of these pieces stood together in the villa, essentially vivifying Greco-Roman cultural history. The philosophical portrait in particular suggest an awareness of *paideia* as rooted in the past, and as such, a historical consciousness that may be linked to the changing landscape of the later Roman era.

The final portrait in the Séviac assemblage, the aforementioned late antique male head (fig. 189), is significant as evidence of portraiture's enduring function an authoritative tool, through the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>778</sup> The head is sculpted in finely

---

<sup>777</sup> The relief of Socrates from Chiragan has only been published passim in Bergmann (1999, Pl. 10.1), who suggests that it is late antique in date. As a relief, the fragment would fit within the larger architectural relief program present at Chiragan (sections III and IV in chapter 6). That said, the coiffures of the herm and the Socrates figure in this relief do not find immediate parallels among other reliefs in Chiragan. There are no forked locks, and no large drilled ringlets (see Bergman's comments on this as a signature of the Aphrodisian workshops in chapter 6, nt. 975). It is possible, therefore, that this relief comes from a separate commission and from a different workshop. It should also be noted here that philosophical and literary figures are few and far between in extant marble sculpture of the West, but that a sizable collection of such figures is present among the herms of the late antique villa at Welschbillig (outside ancient Trevers), see Wrede 1972.

<sup>778</sup> See above nt. 636. This portrait head was brought to light in the 1974/5 excavations of a large apsed reception hall in the villa, which was magnificently decorated with an *opus sectile* pavement of trees and fruits, dated stylistically with a *terminus ad quem* of 525 CE. The portrait head was found in the rubble of this floor, such that it seems to have been buried beneath it.

grained white marble. From the break on the neck it appears to belong to a bust.<sup>779</sup> The surface is severely abraded along the brow ridge, the eyes, nose and cheeks. Yet identifiable facial features and the sitter's coiffure suggest a late antique date. The eyelids are heavy and the eye sockets are large and oval. The man's hair is short, with individual hairs summarily sketched and falling in short, small curls. These curls are brushed forward loosely from the cranium and back down to the nape of the neck where the locks hang rather long. The hair is lifted in a sort of crest above the forehead, which is marked by two large horizontal wrinkles indicating the sitter's distinguished age and respectability. A short beard is picked with a chisel along the jaw, and grows somewhat denser beneath the lower lip. Jean-Charles Balty's study of the piece suggests a date of 400 CE, given that the hairstyle is no earlier than the Constantinian era by comparanda, and short picked or razed beards of this type do not appear until the late 4<sup>th</sup> century. The piece is a late antique commission, and it is not clear if it was acquired in a similar transaction as the philosopher portrait, also roughly dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> century. Petrographic study of the marble is necessary to mark the private portrait as an import, but if made outside of Aquitania it signals the villa owner's connections to trans-Mediterranean art markets, or social circles.<sup>780</sup>

---

<sup>779</sup> M47, Musée Municipal, Montréal-du-Gers, 25.5 cm max. height; 17 cm max. width. The piece will be published in depth by Jean-Charles Balty (in Fages and Balmelle *forthcoming*), but first appeared in Aragon-Launet synopsis of the 1974-76 excavations (1977, 323) and appeared recently in Witschel 2016, 76.

<sup>780</sup> Balty compares the piece to a portrait in Rome's Terme collection and deduces the importation of the piece to Gaul and the high-standing of the villa owner it surely depicts (*forthcoming*).

## IV.2 Contemporary portraiture in Novempopulania

It must be stated that Novempopulania's villas hold a veritable treasure trove of late antique portraits. In addition to the late-Roman portrait from Séviac we may count two or three late antique portraits found at the villa Lamarque (figs. 184, 185), and the extraordinary evidence from the villa of Chiragan, where over a dozen portraits are securely dated to the post-Severan era.<sup>781</sup> I turn to just one of these for the moment, the extraordinary head of a turbaned female which is dated to the late 4<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> century (figs. 205, 206).

This female head is the latest statuary piece securely recorded at Chiragan.<sup>782</sup> The head is broken at the neck but preserves the portrait of a middle-aged woman whose head is completely covered by a thin fabric turban. For many years the turban led scholars to comment on what they saw as a departure from Greco-Roman portraiture. Du Mège thought it gave the woman an exotic aura, perhaps marking her as a Persian;<sup>783</sup> others refer less flatteringly to the woman as a barbarian.<sup>784</sup> The head is almost cubic in its dimensions at 31 cm tall by 30 cm wide and 30 cm. Great care has been taken in the modelling of her face, and the portrait has a commanding presence that cannot be

---

<sup>781</sup> The best discussion of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century portraiture at this villa to date is Marianne Bergmann's 2008 study.

<sup>782</sup> MSR. Inv. no. Ra 82, 30319. Dimensions of the head (broken at the neck): 31 cm tall; 30 cm wide; 30 cm deep. The piece was found in du Mège's excavations and has been published extensively, see Schade 2003, no. I 40 199-200 for recent catalog publication and bibliography. See also Roschach no. 79, p38; Espérandieu 1908 Vol. II, no. 1030 (its provenance here is listed as unknown); Rachou 1912, no. 82, pg 52; Schade

<sup>783</sup> Du Mège 1828, no. 242; 1835, no. 239.

<sup>784</sup> Roschasch, 1865; Rachou 1912, no. 82.

attributed to size alone. The head is turned slightly to the right and the rounded arches of the brow frame large, almond-shaped eyes. The upper lids are heavy, and the pupils and irises are marked as half-concentric circles. Her gaze is slightly lifted and her deeply drilled pupils give it (the gaze) a piercing quality. The nostrils are almost flared and her mouth is delicate and closed, while the top lip is a good deal smaller than the bottom. The skin is smooth and polished. The planes of the face are organized by prominent cheekbones which form a sort of diamond with her small, shapely chin and the furrows of the turban, pinned at the top of her forehead. The size and scale of the head covering suggests that the hair beneath was gathered in thick, low chignon on the back of the head. None of the hair is visible beneath the turban save a wisp at the center of her forehead; only the earlobes peek out from its sides.

Although the late antique date of this piece is rarely disputed, few parallels have been found.<sup>785</sup> Those who see it as a product of the Theodosian era highlight its marriage of stylized abstraction and classicism - large shapely eyes, prominent cheekbones, and a small mouth highlight the contours of the face, visually grounding the asymmetry of the tilt of the head and the voluminous head wrap.<sup>786</sup> The piece shares some similarities with a female portrait from the early Theodosian era now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Both wear large turbans, which Katherin Schade suggests were popular iconographies for

---

<sup>785</sup> Par contra H. von Heintze (1971, 90), who suggested the piece was fraudulent.

<sup>786</sup> Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1968, 35-40; Küllerich 1993, 1223-14; Schade 2003, 199-200, no. I 40.

married women from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>787</sup> Jutta Meischner argues for an even later date, c. 400-420, by virtue of the shape of the eyes, the heavier lids, and the recessed orbital sockets.<sup>788</sup>

In recent years, however, it has been suggested that the head represents Gallia Placidia, Theodosius' daughter and later the wife of Ataulf, King of the Visigoths from 410-15.<sup>789</sup> These suggestions are based largely on its findspot and historical accounts which place Placidia's marriage to Ataulf in Narbonne. But few identifiable images of Gallia Placidia survive, and so these claims appear to evince scholarly biases about exceptional portraits belonging to named or known individuals.<sup>790</sup> At present, it is best to settle on this piece as a private portrait.

One might argue that the display of portraits in the Roman home is nothing new, but archaeological evidence discourages against such a generalization in Late Antiquity. That the habit endures here and not in other pockets of the West is perplexing. Archaeology has discerned a probable decline in private portrait commissions in the late-Roman West, in both the public and private contexts. In Hispania and Gaul few private portraits can be dated to the post-3<sup>rd</sup> century; the situation is similar in North Africa and

---

<sup>787</sup> Schade 2003, 200.

<sup>788</sup> Meischner 1991, 402.

<sup>789</sup> A letter in the archives of the Musée Saint-Raymond from Lydia Kayard to then-curator Daniel Cazes suggests that the portrait may represent Gallia Placidia. Kayard cites evidence in Philippe Caffin's 1977 *Gallia Placidia, la dernière impératrice du Rome* (Paris: Perrin) in her claim.

<sup>790</sup> She later became co-regent of the Western Empire in her marriage to Constantius III (425-437). The identification of this portrait is largely based on a mosaic portrait from Placidia's purported mausoleum in Ravenna.

Britain.<sup>791</sup> With respect to honorific portrait statuary, Christian Witschel's study of inscriptional evidence and statue bases in Hispania and Gaul documents a sharp decline in public dedications from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century on.<sup>792</sup> In Hispania, extant dedications appear reserved for imperial persons and/or bureaucrats.<sup>793</sup> In Gaul the absence of late antique statues is more marked. No late antique statues or bases have come to light in large and politically important centers like Arles, Bordeaux, Reims and Cologne; only seven dedications are attested in all of Gaul.<sup>794</sup> While this may not be representative of the reality, it is nonetheless a sharp contrast to the evidence in late antique villas in Novempopulania, where late antique portraits are found in great numbers.

The portrait habit here may be a corollary of the utility of this sculptural genre, at once a representation of the individual and of his or her place in society. Portraits document individual identity and status, but the medium itself ties the sitter to Roman ancestry and a collective ethos. These socio-historical aspects are inherent to portraiture,

---

<sup>791</sup> For Hispania see Gonçalves 2007; Basarrate 2014. The major study of private portraiture in the Iberian Peninsula remains Basarrate's work with the Imperial-era portraits of Emerita Augusta (2001). No major study of private portrait tradition has been carried out in Gaul; rather, private portraits appear passim in major statuary catalogues, cf. Esperandieu 1907-66; Balty, Cazes, and Rosso 2012. For North Africa see Barrate and Chaisemartin 2015. For Britain, the villa of Lullingstone is the sole example of two late portraits, the display of which is contested, Meates 1979.

<sup>792</sup> Witschel 2016. For dedications of honorific statuary in the public sphere, the late Roman West furnishes much less evidence than the Greek East, cf. Smith 2002; 2016. In Spain, there is more evidence for public dedications, but these are largely restricted to imperial portraits (see also Gonçalves 2007; Basarrate 2014; Jiménez and Rodà 2015). For the habit in Rome see Coates-Stephens 2007 and new exciting work by Weisweiler 2012.

<sup>793</sup> Witschel 2016, 72-75.

<sup>794</sup> Witschel 2016, 75-76. Witschel notes that this evidence may not be representative, given the situation at Trier, where only one statue base for a Tetrarch is extant, along with another statue base and three or four statues of emperors or high ranking officials.

one could argue, but in late antique Novempopulania these aspects were accentuated by the display of contemporary portraits alongside antiques.

We should keep this in mind when analyzing the many portraits which date to the Imperial-era, and would have enjoyed status as heirlooms or antiques during late antique occupation of these estates. Scholarship generally assumes that antique portraits of private individuals had personal import to the homeowner, but with our inability to trace home ownership it is possible to mark neither these villas as ancestral homes, nor their antique portraits as familial heirlooms.<sup>795</sup> Moreover, at many Aquitanian villas the late antique programs of architectural restructuring and redecoration suggest a new crop of villa owners, whether in actuality or in socio-economic profile. Thus in this next section, discussion of antique portraiture is focused less on the “identity” of private portrait sitters, and rather on the motives which lay behind the display of antique portraits, or portraiture more broadly, in Novempopulania’s villas in Late Antiquity.

### **IV.3 Antique Private Portraits**

Concrete evidence for the display of an antique private portrait in a late antique context is documented at Montmaurin (fig. 191).<sup>796</sup> The foot of a 2<sup>nd</sup> century bust was found in the

---

<sup>795</sup> Cf. Neudecker 1988 *passim*; Nogales Basarrate 2001; Fejfer 2008. Much of this is, of course, influenced by the ideas which surround public portraiture. There is also literary evidence for the accidental inheritance of portraits. Pliny records a letter he once wrote to the Emperor Nerva. In purchasing his villa estate at Tusculum, he acquired a number of antique and/or imperial portraits which the previous owner left (Epi. 10.8.1).

<sup>796</sup> The display context of most of these antique portraits, unfortunately, is unknown. For example, the portrait fragments from Séviac were found in a post-occupational context, likely destined for a kiln (see



1950s excavations, in a context now dated to the third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century (*terminus ad quem*). The bust was joined to a Trajanic-era head of a young male recovered in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century near the entrance court of honor. This piece is now the only antique portrait extant in the Montmaurin ensemble.<sup>797</sup> It is sculpted in white marble.<sup>798</sup> The coiffure and facial features evince a work of the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century, specifically of the later Trajanic era. The locks are thick and softly rounded, and sit atop the head much like a cap. They resemble the looser, fuller style of locks documented in the later years of Trajan's reign.<sup>799</sup> The mouth is small and closed, and the strong orbital brows contrast with smooth eyes, a fleshy face and soft chin. The chest is heroically nude but for a *paludamentum* draped over the young man's left shoulder. The bust sits on small intact rounded foot. Previous scholarship has suggested that the portrait represents a Trajanic prince, though no such "princes" of this age are known in Trajan's reign.<sup>800</sup> It is more

---

above nt. 88); so too the many portraits of Chiragan. The display of antique portraiture at both sites, however, may be inferred from the material found alongside Imperial-era heads. Antique display is less clear at the villa Lamarque, but is suggested by a 1<sup>st</sup> century portrait found in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This portrait, now dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century based on the coiffure and an absence of drill work, was not found in excavation, but 19<sup>th</sup> century exploration at Lamarque did not proceed beyond superficial excavation, because there was no interest in disturbing the late mosaic pavements (see Lapart 1994 for antiquarian research at Lamarque). As such, this piece was likely a fixture of the later occupation of the villa at the height of the 4<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> century, by which time the historicism of a 300 year old 1<sup>st</sup> century portrait would have been apparent.

<sup>797</sup> Two other portraits were sold in antiquities markets in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, see above nt. 116.

<sup>798</sup> The marble has never been studied in petrographic analysis, but both its restorer and marble workers at the Saint-Béat quarries in the 1950/60s thought that the piece must have been imported. The manufactural technique looks Italian, in their opinion (Fouet 1969, 86-87).

<sup>799</sup> This piece is a far cry from early Trajanic era portraiture and the favored style of short, cropped hair. Rather, the coiffure draws from the stylistic repertoire exhibited in Trajan's later portraiture, cf. the Sacrificial type (see Fittschen and Zanker 1985, no. 5).

<sup>800</sup> Fouet 1969, 86.

probably the portrait of a person with no connections to the imperial family, perhaps the son of a provincial elite.

Interestingly, there is local comparanda for private Trajanic-era youth portraiture at the villa Chiragan. Two high quality, bust-length portraits of heroically nude young men are extant at Chiragan, dated to the late Trajanic or early Hadrianic era (figs. 207, 208).<sup>801</sup> Although one youth wears a beard, Jean-Charles Balty has suggested that the pieces were commissioned or displayed as a pair.<sup>802</sup> Both stand approximately 65 cm in height and are sculpted from a white marble with fine crystals. The visages of both men are soft and fleshy, with unmarked eyes, aquiline noses, and small, closed lips. The head of the beardless youth is lightly turned to the left, while the bearded youth's head is angled to the right. The beardless youth has been dated to 115-120 CE based on his coiffure – a cap of longer, wispy locks, brushed forward and neatly arranged over the forehead, that is, a coiffure iconic of the Trajanic era.<sup>803</sup> The other youth's fuller coiffure and tightly coiled beard marks the work of a skilled sculptor, and has been to 120-125 CE, that is, to the early Hadrianic era by the styling of the beard.<sup>804</sup>

---

<sup>801</sup> MSR Inv. no. Ra 73a, 30.121; Balty and Rosso 2012, no. 5; MSR. Inv. no. Ra 73b, 30.122; Balty and Rosso 2012, no. 6.

<sup>802</sup> Balty, Cazes and Rosso 2012, 120; for apparent differences among the 140. Balty suggests that they came from the same workshop, as is apparent from the style and manufacture of both busts, and similarities across the feet, 136-138. Both as discussed as a natural pair in their manifestation of early 2<sup>nd</sup> century *zeitgesicht*.

<sup>803</sup> The Trajanic *Zeitgeist* is this piece has been marked as inscrutable, though here the hair has a greater volume and animation than other contemporary coiffures. For comparanda see Balty, Cazes and Rosso 2006, 122-28.

<sup>804</sup> For discussion of the "*zeitgesicht*" *hadrianique* see *ibid.* 138-140. I note here also four additional portraits of Trajan himself were found at Chiragan; these pieces are discussed in chapter 6, section VI.

The presence of early 2<sup>nd</sup> century youth portraits at two neighboring estates may be significant. Contemporary finds may suggest that both villas were inhabited in that period by important local elites who commissioned portraits of their progeny. This does not, however, imply that the late antique owners were direct descendants. Precisely because we cannot trace estate ownership and mark the late antique *domini* at Chiragan and Montmaurin as descendants of these individuals, I focus here on the cultural ancestry inherent in such images.

The stylistic qualities of the Montmaurin bust and the beardless youth at Chiragan which highlight the Trajanic-era – the cropped cap of hair, the smooth idealized face, the undrilled eyes – may have been evident as a period face in Late Antiquity; so too the curly, short beard of the Hadrianic-era youth at Chiragan. It is possible that late antique *domini* were able to identify these pieces as antiques by the period faces, and connect them to an earlier era, precisely when Rome was at the height of Empire.<sup>805</sup>

By Late Antiquity, pieces like these had accrued additional layers of meaning and value as relics of earlier historical eras, and had a collective ancestral value simply as “Roman” portraiture. Such objects could function as cultural heirlooms synonymous with a “Roman” ancestry, so that their display connected a villa and its inhabitants to the Roman past. The cultural function of antique or ancestral portraits is understudied in private contexts, but recent research of portraiture in the public sphere now affirms its

---

<sup>805</sup> In the early 4<sup>th</sup> century, Constantine’s own portraiture drew on Trajanic precedents, and used two friezes from an unknown Trajanic monument in his arch at Rome. For the period face, and portrait styles in Late Antiquity see Bergmann and Kovacs 2016.

collective function. In a study of public honorific statuary dedication in the provinces, Jane Fejfer argues that statues of private individuals set up in public contexts became exempla and communal ancestors with each passing generation.<sup>806</sup> It is possible that antique portraits had a similar function in the private sphere, and in these contexts we should acknowledge their additional, self-serving potential. The display of antique portraiture allowed *domini* a great deal of personal freedom among a smaller audience, to coopt and privatize legacy, culture and history. Homeowners who displayed antique portraiture in their estates visually advertised family history and elite ancestry, regardless of any genuine relation to the portrayed individual.

Herein may lie the popularity of such portraits in Novempopulania. Aristocratic ancestry had long been the stronghold of the Rome's elite class, but not necessarily of all of Late Antiquity's elite. With the creation of new provinces and the growth of the imperial bureaucracy in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, the social make-up of the Empire changed significantly. In such an environment, not all elite could claim a distinguished familial background, and ancestral portraiture displays increased in value.<sup>807</sup> In private contexts,

---

<sup>806</sup> Fejfer 2002; see also Machado 2006 for a discussion of how civic memory may have worked. Machado's models are evident in the archaeological remains of Rome. The gallery of *summi viri* in the forum of Augustus was a prototype which Trajan adopted for his own forum, to which busts portraits of *summae feminae* were also added. So too did Constantine build his arch by reusing statuary of emperors like Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. Most of these projects have been read as overtly political or moralizing, and less commonly as the public galleries of communal/cultural ancestry that they were, frequented by generations of Romans, imperial and non-imperial alike. See also Bassett 2000 for decoration of Constantinople, though here reuses is primarily restricted to idealizing sculpture, par contra in the Hippodrome (Bassett 1991).

<sup>807</sup> Our best evidence for Late Antiquity's nouveau riche comes from Libanius Oration 42, written in defense of Libanius' associate Thalassius of Antioch, who in 390 failed to gain entry to the Constantinopolitan Senate. Libanius focuses on the "dubious" beginnings of many of Constantinople's

such portraits asserted a lineage and an attachment to place that was useful in establishing the *dominus*' status as a reputable, local landowning elite, especially when displayed alongside contemporary portraiture of himself and his family as at Séviac, Lamarque, or Chiragan.

From the display of antique ancestral portraits, we may infer that such images had cultural value, but to whom did they belong in late antiquity? Unfortunately, the antiques give no concrete evidence on which to fix the identity of the villa *domini* who owned them. Ancestral portraiture displays may have been favored by the old aristocracy and used to assert their lineage and their long-standing superiority, but former outsiders like the *nouveau riche* of the 4<sup>th</sup> century may also have used "ancestral" portraiture to bolster their newly elevated status in society. As mentioned earlier, we cannot associate these villas with new owners or *domini* of an elevated socio-economic status, and it is unclear whether the preservation of antique portraits was a prerogative of this region's traditional, or newly minted elite landowners.

What is clear, however, is that they belong to the landowning elite. When antique portraits are examined in the context of the larger domestic assemblage, it may be no coincidence that the villas in this study with marble statuary are also those with impressive late antique renovation, bath complexes, architectural marbles and elaborate

---

senators, for example, a Dulcitus who was Proconsul of Asia Minor from 361-63, and whose father was a fuller; and a praetorian prefect and consul named Philippus, whose father made sausage. *Or.* 42.24-5. Peter Heather has discussed this piece (1994; 1997) and puts a positive spin on the inherent evidence for the growing social mobility that developed under Constantine and his successors.

pavements, and probable *partes rusticae*.<sup>808</sup> The excavated villas – Chiragan, Montmaurin, Lamarque and Séviac – are among the largest in Aquitaine. That these apex elite *domini* chose to magnify this status with marble displays marks their belonging to the aristocratic class, for whom marble had long been the insignia of their status. The enduring value and especial prominence of marble portraiture, moreover, suggests that these *domini* were members of a historic, local aristocracy (whether they were, or became so via the display of antique portraiture).<sup>809</sup>

But why is the portrait tradition an especial habit of local elite *domini* in Novempopulania, and why does this phenomenon not appear elsewhere? It is possible that the archaeological evidence here is simply richer than in other areas of the West but there are reasons to believe that this is not the case. The rich portrait tradition here, for instance, is more likely a response to the changing landscape of Aquitania in Late Antiquity. Portraiture afforded *domini* social capital in a highly traditional and Roman manner, as a testament to their aristocratic status and a visual advertisement of their elite standing in the locality. In a place like Novempopulania, such traditional imagery may have paved the way for the rise of the local elite beyond the social borders their forebears had known. Peter Heather's work on senatorial and bureaucratic recruitment in the

---

<sup>808</sup> I have not gone into great depth in this chapter on the evidence for production structures, because the evidence is minor and does not parallel finds from El Ruedo or Cotijo de los Robles (chapter 30, or the villas of the Algarve (Teichner 2008; chapter 4). That said, large courts, presumably dedicated to farming or production facilities, have been excavated at Lamarque, Montmaurin and Chiragan, see chapter 6 for a broader discussion of this material.

<sup>809</sup> For my part, I lean towards associating portrait displays of this caliber with a local aristocracy, in part because there is great material and literary evidence for such a body, see above nt. 604.

provinces suggests that the growing government needed new men in office, and drew specifically on those with local careers. Provincial elites with landed wealth and curial status were those promoted to new regional offices or bureaucratic posts.<sup>810</sup> The creation of new provinces in Aquitania must have drawn many of the region's homegrown elite into bureaucratic service.<sup>811</sup> Local elites thus may have been able to stretch their influence beyond their locus for the first time.

At the same time, the evident investment in the estate here suggests that bureaucratic appointments did not divorce the local elite from their locus.<sup>812</sup> The evidence of peer polity in these estate assemblages is such that this particular group of elite *domini* must be recognized as regionally oriented and locally rooted. Thus, the extra-regional status of these *domini* may have grown, but the regional *habitus* manifest in the

---

<sup>810</sup> Heather suggests that rich local men were those transformed by changes in the senatorial order (1997, 196-198). To be promoted, Heather suggests, one had to be well-off in the first place. Heather also cites Constantius II's letter to Constantinople's Senate in 355 CE recommending Themistius, whose virtues of Themistius are highlighted as a rubric for the new, ideal senator: movable wealth, landed wealth, distinction by office-holding, and cultural distinction via education (*paideia*) (1997, 188). As motivations behind the expansion of the senatorial class, Heather highlights the wealth in private, non-senatorial classes, which emperors from Constantine on relied upon to shape their new Empire.

<sup>811</sup> This idea is developed in greater depth in the next chapter, with marble evidence for the official positions in which late *domini* at Chiragan and Valentine served, see chapter 6, section IV.3. I note here, however, recent arguments for the importance of the Severan era and the 3<sup>rd</sup> century as precedent to later reforms, see below nt. 812.

<sup>812</sup> Michael Kulikowski's recent discussion of regional dynasties in the 4<sup>th</sup> century suggests that there was in this period, "a greater space for regional behaviors. Joining the structure of empire-wide government brought with it no necessary element of deracination from regional roots. Because the barriers to entry were lower, and also because the proportionate sizes of imperial as opposed to local government were so different, one could be both provincial aristocrat and imperial official simultaneously (2015, 245). In this article Kulikowski also highlights recent work on the 3<sup>rd</sup> century's role in setting a stage for the 4<sup>th</sup>. Kulikowski notes the equestrian order's prominence in Severan government, and its role in the development of local aristocracies who began bridging gaps between local administration and central government, two generations before Diocletian's purported revolutions. See also Potter 2004 (cited by Kulikowski).

design and décor of their estates suggests that they remained connected and oriented towards local audiences of social competition.<sup>813</sup> We have already examined the statuary assemblages from these villas and in doing so have seen numerous regional parallels for specific pieces and genres, although few parallels exist in other corners of villa habitation. Such parallels exist and operate within a regional interface. Local standing and influence never lost its value, to judge from the extravagant estates which dot Aquitaine's countryside. In this way, new careers and social advancement in Late Antiquity need not be read as dichotomous to life within a locality, especially in a place like Aquitaine. Some of the local elite may have pursued bureaucratic careers, gaining elevated status and titular rank, but the vast majority of these individuals likely retained residence in their localities, and are thus preserved in the material record, rather than the literary.

## V. Conclusions

In conclusion, I close this chapter by reflecting on the longevity of statuary display in Aquitaine. Statuary retains an importance here for a good deal longer than most of the Western Empire, but here too, a probable demise of the statuary habit is traceable to the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. No pieces can be dated beyond the first quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup>

---

<sup>813</sup> As such, the Gallic elite of Late Antiquity may have been the sort of *honorati* who did not make literary history as political maneuverers, but who achieved elevated status via imperial posts or service *in situ*, and continued to operate in their own locality. The benefits of these newly conferred status were many, even in a provincial setting: elevated status, augmented allure as a local patron, audience with governors and governing bodies, and service options within their own provinces (Heather 1994, 25-32). That many local *honorati* did indeed continue to operate in the local sphere is evident for epigraphic evidence in Aphrodisias, see Roueché 1984.



century. I remind readers here that although few of the marble statues discussed above were found in context, occasional stratified finds do confirm changing attitudes towards marble statuary in the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>814</sup>

Of great importance is the late male portrait from Séviac, dated to c. 400 CE and found beneath a mosaic pavement in a large, apsidal hall (room 25) of the *pars urbana* (figs. 188, 189 for the mosaic and the portrait, fig. 187 for the location of the mosaic floor within the villa). The mosaic has been lauded as one of the few figural pieces found in the villa, with the curving forms of its fruit and flower trees an apparent evolution of the floral, geometric style long favored by Aquitaine's mosaic ateliers. This mosaic is stylistically dated to the second quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, and likely belongs to the final program of redecoration at the villa.<sup>815</sup> This date, if valid, suggests that the portrait was only displayed for a single generation of occupation.

Séviac may hint at a possible hierarchy among these two forms of estate decoration, or an increasingly tenuous relationship between mosaic and marble which existed in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and grew more prominent in the 5<sup>th</sup>. In terms of statuary, private commissions in the late antique period are largely restricted to portraits, and to small scale mythological statuettes, the display of which is less spatially constraining. These pieces, while extant in large quantities, are present in only a fraction of Aquitaine's

---

<sup>814</sup> Thus dates of statuary display are largely inferred from the stylistic chronology provided by the imported late-mythological statuettes, broadly dated by Lea Stirling to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> century (2005, pages 91-117).

<sup>815</sup> Aragon-Launet 1977, 322. This context has not been invested in depth in the art historical essays of this piece (Balty, *forthcoming*).

villas. If we look beyond the statuary villas of Aquitaine it is clear that mosaics are substantially more popular in the 4<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>816</sup>

It is possible that the decorative choice of mosaics instead of sculpture and marble evinces a greater socio-economic diversity of elite *domini* in 4<sup>th</sup> century Aquitaine. The popularity of mosaics may speak to the ease with which such pavements could be procured. Statuary was likely harder to come by in this region, and all of the extant late antique statues have been associated with foreign workshops, primarily in the East. Marble statuary was thus a luxury art that was difficult to procure, with its possession restricted to a select few.

But it is also possible that the growing scarcity of contemporary marble statuary in the 4<sup>th</sup> century correlates to its diminishing standing, that is to say, as the preferred artistic medium of a traditional aristocracy who became increasingly outnumbered by new men and new money in the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>817</sup> I have linked the 4<sup>th</sup> century statuary habit to a 4<sup>th</sup> century Aquitanian aristocracy of elite land-owners. I have argued that the elevated status that the genre of portraiture was here was due to its communicative function as an inherently powerful statement of “Roman” identity. Thus it is possible that

---

<sup>816</sup> One need only consult the exhaustive study in Balmelle 2001, 238-325.

<sup>817</sup> This may have happened on multiple levels. I entertain the local environment above, but here I consider changes at the level of the center, that is, within the Roman Empire and imperial court, for it is possible that statuary’s declining importance is correlated to changes in imperial administration. Court culture and court fashions from the Theodosian era on suggest an increasing interest in two-dimensional decorative art forms (mosaic pavements and wall revetments; figural *opus sectile*). The three-dimensional art forms favored by the 5<sup>th</sup> century emperors and their associates, moreover, are small, easily transportable objects, often decorative with sculptural relief – ivory diptychs, sculpted ivory furniture revetments, molded silverware. Portraits too were increasingly two-dimensional, whether in mosaic or diptychs. In this world, free-standing statuary was slowly losing its appeal, and becoming an outdated form of art.

the sudden demise of a long-standing statuary habit is a consequence of the changing social make-up of Aquitaine's elite class. In the early 5<sup>th</sup> century, this region was invaded by Visigothic groups who would eventually set up their capital at Toulouse in 407. In 413, having taken over Narbonne and asserted their strength, the Visigothic king Ataulf married the sister of the Roman Emperor Honorius, Gallia Placidia. In 418, Honorius ceded the region to the newly founded Visigothic kingdom, and thus by the end of the first quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, Roman landowners in the region were paying taxes to the Visigothic rulers.

Recent study of the Visigoths has softened the purported "barbarian" identity of this group, suggesting that their settlement in the Garonne valley should be interpreted as evidence for an era of acculturation and for the transformation of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>818</sup> By the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century, the rise of the Visigothic kingdom may have changed patterns of allegiance and political behavior in this region. Settlement of "outsider" groups and intermarriage among them, plus the rise of bishoprics and the church created a new, local elite, such that a traditional Roman identity was no longer relevant in the same way. In this environment, private statuary displays, and especially portraiture also became irrelevant, whether as culturally insignificant or simply unrecognizable to those now in power.

It falls to further interdisciplinary study to assess the after-life of Novempopulania's late antique statuary habit, connecting dots among declining interests

---

<sup>818</sup> Heather 1996; 2000.

in marble commission and/or display in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century, and the rise of a new local elite. To set the stage for the evolution of such a discussion, the next chapter continues to explore 4<sup>th</sup> century Novempopulania, and the floruit of both the late antique estate and a local statuary habit. To do so, I turn to the villa of Chiragan, to finally give this site the discussion it deserves.

## CHAPTER SIX

## The Unparalleled Collection at Chiragan

By now readers are familiar with Chiragan and the ways in which it both complements and complicates our understanding of statuary in Aquitania. I have drawn attention to the sheer quantity of statue fragments recovered at this site on multiple occasions, and discussed a few directly in earlier chapters: late-mythological statuettes,<sup>819</sup> several private portraits,<sup>820</sup> and a haut-relief of Socrates.<sup>821</sup> Its many imperial portraits and several series of late antique reliefs have also been mentioned in more cursory treatment.<sup>822</sup>

In the last chapter, I discussed this villa's statuary assemblage only briefly, because my aim was to situate the villa and its sculptures broadly in the local context of Novempopulania, so as to dispel interpretations of Chiragan as an exception and an anomaly. This is not to say, however, that Chiragan does not merit some distinction, in both the region and in this dissertation. I have noted the size and breadth of the Chiragan

---

<sup>819</sup> See chapter 2 passim; chapter 5, section III.

<sup>820</sup> Chapter 5 discussed two private portraits dated to the late Trajanic or early Hadrianic period, and the latest portrait in the assemblage, a female private portrait dated to the Theodosian era (sections IV.2 and IV.3). For fuller treatment of several late antique private portraits found at Chiragan, see Appendix 6.2.

<sup>821</sup> Chapter 5, nt. 777.

<sup>822</sup> The sculptures from the villa of Chiragan are now housed in the Musée Saint-Raymond in Toulouse, Haute-Garonne, which is located approximately 62 kilometers northeast of the archaeological site, which was reburied after Joulin's excavations. Though numerous publications have covered aspects of this statuary assemblage and specific works, no comprehensive study of the statuary exists at present. The marbles were first published in a brief catalog in Joulin's publication of the site (1901). Over sixty pieces (primarily the imperial portraits) appear in Espérandieu's catalog of Gallo-Roman sculptures (1908, Vol II, no. 891-1013). Recent scholarship has focused on the portraits (Balty and Cazes 2005; 2008; Balty et al. 2012; Rosso 2006, no. 210-239) and the late-mythological pieces (Hannestad 1994, 127-41; Bergman 1995; 1999, 26-43; Stirling 2005, 49-62). The most recent catalogue publication of the Musée Saint-Raymond is brief (Cazes 1999), but the pieces have featured prominently in the MSR's exhibitions, and many are currently on exhibition.

assemblage as extraordinary and worthy of further exploration, but I note again that it is not my intent to mark the site as an outlier, nor to identify behind the formation of said assemblage a single collector or impetus for collection. In this chapter I build on ideas raised in the previous. I explore statuary possession as a particular habit of southern Aquitaine's late antique *domini*, and analyze the social factors at play in the accumulation of marble statuary. It is precisely because of the richness of the site that Chiragan may give special insight into the statuary landscape, within the estate of southern Aquitaine. As such, the site can be made to serve as a detailed case study into the practices surrounding sculpture acquisition, ownership and display in Late Antiquity, which may have been particular to this region.

This chapter will not discuss all of Chiragan's extant statuary fragments. Rather, it offers a detailed examination of the late antique statuary finds, and the assemblage of imperial portraits, both of which have been read by various parties as evidence for collection and for the high standing or imperial identity of the villa's *domini*.<sup>823</sup> I intend to test such claims. I offer archaeological insight into practices which may indeed reflect a form of statuary curation, or collection, but I cede the agency of such practice not to an individual *dominus*, but to a group *habitus*. By way of introduction, however, I first review the archaeological history of Chiragan, to better understand the domestic context

---

<sup>823</sup> For discussion of collectors and collection at Chiragan, see Joulin 1901, especially pages 126-29, 136-138 (where the assemblage is compared to that known at Hadrian's villa) and discussion of the statuary pages 79-138; Bergmann 1999, *ibid.* passim; Stirling 2005, *ibid.*; and for the imperial portrait assemblage see the thoughtful treatment of Rosso 2006, 177-79. The villa has been hailed as an imperial estate passim, and explicitly in Lizop 1931 and Balty and Cazes 2008. For fuller historiographic treatment see below.

with which these pieces are associated. An archaeological framework will organize any discussions that ensue, but the convoluted history of nearly a century of excavations at this site makes construction of such a framework no small task.

### **I. The Excavation History of the Villa of Chiragan**

The villa of Chiragan was built along the left bank of the Garonne River near modern-day Martres-Tolosane, approximately 60 kilometers southwest of Tolosa (Toulouse, Haute-Garonne) (fig. 209). The road which led from Tolosa into southwestern Aquitania in antiquity seems to have run parallel to the site, just north of its northern mural enclosure.<sup>824</sup> Excavation has suggested that its ruins extend over an area of 16 ha.<sup>825</sup> Initial reports of a site here first appear in 1612 amidst the construction of a canal, and an antiquarian report issued in 1692 suggests that ancient walls were still standing to 3-4 meters in height.<sup>826</sup> Other reports of Chiragan in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century record sporadic discoveries of sculpted marbles, epitaphs and architectural fragments, here and at the

---

<sup>824</sup> The road in antiquity led from Tolosa to Civitas Aquensium (modern-day Dax, Landes), through southern Aquitania to the Atlantic coast (Massenderi 2006, 212-13). The northern boundaries of the estate of Chiragan are conjectured from fragments of a mural enclosure documented in Joulin's excavations (1901, 44-47).

<sup>825</sup> The extent of the site was not clearly documented until Léon Joulin's excavations (1897-99, published 1901). The estimate of 16 ha. includes the *pars urbana* and *pars rustica*, as well as the land that lies between the northern mural enclosure and Garonne to the south. This estimate remains conjecture because of our inability to document land tenure in the archaeological record.

<sup>826</sup> The height of the walls was reported by a local M. Leuret in a letter of 1692 (recorded Balty and Cazes 2005, 11; Massenderi 2006, 213).

nearby cemetery of Saint-Nicholas.<sup>827</sup> Formal investigation of the site did not begin until 1826, when a sizable number of marble statues were brought to light in a storm. A local laborer brought the finds to the attention of the mayor of Martres, who soon alerted Alexandre du Mège, the Secretary and Inspector of Antiquities for the Musée de Toulouse.<sup>828</sup>

Du Mège was only vaguely familiar with this site, which he had previously visited in 1812.<sup>829</sup> The promise of impressive statuary, however, lay the foundation for four years of excavation. The vast majority of Chiragan's statues were recovered in excavations led by du Mège from August – December of 1826, though these excavations would continue through 1830 in a quest for art objects. The attraction of marble eclipsed interest in stratigraphy and context, and excavations did not proceed in any systematic fashion.<sup>830</sup> Formal trenches were not laid out, and little thought was given to small finds. Architectural study, moreover, was largely observational and erroneous, for du Mège

---

<sup>827</sup> For reports of scattered finds in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century see Lebègue 1891a, 397-98; Lebègue 1891b 573-74; Massendari 2006, 214 for synthesis of find and bibliography. Most of the material was epigraphic, and is now associated with the cemetery of Saint-Nicholas, a church built just north of the Chiragan site.

<sup>828</sup> The storm occurred on May 23, 1826, and a letter from the mayor of Martres, Joseph de Roquemaurel to A. du Mège dated July 30, 1826 reports the daily discovery of ancient statue fragments, busts, and other monument. This early history is preserved in a number of archival documents now in the Municipal Archives of Toulouse, and admirably synthesized in Cazes and Balty's study of the Julio-Claudian portraiture from the villa (2005, 30-42); see also Du Mège 1828.

<sup>829</sup> At which time du Mège reported walls preserved to a height of 1-2 meters (Du Mège 1828). Du Mège had visited the site in a larger exploration of ancient ruins in the Aquitania's countryside.

<sup>830</sup> Though in reports, Du Mège does mention other finds, including assorted ceramics and coins (Du Mège 1828; 1830; see summary by later scholarship in Joulin 1901, 9-12; Massendari 2006, 214, 217-218). It is possible, however, that du Mège's approach is as much a reflection of 19<sup>th</sup> century attitudes toward art and archaeology, as it is a fundamental reaction to the extraordinary statuary finds of this site.



believed he had stumbled upon the ruins of the ancient city of Calgurris.<sup>831</sup> Du Mège's descriptions of architectural structures have been summarized as a fusion of generic observation (an atrium-style room, monumental doorways with stylized door jambs) and archaeological fantasy (a child's mausoleum); no official report or catalogue was published.<sup>832</sup>

This is not to say, however, that the sculpture finds have no context whatsoever. Du Mège's reports suggests that most, if not all of the sculptures were found in a large *amas de décombres*, or a large pit of debris in the southwest sector of the site, which we now know to be a large court in the *pars urbana* based on the 1897-99 excavations (fig. 210). He describes the soil surrounding the marbles as *bouleversé* and filled with rubble. Strangely, the composition of this soil, which suggests a destruction event, contrasts with the condition of the recovered statuary fragments. Many were found in good condition, and were not purposely fractured into small pieces. A large number of imperial portraits, for example, were identified as soon as they emerged from the ground, as were idealizing sculptures of Venus, Hercules, and many others.<sup>833</sup>

From du Mège's reports and the museum catalogues which follow, it is clear that the "pit" was filled with statuary from many different epochs. The earliest datable piece associated with this context is a 1<sup>st</sup> century portrait of Augustus, while the latest is a

---

<sup>831</sup> Du Mège 1830.

<sup>832</sup> *ibid.* 373-74, 438-441. This summary of du Mege's architectural reporting as a combination of real structures and archaeologists fantasies is suggested by J. Massendari (in Massendari 2006, 218).

<sup>833</sup> For a summary of the archival notes on Joulin's day-to-day reports of the excavations, see Balty and Cazes 2005, 35-41.

Theodosian-era female portrait discussed in chapter 5.<sup>834</sup> Such chronological variety suggests that Chiragan's sculptures were heaped together in a single deposition in a post-occupational period, *terminus post quem* late 4<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>835</sup>

The murky context of these finds quickly raised questions. There were misgivings about the quantity of marbles recovered under du Mège, the rapidity with which they appeared and the context of their deposition. Doubt festered in the 1830s when another villa associated with du Mège, the villa La Garenne at Nérac, was involved in a scandal of forged, marble inscriptions to the Gallic emperor Tetricus.<sup>836</sup> Du Mège had been one of the site's principal investigators and was never formally charged in the scandal, though his name was blackened by association.<sup>837</sup> Quite apart from this scandal were suspicions raised by the marbles themselves, in particular the non-classical proportions and schematic stylization of a number of (late antique) statues.<sup>838</sup>

---

<sup>834</sup> For the portrait of Augustus see the in text discussion in section VI. For the female portrait see chapter 5, section IV.2; see also Appendix 6.2.

<sup>835</sup> This *terminus post quem* is derived from the latest possible dates of the statuary finds. Lea Stirling has identified some late-mythological statuettes in the Chiragan assemblage, which she loosely dates to the late 4<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> century (Stirling 2005, 49-62, discussed in chapter 5). Marianne Bergmann has also brought attention to a number of pieces which she believes are late antique, and made by Aphrodisian sculptors (Bergmann 1999, 26-42), among them large-scale wall reliefs of Hercules labors, shield medallion portraits of various gods and goddesses, and several of the statuettes included in Stirling; see also Hanneded 1994; 2012 for the Hercules panels and shield portraits. Jean-Charles Balty (Balty and Cazes 2008) identifies a number of portraits as Maximian and members of his family, thus dating a portrait group and some relief sculptures to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century (see critique below in section IV.1; see also Appendix 6.2). The latest piece in the assemblage for which there is a consensus is the aforementioned Theodosian-era or early 5<sup>th</sup> century female portrait.

<sup>836</sup> See chapter 5 and a full synthesis of the events in section II.2.

<sup>837</sup> These excavations furnished by one statuette of a nymph, and a few other assorted fragments (Lebègue 1891a, 401; 1891b, 574, 608; Joulin 190, 12-13.

<sup>838</sup> Du Mège 1828, nos. 65-72, 75—86; Roschach 1865, cf. nos. 28, 34, 79; Lebègue 1891a, 396-7; 1891b 574-5. Lebègue is particularly put off by “heaviness” and “vulgarity” of the late antique works such as the medallions, the Hercules reliefs, and a set of theatrical masks, primarily Bacchic figures.

The second campaign of excavation at Chiragan thus began in 1840 under the auspices of the Société Archéologique du Midi de la France, expressly to improve understanding of the site as an archaeological site. Du Mège had produced no architectural plan, and thus Société's excavations were directed towards the recovery and recording of architectural structures. They began work in a new sector, east of the 1826-30 excavations. Here Société members uncovered the villa's bath complex, identifiable by hypocausts, mosaic pavements, marble paneling, and apsidal structures.<sup>839</sup> The Société published a partial architectural plan of their work and carried out additional investigations from 1842-48. Oddly, they found almost no sculptures in the baths – only one statuette of a nymph and 300 small fragments of marble (fragmented revetment plaques) were recovered.<sup>840</sup> The absence of statues in the bath complex added to growing concerns about the accuracy or credibility of Du Mège's work at Chiragan.

These lingering doubts were not assuaged until the 1890s when a final series of excavations substantiated Du Mège's work and produced a large-scale plan of the site, casting it as a Roman villa for the first time.<sup>841</sup> Under the direction of Alexandre

---

<sup>839</sup> The excavators executed plans and drawings of their work, which were not published until half a century later in Joulin (1901, 12-13, and Group VII pages 33-36). They record many apsidal rooms, basins and hypocausts, and evidence for canalization with chalk deposits preserved *in situ*. They discuss the thickness of the walls in this area, and the pavement layers of marble or mosaic over lime mortar. The majority of this work seems to have been carried out from 1840-42. Other work may have continued from 1842-48, but very little is known of this period.

<sup>840</sup> Summary in Joulin 1901, *ibid*. In general, Joulin is skeptical of previous excavations, but appears to accept wholesale the work of the Société. He publishes their plans with no revision, and did not carry out much work of his own in this sector.

<sup>841</sup> Between the excavations of the Société and Lebègue, 1848-1890, there were a few sporadic superficial finds. The land was still in use for agricultural production, and many of the elevations were lost in this period. See summaries in Massendari 2006, 218-221.

Lebègue, trenches were re-opened in du Mège's sector from 1890-91, and Lebègue was tasked with verifying the legitimacy of the statuary finds.<sup>842</sup> He was appropriately critical when most of the architectural features which du Mège reported *passim* could not be verified. His team dug three to four meters below surface level, that is, below du Mège's trenches. Here they found additional sculptures dispersed just above foundation levels. The disruption of the soil prevented him from dating these levels, but he was able to corroborate, even echo du Mège's description of the soil, adding that its disruption is incomparable to other sectors of the site.<sup>843</sup>

In other areas of the complex, Lebègue and later excavators report ashes and evidence for burning, but the good condition of the marbles suggests that this happened after the deposition of the statues, and that they were spared harm in any destruction event.<sup>844</sup> Thus the burial of the Chiragan statuary likely pre-dates the abandonment or destruction the site, but few suggestions have been made for the composition of the rubble-like soil.<sup>845</sup> It is also unclear whether the Chiragan marbles were buried for safe-

---

<sup>842</sup> Lebègue was a Professor at the Faculté of Toulouse. His work at Chiragan was commissioned by the Ministère de l'Instruction publique, and he published two reports summarizing his findings (Lebègue 1891a, 1891b). For methodology and initial hypotheses, see Lebègue 1891a, 396-7; 1891b, 579-80.

<sup>843</sup> Lebègue 1891a, 594-96 for observations of the du Mège zone. Lebègue writes, "Tout ce terrain a été, il me semble, bouleversé par une série de cataclysmes (594). He has difficulty reconciling the evidence for relatively well-preserved marble architecture and rich decoration with the turned earth and extremely fragmentary rubble of what were once thick, strong walls. Joulin would later concur (1901, 62-64).

<sup>844</sup> Both Lebègue (1891a; 1891b) and Joulin (1901) note evidence for a burning event. Joulin's notes (pages 160-61) suggest that the burning was the villa's destruction event, which he dates the the late 4<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> century based on a coin of Arcadius (383-404). This date should be pushed to at least the second quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, based on the ceramic and sculptural evidence.

<sup>845</sup> Lebègue suggests that the marble elements may have been driven here by a flood of some sort, thus creating a mixture of semi-fragmentary marbles and extremely fragmentary building material (1891a; 594). This is possible, as we cannot reconstruct a true "burial" of this material.

keeping, or for lime burning which was never carried out; comparanda suggests the latter.<sup>846</sup>

In general, however, Lebègue's work validated the provenance of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century finds, and added to a growing corpus of statuary material and décor.<sup>847</sup> Lebègue's reports furnish additional evidence for a sumptuously decorated complex in this sector: fragments of black and white marble columns, colored marble plaques, wall paintings and mosaics, and assorted mosaic tesserae in marble and/or covered with gold leaf.<sup>848</sup> The untimely death of this archaeologist in 1894, however, impeded publication of his work and any analyses.<sup>849</sup> His death prompted yet another campaign of excavation, which was carried out from 1894-95 under the direction of Alexandre Ferré. Ferré had been appointed by the Société to uncover more of the site and like his predecessors, he chose to focus on an unexplored sector along the Garonne. Ferré's excavation brought to light

---

<sup>846</sup> For similar marble depositions in post-antique periods, cf. the villas of Séviac and Lamarque, chapter 5.

<sup>847</sup> In spite of Du Mège's plan, "Ce plan ne m'inspire...aucun confiance" (1891a, 399) and various other critiques (1891b 576-7), sculpture is to be found everywhere in this zone (for detailed finds see 1891a, 410-417; 1891b, 580-590); 19 pieces are from Lebègue's excavations are included in Rachou's 1912 catalogue, no. 112 – 129, pp. 58-62). Lebègue is also perplexed by the chronological and stylistic miscellany of the marble finds and unsettled by the context in which they were abandoned. Many marbles are reportedly higher than foundation levels (1891a 405, 418) and Lebègue suggests that this area saw different phases of occupation, as some later walls were built on an earlier set of ruins (1891a, 405; 1891b 592). Although ceramic finds are noted in abundance, the terrain seems generally to have been difficult to interpret stratigraphically, and no sherds can be attached to specific levels (see 1891b 602-605 for a number of inscribed wares).

<sup>848</sup> For marble columns and plaques, see Lebègue 1891a 406, 1891b 593; for mosaic pavements and wall decoration, 1891a 407; gold leaf mosaics, 1891a, 418; 1891b, 594.

<sup>849</sup> Lebègue ventures a few hypotheses at the identification of the site. He does not think it was a temple, given the lack of cult statuary found amidst so many other types of statuary (1891, 420; 1891b 596). It is not impossible, he says, that this may have been the site of a villa, or statuary warehouse (1891a 420-22; 1891b 596-98).

simple structures and large amounts of slag and carbon, suggesting that a production area was located along the banks of the Garonne.<sup>850</sup>

### **I.1 Joulin's Excavations, 1897-99**

As the 19<sup>th</sup> century came to a close, however, no major synopsis of the site and recovered material had been published. Extant syntheses were confined to unpublished reports or brief archaeological reviews. Even the identification of the site as an opulent villa as opposed to a small city remained conjecture. With this in mind local amateur archaeologist Léon Joulin campaigned for a final series of excavations. Joulin was dissatisfied with the methodologies and conclusions (or lack thereof) of the previous excavations, and was granted permission to carry out exhaustive excavation of the site from 1897-99. His approach combined synthesis of earlier archaeological work with then-current systematic excavation methodologies, culminating in the 1901 publication of the Chiragan site and its surroundings.<sup>851</sup> His monograph is still the chief source for information, and scholarship continues to use the plan he produced (figs. 217, 218).

In Joulin's excavations architectural study and (to a lesser degree) archaeological analysis took precedent for the first time. Joulin marks the boundary of the 16 ha. villa estate surrounded by a mural enclosure, with the Garonne to the south and the ancient

---

<sup>850</sup> This work was published in Joulin 1901, Sections LV, LVII, LVIII. Ferré found few walls or foundations, but many tegulae fragments and stone pavement fragments.

<sup>851</sup> Joulin laid trenches parallel to each other, 50 – 100 meters in distance, either parallel or perpendicular to the river. The trenches were dug at inclines of 45 degrees. Such a method allowed him to judge the extension of the site over 16 ha.— both the *pars urbana* and *pars rustica*. See Joulin 1901; and for summaries of Joulin's excavations, Massendari 2006, 221-227.

road to Tolosa to the north. Most of the structures which Joulin uncovered can be associated with the estate at its greatest extent, which scholars now attribute to the early 4<sup>th</sup> century *terminus post quem*.<sup>852</sup>

Joulin's plan of the site divides it into different sectors or zones, which belong to a sizable *pars urbana*, a bath complex, and a massive *pars rustica*. Zones I-VI belong to a *pars urbana* organized around a square peristyle courtyard (zone I), with a large open courtyard to the south (zone II) and a small suite of rooms facing the Garonne (IV). An additional wing of rooms and a cryptoporticus running north-south lay alongside a large courtyard off the western gallery of the peristyle (III). Southeast of this residential core is the separate bathing suite excavated in the 1840s (VII-VIII), and south of the bathing complex was a richly decorated, stand-alone architectural complex, perhaps functioning as a summer triclinium (V) and garden court with a small atrium room (VI).

Joulin suggests four phases of construction within the *pars urbana*, with arguments based on seven different building techniques identified in the extant wall courses.<sup>853</sup> In his model, the oldest structures (Phase I) pertain to the residential core of the complex – the square peristyle and surrounding rooms of zone I. He assigns modifications to existing structures in zone I, as well as the addition of a large open courtyard to the south (II) and a bathing suite to the east (VII, VIII) to a Phase II. Joulin identifies a Phase III in the structures of zone III, which are severely eroded, and in the

---

<sup>852</sup> Cf. Balmelle 2001, no. 28, 367-70; Stirling 2005, *ibid.*; Massendari 2006, 226-27.

<sup>853</sup> Joulin 1901, 141-61.

baths. Phase IV marks a massive expansion of the *pars urbana* to the south and east, in zones IX-X. Zone IX is a large rectangular courtyard with a fountain (80 by 70 meters), built north of the baths. The eastern gallery of this court extends further north to a large apsidal reception hall (X). Phase IV coincides with the final phase of occupation at the villa.

Because Joulin did not signal levels within his trenches or record their contents with stratigraphic precision, it is impossible to identify distinct phases of occupation. The dates that Joulin assigns to wall building techniques, moreover, are heavily indebted to observation, and seemingly influenced by datable, recovered material found at the site like the marble portraits and numismatics. For example, with the imperial portrait of Augustus in mind, Joulin dates Phase I of constructions at Chiragan to the Julio-Claudian era. Building projects in Phase II are associated with the Trajanic era, and Phase III is linked with the mid-2<sup>nd</sup>, which coincides with the great many Antonine-era sculptures found in du Mège's excavations. The final phase of occupation, Phase IV, is associated with the Constantinian era based on the large number of 4<sup>th</sup> century coins documented. What is clear is that the latest occupation of the villa coincides with the largest iteration of the estate, which incorporated existing structures alongside of significant new building and decoration projects. Scholars are dependent on the recovered material culture – the ceramics and statuary finds in particular – for reconstruction of the floruit of this villa in the late antique era.



Recent study of these finds has also complicated Joulin's suggestion that the villa was destroyed in the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century. This date now seems much too early.<sup>854</sup> That occupation continued into the 5<sup>th</sup> century is shown by a small number of 5<sup>th</sup> century imported ceramics, and 4<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> century statuary fragments (late-mythological statuettes and private portraits including the aforementioned female private portrait). This revised chronology and occupation into the 5<sup>th</sup> century aligns with dates known and suggested for other villas in Novempopulania, as the previous chapter has shown.<sup>855</sup>

## I.2 Spheres of Statuary Display in the Late Antique Villa

With such issues that surround the chronological parameters of occupation at Chiragan, we must look carefully at the evidence Joulin provides for the display of statuary. Joulin decidedly reported the material finds of each room he excavated, and although his style of reporting lacks stratigraphic precision, we may still reconstruct zones for statuary displays, presumably in Phase IV.

Most of the statues found in Joulin's excavations are associated with the *pars urbana*. Joulin's team found additional sculpture fragments in the large open courtyard which du Mège and Lebègue had explored, and in a small hexagonal structure appended to the southernmost wall which may have served as a fountain or decorative niche (II.4).

---

<sup>854</sup> Joulin suggested a late-4<sup>th</sup> or early-5<sup>th</sup> century destruction for the villa based on the latest numismatic evidence found at the site, a coin of Arcadius (383-404), and historic accounts of the Vandals invasion 406-410 (1901, pages 71-73). For critiques see Balmelle 2001, 367-68.

<sup>855</sup> Cf. Balmelle 2001 for a more general survey of late antique chronologies in Aquitaine and Novempopulania. Villas with documented occupations into the early 5<sup>th</sup> century include Séviac, Lamarque, and more recently Montmaurin, see full treatment in chapter 5.

Sculpture fragments also appear in rooms around the central square peristyle (a statuette in I.29) and along the cryptoporticus of zone III. Two statue bases were documented in rooms in zone IV, the small complex near the Garonne (IV.1 and IV.4). In zone V, over 300 fragments of marble are known to be associated with a basin (V.3) in the baths, and may belong to a heavily fractured statue or more likely to marble revetment used in wall paneling or pavements. Elsewhere sculptural debris stood amidst marble pavements and plinths still *in situ* (V.4). Joulin also reports some fragments of a series of shield medallion reliefs in a long, apsidal gallery (X) off of the large, open courtyard of zone IX.<sup>856</sup> It is possible that the many large-scale, late antique sculptural relief series – Hercules' Labors and the shields – were displayed in this apsidal hall (X), or in the galleries of the peristyle court in zone IX. These are among the largest spaces excavated. As such, the display spheres for statues at Chiragan do not differ from what is known from other villas in Novempopulania, in that sculpture plays an important role in the decoration of garden courtyards, peristyles, and reception rooms.<sup>857</sup>

As is also typical, the elaborate decoration of the *pars urbana* contrasts with other sectors of the estate, which probably belong to a large *pars rustica*. Joulin continued the work of Lebègue and Ferré in excavating structures apparently devoted to production,

---

<sup>856</sup> For this court see Joulin 1901, Group X (fig. 13), page 39; IX (fig. 12), pages 37-39; discussion of finds page 270.

<sup>857</sup> With respect to other decorative media, fragments of columns and cornices in zone I probably belonged to peristyle galleries. Mosaic and marble pavements and painted stucco fragments were found throughout the *pars urbana* and occasionally *in situ*, for example the marble pavements in IV.1 and IV.4 where the statue bases were found. Even the garden complex of zone VI seems to have been richly decorated, the walls of its pseudo-atrium revetted with marble plaques.

storage, and transport of goods. Northeast of zones IX and X are a number of structures which are clearly separate from the *pars urbana*. Joulin's work brought to light a series of square buildings built in three lines running parallel to the Garonne, north and east of the *pars urbana* (Joulin's 1<sup>er</sup>, 2<sup>ème</sup>, and 3<sup>ème</sup> lignes). Few objects were recovered inside the structures, and their function remains unknown. The small size and simplicity of the buildings, however, suggests that they were devoted to production facilities, or functioned as small domiciles for tenant farmers or slaves.

The arrangement of constructions in three parallel lines suggests a similar function for all buildings, though there are subtle differences in sizes. Foundations of structures in the 1<sup>st</sup> line, those that are closest to the residential core and to the Garonne, are larger than those in the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> line. At the easternmost end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> line, excavation documents a multi-room structure that was evidently more elaborately decorated than any others in this sector, with a glass vase and floors paved in mosaic. It has been suggested that the building belonged to the *vilicus*,<sup>858</sup> though it is equally possible that it was a summer triclinium of sorts. In any case, the function of this room and the many similar, smaller structures of this northeastern sector remain unclear. If they do belong to the villa's *pars rustica*, the Chiragan estate would have been one of the largest in the region.<sup>859</sup>

---

<sup>858</sup> LIV (Joulin 1901, 258-59). Part of this area was dug by Ferré in 1895, though the drawings he produced has not survived.

<sup>859</sup> For fuller treatment see Joulin 190, 39-47.

The accuracy of Joulin's excavations have been more or less verified by recent geophysical survey and sondages. These were carried out in 2000 and 2001 by the CNRS and the Musée Saint-Raymond with the hope of bringing to light more archaeological information.<sup>860</sup> Unfortunately, the archaeologists found that most of the walls at the site have been erased to their foundation levels. The many excavations of the 19<sup>th</sup> century have left Chiragan in a ruinous state. Different phases of construction are evident in what remains, but the sondages have supplied only fragmentary information for revision of late antique occupation at the site. Several ceramic fragments were recovered, supporting occupation into the 5<sup>th</sup> century, but precise chronologies are still unknown. Since the moment of the villa's abandonment or destruction escapes us, synthesis of occupation in Late Antiquity and the social milieu inhabited by Chiragan is dependent on analysis of the recovered objects. As such, this villa's statuary continues to play an important role.

## **II. The Historiography of the Chiragan Marbles**

I note here, however, that no comprehensive study of Chiragan's marbles has been published to date. This is largely a consequence of the daunting size of this assemblage, and the wide range of styles and genres which engage with 400 years of a Roman statuary tradition.<sup>861</sup> The first formal catalogs of the sculptures were issued soon after du Mège's

---

<sup>860</sup> A report was issued by the principal investigators, Cazes and Guilbaut, see a summary Massendari and Leclant 2006, 227-29.

<sup>861</sup> This is not to fault previous scholars for a lack of effort, but it does reflect trends and biases in Roman sculpture. Chiragan is especially complicated in that the assemblage contains all known statuary genres,

excavations and compiled by curators of the Musée de Toulouse, by Alexandre du Mège himself in 1828 and 1835, and again by Henri Roschach in 1865.<sup>862</sup> These catalogs summarize extant finds briefly, but not all of the recovered marbles are included; instead focus is given to identifiable works like imperial portraits and idealizing mythological statues.

Several late antique pieces do appear in these catalogs, but they are seldom recognized as such. This is not to say, however, that their stylistic “divergence” from classical norms has gone unnoticed. In fact many of the later sculptures now celebrated in modern scholarship were initially met with aesthetic criticism. The relief series of Hercules’ Labors, for example, now dated to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> century, was labelled as an excessive and decadent work of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century,<sup>863</sup> while the Theodosian era female

---

from relief to small-scale statuette to *idealplastik* to imperial portraiture, c. early 1<sup>st</sup> century CE – early 5<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>862</sup> The first catalogue was published in 1828 by Du Mège shortly after the initial campaign of excavations at Chiragan, “Notice des monuments antiques et des objets de sculpture modern conservés dans le Musée de Toulouse”. This publication documents the sculptures on display in the museum in 1828, from Chiragan and other provenances, and as such does not include descriptions of all fragments found in his excavations of the villa. Thus the exact number of sculpture fragments found in Du Mège’s 1826-1830 excavations escapes us. Du Mège revised this catalog for publication in 1835 as “Description du Musée des Antiques de Toulouse”, which departs little from the 1828 catalog. His successor, Ernest Roschach, produced a new catalog in 1865, “Musée de Toulouse. Catalogue des antiquités et objets d’art,” which largely recycles du Mège’s 1828 and 1835 catalogs. Very little analysis or independent observation is evident. Roschach’s catalog, however, was the basis for Henri Rachou’s 1912 “Catalogue des collections de sculpture et d’épigraphie du Musée de Toulouse”, revised for the inclusion of the 1890s sculptural finds. Excerpts of these catalogue are now housed in the archives of the Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse, and remain valuable sources for the pieces recovered prior to Joulin’s excavations. For the history of the Chiragan marbles within the collections of Toulouse’s museums see the thoughtful summary in Balty and Cazes 2005, 11-21.

<sup>863</sup> Roschach 1865, no. 28a-h. Roschach here departs somewhat from du Mège’s catalog, adding additional (qualitative) details about these reliefs. He marks the pieces as “excessive”, bearing “incontestable traces of decadence” which situates them in the second half of the High Empire (presumably the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and/or Severan era). Du Mège’s assessment appears less critical, in that his synthesis is largely a retelling of the

portrait was marked as an extremely “barbarian” work with little-to-no apparent link to Greco-Roman culture.<sup>864</sup>

These catalogs were designed primarily for a museum audience, and Chiragan’s sculpture was not published formally until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, when Léon Joulin compiled his comprehensive report of the site in 1901. Joulin includes plates and documentation of nearly 70 sculptures in his monograph, most of which had been found decades before his own excavations.<sup>865</sup> His catalog is also heavily focused on identifiable works – imperial portraits and free-standing mythological pieces – and large pieces like the shield medallions and the Hercules reliefs. He too dates the Hercules reliefs, the shield medallion series, and several late-Roman portrait heads to the Antonine era, largely because of the prevalence of mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century imperial portraiture and long-standing conceptions about the Antonine era as the floruit of Empire and statuary production.

Though more of an amateur archaeologist than a true 19<sup>th</sup> century art historian, Joulin’s analysis does have its merit. He is the first to note the importance of the domestic setting with which these marbles are associated. For Joulin, the size of the collection evinces a keen interest in marble sculpture, such that the villa’s *dominus* must have been

---

mythical cycle (1828, nos. 75-86; 1835 no. 162-178). In Espérandieu’s catalog of the Chiragan material (1908), he too labels the Hercules reliefs as decadent (no. 899, p. 39).

<sup>864</sup> Du Mège 1835, no. 239, pg 134-35; Roschach 1865, no. 79, page 38. Du Mège, however, notes the rarity of the piece and shows keen interest in the “oriental coiffure” as a mark of a Persian import (see also 1828, no. 242, pg 100).

<sup>865</sup> Joulin 1901, 79-140, Pls. VI-XXV; see also Pls. IV-V for architectural marbles.

a true art collector.<sup>866</sup> While Joulin's hypothesis as to the *dominus* as collector is not without possible merit, his argument is problematic in that it postulates "collection" as the work of a single *dominus* and does not entertain a slow accumulation, or account for the chronological variety of recovered pieces.

A decade later, the Chiragan marbles appear in Emile Espérandieu's catalog of the sculptures of Roman France.<sup>867</sup> Espérandieu includes over 100 pieces from Chiragan. He is focused primarily on portraiture, both private and imperial portraits (Augustan – 4<sup>th</sup> century, though not identified as such), but he also includes the fragments of the Hercules reliefs and the shield medallions, loosely dated to the High Empire.<sup>868</sup> Espérandieu's most important contribution to our understanding of this assemblage may be the scholarly context he provides, that is, the inclusion of Chiragan's marbles in a broader synthesis of Gallo-Roman sculpture in France. The scattered finds in his catalog writ broad are mostly "provincially worked" sculptures or tomb monuments, that is, statues of a lesser quality and those presumed typical of provincial ateliers. Recent scholarship has done much to rehabilitate our understanding of "provincial" art, such that 19<sup>th</sup> century aesthetic

---

<sup>866</sup> *Ibid.* for comparison to Hadrian's villa at Tivoli pages 135-39.

<sup>867</sup> Espérandieu 1907-66, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine*, I-XV. The Chiragan pieces are published in Vol. II (1908), no. 891 – 1006; other statuary fragments from the Musée de Toulouse are assigned an unknown provenance in Espérandieu but are now associated with the villa Chiragan, cf. no. 1008-09; 1011; 1013; 1030. Espérandieu's work is in the process of revision and re-publication as the "Nouvel Espérandieu," which integrates sculptures found since these early 20<sup>th</sup> century catalogs were published. This project is one of many in place at the Centre Camille Jullian of Aix-Marseille Université; four volumes have been published to date. While no new sculptures have been added to the Chiragan corpus, the online database does illuminate a greater breadth of finds in modern France.

<sup>868</sup> Cf. Espérandieu 1908, no. 899 the Hercules reliefs ("decadent", dated to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century); no. 892 the shield medallions, dated to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE.

criticism has lost its validity in modern scholarship.<sup>869</sup> This should not, however, subtract from what emerges in Espérandieu's study, that is, the extraordinary quality and quantity of the Chiragan sculptures and their domestic context vis-à-vis the vast extent of France's "lesser" marbles.

Following Joulin and Espérandieu's work on Chiragan, the scholarly community falls silent for most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The statues were moved to the new Musée Saint-Raymond in 1952, but they did not attract much scholarly attention again until the 1990s, amidst a broader movement towards the study and appreciation of Late Antiquity.<sup>870</sup> At the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Niels Hannestad, Marianne Bergmann, and Lea Stirling put forth independent suggestions that a sizable number of pieces in the Chiragan assemblage are late antique in date, and were likely manufactured in Eastern workshops.<sup>871</sup> Their work includes detailed analyses of many of the pieces formerly marked as excessive, poorly sculpted, and decidedly "non-classical". Lea Stirling's examination of late-mythological statuettes in Gaul was discussed in greater depth in chapter 5, and within Chiragan's assemblage she highlights three statuettes of Dionysius, Ariadne, and an unidentified female goddess.<sup>872</sup> Curiously, these small late-mythological statuettes play a relatively minor role in this villa, forming less than 2% of the extant assemblage.

---

<sup>869</sup> I refer readers to the discussion of provincial sculptures and provincial contexts in chapter 1, section II.

<sup>870</sup> The historiography of late antique statuary appears in chapter 1, section III.2

<sup>871</sup> Hannestad 1994; Stirling 1994; 2005; Bergmann 1995; 1999; 2007.

<sup>872</sup> Stirling 2005, 55-59; see summary in chapter 5.



Hannestad and Bergmann's work has focused on the extensive evidence for large, late-mythological statuary.<sup>873</sup> Bergmann in particular has argued for the probable Aphrodisian origin of these pieces on multiple occasions.<sup>874</sup> In her recent monograph of Aphrodisian late antique sculpture, she discusses a number of portraits, several mythologizing statues (an old fisherman, a Serapis which may be a relief) and a half dozen different high-relief series from Chiragan: shield medallions of Greco-Roman deities; the 12 Labors of Hercules; a number of protomes depicting putti, satyrs, and seasonal figures; a large plaque with theatrical masks; a fragmentary relief of Socrates and a herm; and relief fragments of a bearded late antique official or magistrate holding a *mappa* in his right hand. Bergmann focuses on stylistic parallels between these pieces and notable 4<sup>th</sup> century works of the Aphrodisian School, especially the statues of Silaharaga north of Istanbul and the Esquiline group at Rome.<sup>875</sup>

Bergmann's stylistic analysis has been a major contribution to our understanding of the late antique sculptures in this assemblage. As trademarks of the Aphrodisian School, Bergmann emphasizes the heavy use of the drill and the formulaic repetition of hair motifs, especially among the figures in the Hercules reliefs and the shield

---

<sup>873</sup> Hannestad 1994, 127-141; Bergmann 1999, 26-42. Bergmann's work is largely concerned the large-scale late antique pieces, but she too notes the small-scale late-mythological statuettes (1999, cf. Pls. 35, 46).

<sup>874</sup> Bergmann's 1999 monograph is the most comprehensive discussion of Chiragan's late antique sculptures and the stylistic parallels which may mark them as Aphrodisian products (26-40). In 1995, however, she put forth a suggestion that Chiragan's late antique sculptures were made by itinerant Aphrodisian sculptors using local Pyrenean marbles. Marble analysis now dispels such suggestions, see below.

<sup>875</sup> For Silaharaga in Bergmann 1999, 17-20; see also Chaisemartin and Örgen 1982; for Esquiline group in Bergmann see pages 14-17; see also Küllerich and Torp 1994, discussion in chapter 1.

medallions. She documents two dominant styles of coiffure: the forked lock, and drilled curls. Across the relief series and several portraits, Bergmann cites the many locks of hair across male foreheads or in beards that are split into two- or three-pronged forks. She also draws attention to the use of the drill in male beards and in female coiffures, and to the heavy piercing which creates billowing, circular ringlets. She has suggested that the stylistic parallels across Chiragan's many relief series and several late antique portraits are evidence for a single contract of commission, given to Aphrodisian workshops. In her opinion, Aphrodisian workshops are among the only known ateliers capable of executing such a sizable commission in late antiquity.<sup>876</sup> While there are issues with such arguments, Bergmann's stylistic analysis has linked the Chiragan assemblage to the larger cultural context of late antique statuary production and acquisition, and in doing so underscores the curious context of the rich assortment at Chiragan.<sup>877</sup>

Hannestad's discussion of the Chiragan sculptures is brief in comparison, but he too argues for the Aphrodisian origin of Chiragan's two major relief series, of Hercules' Labors and the shield medallions.<sup>878</sup> Hannestad focuses on the tondo format as a

---

<sup>876</sup> Bergmann 1999, 35. The interest in Aphrodisian workshops and late-mythological large scale statuary more broadly overwhelmingly a product of over forty years of study and excavation at the site of Aphrodisias, directed by K. Erim in the 1980s and 90s and most recently by R.R.R. Smith. For recent work at Aphrodisias and study of the late sculptures of itinerant sculptors (cf. Esquiline group) see again Chapter 1, section III.2.a.

<sup>877</sup> Most of the late antique sculptures presumably made in the East are found in the Eastern Empire. Though finds in the East are often associated with housing complexes (Silahtaraga (Chaisemartin and Örgen 1982); the Bishop's Palace in Aphrodisias (Smith 1990), known assemblages in the West are concentrated in Rome (see the Esquiline group and others in Bergmann 1999).

<sup>878</sup> Hannestad 1994, 137-41. Hannestad seems convinced that most of the sculptures found at Chiragan were purchased in the final phase of the villa in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, stating that "the imperial busts have all been

signature of Aphrodisian workshops, and links the exaggerated musculature of the figure of Hercules in the reliefs to the satyr of the Esquiline group.

Both Hannestad and Bergmann have suggested that these pieces were made in Gaul by itinerant Aphrodisian sculptors.<sup>879</sup> Petrographic analysis has confirmed an Eastern origin for the marble, and it is thus possible that they were indeed made by Aphrodisian sculptors. It is more likely, however, that the pieces were produced in the East and imported to the villa as opposed to worked on site as previously conjectured.<sup>880</sup>

Interestingly, although the previous chapter documented a statuary habit among other grandiose villa estates in Novempopulania, no other extant sites attest to this level of participation in a late antique sculpture market. Thus it is possible that Chiragan's owners enjoyed special access to statuary markets, perhaps by virtue of their status or service in official capacities. At the same time, I have argued that a dearth of large-scale late antique sculpture in the other villas of Novempopulania (Séviac or Lamarque for example) may simply reflect the loss of similar archaeological material at other sites, as opposed to a lack of access to this kind of statuary. We have already marked southwestern Gaul as a commercial hub based on its ceramic imports, and its imported

---

reworked, from a slight retouching to heavy tooling and joining of pieces not originally belonging together (1994, 129).” Whether such repairs are ancient or early modern, however, is unclear.

<sup>879</sup> Itinerant Aphrodisian sculptors were suggested by Hannestad in his discussion of Chiragan's tondo series and Hercules panels (1994, 137-41), and in greater depth by Bergmann 1995.

<sup>880</sup> I reserve the Musée Saint-Raymond's right to publish this information. I note here only that petrographic analyses of the marble(s) used in the architectural relief series (Hercules Labors, and the shield medallions) are of Eastern origin(s).

late-mythological statuary and architectural marbles.<sup>881</sup> An adept trans-regional market must have been in place to facilitate the transport of the Chiragan sculptures, if indeed produced by Eastern workshops.

For the moment, however, I focus on one hallmark of this late antique statuary assemblage which has not been given adequate attention in scholarship, that is, the obvious preference for architectural sculpture. That these sculptural ensembles likely went hand in hand with architectural renovations to the villa estate is not uncommon in Novempopulania, but there may be something unique in the choice of architectural sculpture as opposed to marble paneling, mosaic décor, or free-standing sculpture. Thus I begin our analysis of the late antique sculptures at Chiragan with an examination of two large-scale relief series – Hercules' labors and the shield medallions. The section that follows is primarily a stylistic study, but designed to bring attention to these reliefs as architectural sculpture, and to the possible motivations behind the selection of this decorative scheme.

### **III. Architectural Relief Sculpture at Chiragan: The Shield Medallions**

The publication of the shield medallions is summary at best, and I therefore begin with examination of this series.<sup>882</sup> Most of the fragments were recovered in du Mège's

---

<sup>881</sup> Chapter 5, ideas in section III.2.

<sup>882</sup> These pieces were published catalogue form in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, see Du Mège 1828, nos. 65-72; 1835, nos. 152-159; Roschach 1865, no. 34a-k; Joulin 1901, 87-88, Pl. VI; Espérandieu 1908 no. 892; Rachou 1912, no. 34a-j. For more recent analyses see also Hannestad 1994, 135-139; Bergmann 1999,

excavations in the large pit of sculpture dug into the western courtyard *pars urbana*.<sup>883</sup> Six shields are largely intact and currently displayed in the Musée Saint-Raymond; another seven medallions can be reconstructed from fragments. All of the extant shields take the form of a circular medallion (cf. fig. 211ff), which frames a high-relief bust of a deity. The portrait heads are fully sculpted in the round and project outward into space, blurring the line between architectural relief and free-standing sculpture. The shields have a mean diameter of 76.8 cm and depth of 39.5 cm. These proportions, and the direct impersonal gaze of the figures suggests that they were hung at a certain height above the viewer.<sup>884</sup> The faces of these gods are idealized: smooth foreheads are interrupted only by prominent brow ridges that shield deep-set eyes with heavy lids. Pupils are drilled with a single hole. Drapery motifs and coiffures are repeated and recycled across medallions, and the drill is used extensively in this work. Shared formal qualities suggest the work of a single atelier, and the possible design of this series as a set.

The iconographic program of the medallions is unmistakably the Greco-Roman pantheon, though not all gods or goddesses were necessarily included. At present, six can be identified among the extant fragments by their attributes. Minerva is immediately

---

33, passim; Massendari 2006, 252-253; see also Cazes 1999. No real discussion of this series as a program (decorative or structural) has been undertaken.

<sup>883</sup> Though the documentary evidence for this excavation is imprecise, Du Mège's 1828 catalog does include descriptions of several shield fragments found in the 1826 excavations which he has already recognized as a set (1828, nos. 65-72; see also 1835, nos. 152-159). Details follow below with specific fragments.

<sup>884</sup> Though not exact replicas in size, shields ranges from 0.73 – 0.83m in diameter (mean 0.768m), with the thick shield border and circular geometry of the medallion compensating for any disparities vis-à-vis the naked eye. The portraits are between 0.35 – 0.43m in depth (mean 0.395 m). The heads are inclined 20 - 30 degrees, indicating that they were meant to be seen from below.

recognizable by her *aegis* and helmet (fig. 211).<sup>885</sup> The helmet is decorated with griffins above the ear flaps, and its plume (now missing) would have protruded well above the border of the shield. Thick waves of hair hang beneath the helmet, centrally parted and gathered at the nape of her neck. The drill is used heavily in the coiffure. Minerva wears a scaly *aegis* decorated with snakes, whose twisted bodies frame the head of a winged gorgon. This work in particular is among the most detailed in the entire series. Her armor hides any trace of her breasts, and as such contrasts with the other extant female medallions, at least three of which can be reconstructed.

The largest extant relief in this series belongs to the goddess Cybele, who wears the mural crown and a *peplos* schematized to highlight her breasts (fig. 212).<sup>886</sup> Attached to the top of the crown is a veil that falls gently over her shoulders. Her hair is centrally parted like Minerva's, though the locks are finer and more carefully demarcated with the drill. The s-curl which sits at the center of her forehead is a hallmark of idealized portraits of late antique female goddesses, underscoring the probable Eastern origin of these medallions.

---

<sup>885</sup> Inv. Ra 34j, 30509, diameter 76 cm, max. width 76 cm, max. height 79 cm and max. depth 42 cm. See also Du Mège 1828, no. 69, 35 ; 1835, no. 156; Roschach no. 34d ; Joulin 1901, Pl. VI, 51B; Espérandieu 1908, no. 892.11

<sup>886</sup> MSR. Inv. no. Ra 34i, 30508. The medallion is not a perfect circle: average diameter 83 cm, max. width 72 cm, max. height 94 cm and max. depth 40 cm. The height of the figure's head including the crown is listed at 33 cm. See also see Du Mège 1828, no.66; Du Mège 1835, no. 153; Roschach 1865 no. 34i; Joulin 1901, Pl. VI, 50B; Espérandieu 1908, no. 892.2; Rachou 1912 no. 34i. Notes from the 1826 excavations state the bust was found on September 28<sup>th</sup>, while the head was found separately on October 11<sup>th</sup> (*Documentation du Musée Saint-Raymond*).

While we cannot reconstruct the display of these medallions based on the finds context, it is possible that the Cybele shield was hung alongside or across from her young consort, Attis, who is identified by his Phrygian cap and short curly hair (fig. 213).<sup>887</sup> Attis' chest is heroically nude with only a *chlamys* draped over his right shoulder and pinned at his left with a round fibula. The drapery folds in this piece are somewhat finer and more realistic than is characteristic of the series, which may suggest the work of multiple hands. Attis' youthful visage, soft round cheeks, and small, gently parted lips contrast with the only other intact male shield of Asclepius, who wears a full beard and is identifiable by the serpent over his right shoulder (fig. 214).<sup>888</sup> His maturity is evident – the face is drawn with high but flat cheekbones, and sunken cheeks. He wears a mustache and a long beard with curly ringlets.

If these medallions were indeed arranged in pairs, Asclepius was likely paired with his niece, Hygeia (fig. 215).<sup>889</sup> In the Hygeia medallion, a snake also wraps around the goddess' shoulders, its head resting above her right shoulder as is customary in Hygeia's iconography. The skin of the snake highlights the textural contrasts at play,

---

<sup>887</sup> MSR Inv. Ra 34L, 30511, diameter 79 cm, max. width 79 cm, max. height 95 cm, max. depth 43 cm. This medallion bust was first published as Attis by Du Mège 1828, no. 67. Later publications oscillate with uncertainty between Attis (Espérandieu 1908, no. 892.4), and a Mithraic figure due to the Phrygian cap (Roschach 1865, no. 34e; Joulin 1901, Pl. VI, 58B Rachou 1912, no. 34e).

<sup>888</sup> MSR Inv. 34m, 30542, diameter 75 cm, max. width 75 cm, max. height 78 cm, max. depth 38 cm. The head of Asclepius was first published as a portrait of Jupiter by Du Mège (1828, no. 65; 1835 no. 152). Roschach's catalogue also identifies the god as Jupiter (1865, no. 34a), suggesting that the fragment depicting the serpent was found in excavations of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, after which the portrait is correctly identified as representing Asclepius (Joulin 1901, Pl. VI, 56B; Espérandieu 1908, no. 892.12; Rachou 1912, no. 34m).

<sup>889</sup> MSR Inv. 34k, 30510, diameter 73cm, max. width 73cm, max. height 76 cm, max. depth 35 cm. This piece was found in Joulin's excavations of a room off the apsidal hall of group X, room 7 (270), Joulin 1901, Pl. VI, 57B; Espérandieu 1908, no. 892.10; Rachou no. 34k).

what with the flesh of the young goddess and the fabric of her billowing tunic, belted and tied beneath her chest. Her oval face is soft and young, with deep set eyes, heavy eyelids and a strong brow. Like Cybele, her hair is centrally parted with an s-curl at the center of the forehead

The presence of these two pairs – Hygeia and Asclepius, Cybele and Attis – may suggest that the reliefs were hung as pendants, highlighting the differences in age and sex among symbiotic complements. We cannot be sure, however, that these kinds of pairings was expressly designed, given evidence for more than a dozen figures in this relief series. Such a large number of reliefs may instead favor the sequential hanging of the shields in a gallery.

Extant fragments document an additional seven shields. Three heads are extant, as are four medallions with only the shoulders and busts preserved, though none of the heads or busts can be joined. The three heads belong to Vulcan and two diademed female deities. All three are rendered in the same style and scale as the aforementioned gods, and were found in the same context in Du Mège's 1826 excavations.<sup>890</sup> Vulcan wears the cap of a bronze-worker, beneath which forked curls spill out and wrap around his head like a wreath (figs. 216).<sup>891</sup> He wears a full mustache and the thick curls of his beard are

---

<sup>890</sup> Head of Vulcan, MSR Inv. Ra 34d, 30503; head of a diademed goddess (Venus?) MSR inv. 34f, 30505; head of a diademed goddess (Juno?) 34h, 30507, *Department de documentation du Musée Saint-Raymond*. The heads were first published by Du Mège in 1828 and are currently on exhibition.

<sup>891</sup> MSR Inv. no. Ra 34d, 30503; max. width 31cm, max. height 47 cm, max. depth 30 cm. Du Mège 1828, no. 72; 1835, no. 159; Roschach 1865, no. 34b; Joulin no. 55b; Espérandieu 1908, no. 892.31; Rachou 1912, no. 34d



arranged in bulbous ringlets. An additional fragment of a double-headed hammer in low relief suggests that this tool was positioned over his right shoulder.<sup>892</sup>

The two diademed female heads are less readily identifiable based on extant evidence. Both exhibit idealized visages typical of the goddesses in these shields, and in late-mythological sculpture more broadly (figs. 217, 218).<sup>893</sup> One of the diadems is decorated with acanthus scrolls, and has been interpreted as Juno based on the goddess' iconography, though this identification is questionable.<sup>894</sup>

The depots of the Musée Saint-Raymond also preserve four headless shield portraits, all of which belong to male deities.<sup>895</sup> The chests of three of these men are heroically nude and decorated with draped garments. One appears to represent yet another youthful god, to judge by the soft muscles of the upper arms and the drapery (fig. 219).<sup>896</sup> Like the portrait of Attis, the chiton falls heavily over this god's left shoulder and is pinned at the right with a round fibula. The drapery of another medallion echoes that of

---

<sup>892</sup> The fragment of the double-headed hammer, Inv. 2000.312.12, MSR; also included in Espérandieu 1908, no. 892.3, though incorrectly paired to a nude male draped bust (Inv. no. 34g).

<sup>893</sup> Head of a diademed goddess, possibly Venus, inv. 34f, 30505; max. width 32cm, max. height 45 cm, max. depth 31 cm. Du Mège 1828, no. 70; 1835, no. 157; Joulin 1901, Pl. VI, 49B; Espérandieu no. 892.5 (head of a goddess, unidentifiable); Rachou no. 34f (Venus?). Head of a diademed goddess, possibly Juno, Inv. no. 34h, 30507. Max. width 74 cm; max. height 86 cm; max. depth 38cm. Du Mège 1828, no. 68; 1835, no. 155; Roschach no. 34f; Espérandieu no. 892.2) Rachou no. 34k (*ibid.*).

<sup>894</sup> First suggested by Du Mège 1828, no. 70, based on the diadem crown. This same identification is suggested by later scholars, cf. Espérandieu 1908, no. 892.1; Rachou 1912, no. 34h.

<sup>895</sup> MSR. Inv. nos. 34c, 30502; 34a, 30501; 34e, 30504; 34g, 30506. These headless shields were found in Du Mège's excavations, probably in the autumn of 1826 as they are all mentioned in his catalogue of 1828, at which time Inv. 34c was exhibited with the head of Vulcan. Most of the smaller fragments were found in the 2000 sondages and kept in the reserves of the Musée Saint-Raymond.

<sup>896</sup> MSR Inv. no. 34e, 30504; reserves 77c. Medallion: diameter approx. 72.5cm; max. width 62.5 cm, max. height 55cm (Fragmentary), max. depth 25cm. Joulin 1901, Pl. VI, 54B; Espérandieu no. 892.6; Rachou no. 34e.

Asclepius; it falls over the figure's left shoulder and wraps around the body at the waist such that the right pectoral is revealed (fig. 220).<sup>897</sup> The toga looks to have been secured at the right shoulder with a disc-shaped fibula, and the wide, angular folds of drapery suggest a thicker cloth. The third nude male is depicted with a swatch of drapery on his left shoulder, much like a *paludamentum* (fig. 221),<sup>898</sup> while the fourth extant headless medallion is fully clothed in a tunic with the mantle draped over the left shoulder (fig. 222).<sup>899</sup> These figures cannot be identified at present but do suggest a series of at least thirteen deities.

The stylistic and thematic cohesion across the shield medallions speaks to their implicit design as a set, or a collection in the modern sense of the word, probably produced by a single atelier. The volumetric proportions of figures and the stylization of drapery and facial features does suggest their production in Eastern workshops. This contemporary styling may have been apparent to the later *domini* and the estate's

---

<sup>897</sup> MSR Inv. no. 341, 30501; Reserves 77c. Medallion: diameter 82cm, max. width 82 cm, max. height 69 cm, max. depth 23 cm. Joulin 1901, Pl. VI, 59B; Espérandieu no.892.3 (here associated with the head of Vulcan); Rachou no. 34a.

<sup>898</sup> MSR Inv. no. 34c, 30502; Reserves 77c. Medallion: max. width 62 cm, max. height 54 cm, max. depth 24 cm. This piece was found in the 1826 excavations and associated with the head of Vulcan (nt. 891; du Mège 1828, no. 72, 73), and only separated from it in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Joulin 1901, Pl. VI, 61B; Espérandieu 1908, 892.7; Rachou 1912 no. 34c). This is the only extant medallion in which the chest is almost entirely exposed save for the drapery at the left shoulder. As such, the chest looks broader than the other extant male figures.

<sup>899</sup> MSR Inv. no. 34g, 30506; Reserves 77c. Medallion: diameter more than 68 cm (fragmentary), max. width 68cm, max. height 53 cm; max. depth 25 cm. Joulin 53b; Espérandieu no.892.9; Rachou no. 34g. Espérandieu associates this chest with a female goddess, but there is no sign of breasts as in the medallions of Cybele and the unidentified (Juno ?) goddess. The drape of the mantle over the left shoulder may suggest a toga. The dress of this figure and the figure wearing the possible *paludamentum* are unique among the extant medallions. It is not possible to say much more at present, but it is possible that they speak to Roman figures in the series.

audience, insofar as it adds a modernity to what were highly traditional iconographies by the later Roman Empire. At present, only a broad late antique date has been assigned to the medallions – the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century by some scholars, and the 4<sup>th</sup> century by those who have explored the production of large-scale mythological statuary in late antiquity.<sup>900</sup> Recent work at Aphrodisias attests to the production of shield medallions well into the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>901</sup> I am therefore inclined to date these reliefs broadly to the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and if pressed to the first two thirds of that century.<sup>902</sup>

### III.1 Analysis of the Shield Medallions

In the context of Chiragan, we might remember that these shields likely decorated the same halls that were also adorned with free-standing antique mythological statues, many of which were found in the same deposit in the 1826 excavations. Although both the contemporary shield medallions and the antique free-standing sculptures make use of traditional iconographies, formal and stylistic differences stand as a visual testament to the passage of time, and the enduring power, or relevance, of such traditional

---

<sup>900</sup> Bergman calls tondi “eine Art Markenware” of Aphrodisias (1999, 58) and dates them broadly to the Late Antique period, presumably the 4<sup>th</sup> century; Hannestad (1994, 137-41) concurs. Cazes (1999) and curators at the Musée Saint-Raymond date the pieces conservatively to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Both Joulin (1901, 88) and Espérandieu (1908, no. 892) date the medallions to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.

<sup>901</sup> Ongoing excavations among the sculpture workshops of Aphrodisias have shown that the shield portrait was indeed a specialty of local workshops, and may have gained popularity in the later Empire (see below, nt. 90; Smith 1990; Bergmann 1999, 45-46, 58).

<sup>902</sup> Their late antique manufacture is clear from the extensive use of the drill, the motifs repeated in the coiffures (Bergmann 1999, 33) and the stylized faces with prominent ridged brows, heavy eyelids, soft musculature, and stylized drapery. They show stylistic affinity with the Hercules reliefs, and with a free-standing portrait head in the Chiragan assemblage. The shield medallions, and especially the Hercules reliefs show stylistic affinity with the Esquiline sculptures dated to the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century by inscriptions, thus I date the shield medallions to the first two-thirds of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

iconographies. That this relief set builds on a rich history of mythological and religious imagery raises questions about the importance of late-mythological statues and any religious valence they may have had in the later Empire. A domestic setting would normally discourage any cultic function for these medallions, but the form of these medallions as large-scale, architectural reliefs is suggestive. It is possible to read the shields as a visual effigy to the tenets of Greco-Roman polytheism: each god/dess is given his/her own medallion but the series as a whole works in concert, suggesting the interconnectedness of pantheon. Form seems to follow function, and that function may have been sacral.

This need not, however, correlate to any sort of religious belief, given the clear decorative function of these shields as wall décor and the growing popularity of mythology as secular art in the Late Antique period, especially in villas of the Roman West.<sup>903</sup> A degree of reverence, however, should be inferred from the size of the reliefs, their placement above the viewer, and the historical association with honor that the shield format conveys.<sup>904</sup>

---

<sup>903</sup> Our understanding of programmatic function need not be swayed by religious belief or even complicated by the religious tensions of the later Roman era. Recent scholarship has softened the purported divide between Christians and pagans by showing that mythology continued to play an important role in both literature and arts, especially in secular contexts. Greco-Roman religious and/or mythological figures continued to appear in statues and mosaics in homes of all corners of the Western Empire well into the late 4<sup>th</sup> century, and in the homes of many elite Christians too. That said, this imagery as a sort of classical revival merits further attention, having been explored primarily in arts of the Theodosian era (Gazda 1981) and Latin language of the Late Antique period (Kaster 1997; Roberts 1989).

<sup>904</sup> Most of our knowledge of the shield format, however, pertains to portraiture and *imagines clipeatae*. Pliny the Elder claims that the shield portrait tradition began in the Hellenistic era with painted shield portraits and was later expanded amidst Roman decadence to include bronze and sculpted shield portraits, *HN* 35.2.4-6. Whether the sculpted medium developed alongside of or independently from painted

Iconography aside, the form of such a relief series remains perplexing; reliefs of this scale are unusual among the extant corpora of domestic decoration. Though the walls of many homes and villas were decorated with paintings and sometimes mosaics or marble paneling, or more rarely with wall mosaics, sculpted reliefs on this monumental scale are not common, and large-scale relief sculpture appears more readily in public contexts.<sup>905</sup> It is thus possible that in Novempopulania, the appeal of a shield medallion series lay in part in the novelty of the design, virtually unknown in private contexts here.

It is also possible that this type of statuary relief was consciously associated with the East. Excavations in Aphrodisias suggest that the shield medallion format gained popularity in local workshops the later Roman era, and was frequently used in the domestic sphere. Of note is a series of philosopher tondi found in Aphrodisias, and published by R.R.R. Smith in 1990 (figs. 223). These fragments were found in the ruins of an apsidal hall which belongs to a sizable late antique residence, dubbed the Bishop's Palace given its prominent location in the town center. The extant tondi are circular shield medallions with bust-length portraits of classical philosophers like Pindar and Socrates, and contemporary late philosophers to judge from the clothing and hairstyles of

---

portraits, however, is unclear. In public contexts, the sculpted "shield portrait" is regularly used in temples, fora, or theatres. The genre carries a certain prestige, almost as collective ancestral imagery, for example, the sculpted shield portraits of historical persons like Agrippina the Younger and the Emperor Nerva in Trajan's forum in what was a public gallery of *summi viri* and *summae feminae*.

<sup>905</sup> Evidence for sculpted shield medallions of mythological figures is known from Augustus' forum at Rome. Fragments of metal sculpted shields depicting Jupiter Ammon and Medusa were set into the upper galleries of the portico. This design was also repeated in other cities of the Empire, notably in the West, cf. the Forum in Merida and the theatre in Tarragona where fragments of sculpted Jupiter Ammon shields are extant.

some others.<sup>906</sup> These pieces have been dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> century, and the portrait features of the philosophers suggest that the Chiragan medallions date to an earlier period. There are, however, important thematic similarities among the two series. Both honor Greco-Roman culture, and evince an inherent historicism and reverence for the past, the relevance of which is celebrated in the formal use of contemporary art. Literary figures or philosophers, and Greco-Roman deities, are also conducive to seriated production.<sup>907</sup>

With these ideas in mind, I turn now to the other grand set of reliefs found at Chiragan, of Hercules' Labors. These reliefs have much in common with the shield medallions, in the use of traditional mythological iconography, but also in technical manufacture of the haut-relief. Both series are conjectured to have been produced in Aphrodisias' late antique workshops, for reasons I elaborate further below. With respect to the thematic iconography of this series, we should note that Hercules' Labors were

---

<sup>906</sup> Interesting, findspots of many of these shield portraits in Aphrodisias may suggest that the genre began to play a more prominent role in the private sphere in late antiquity. These medallions were found in the ruins of an apsidal hall which seems to belong to a sizable late antique residence, perhaps the Bishop's Palace given its prominent location in the town center. R.R.R. Smith has suggested that the hall may have had a semi-public function as a library; the status of the building is unclear but could well be an elite domicile (Smith 1990). The size of the audience hall and the use of philosopher portraits as wall décor have led R.R.R. Smith to suggest that the room may have had a semi-public function, perhaps as a library or philosophical school. This suggestion may arise in part from some patent skepticism that the shield motif had become a form of domestic décor. Architecturally, however, the structure does appear associated with a private residence albeit on a grand scale. Smith also draws our attention to an additional series of six shield medallions found at Aphrodisias in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century which are no longer extant, having been destroyed in 1922. These portraits were all Late-Roman manufactures, and likely come from a single context, though this cannot be verified with assurance (1990, 127-8, nt. 4). For other "Aphrodisian" shield portraits outside of Aphrodisias see Bergmann 1999.

<sup>907</sup> The size of these sculptural sets, at both Aphrodisias and Chiragan, suggests a single commission. But the form of the circular shield medallion may suggest that portraits were selected by clients, and that slow accumulation of a series was possible. The Chiragan medallions evince the work of multiple hands, but an overall cohesion suggests they were purchased as a set entity. There are greater differences among the philosopher portraits of Aphrodisias, however, and their proximity to the manufacturing workshops may suggest a slow accumulation of such images, rather than a single commission.

extremely popular in late-Roman arts. The entire sequence often appears in mosaics, sarcophagi, and luxury arts like silverware.<sup>908</sup> Like mythologizing imagery, it is not uncommon to find images of Hercules in private domiciles into late antiquity. Again, it is the scale of the Chiragan reliefs which has no parallel.

### III.2 The Reliefs of Hercules

Nine panels from this series can be reconstructed, and additional fragments suggest that all 12 Labors were present.<sup>909</sup> Each labor was assigned to a life-size rectangular panel which measures 1.5 meters in height and 95 meters wide on average. The border is regularly broken by the high-relief figures who project out from the frame (fig. 224ff).<sup>910</sup> Most of the fragments from this series, like the shield medallions, were found in du Mège's 1826 excavations, and their size prompted postulations of a Temple of Hercules.<sup>911</sup> While this suggestion has been disproved with the identification of Chiragan as a villa, the scale and splendor of these reliefs do evoke a cosmopolitanism that is not usually associated with the private sphere.

---

<sup>908</sup> For Hercules' Labors in sarcophagi see Jongste 1992.

<sup>909</sup> The number of Hercules labors' as a set of 12 tasks does seem to have codified by the Roman era (LIMC Herakles 1713-61). Three labors – the Nemean Lion (nt. 917), the Cernian Hind (nt. 931) and the Cretan Bull (nt. 934) – cannot be reconstructed in full from the extant fragments in the Chiragan assemblages. Nevertheless, the fragments attest to the presence of all 12 Labors.

<sup>910</sup> As in the shield medallions, cf. the plume of Minerva's helmet, the mural crown of Cybele, etc. This is an interesting design effect in itself, and breaks spatial boundaries while blurring of lines between three-dimensional sculpture and spatial realities

<sup>911</sup> Du Mège details several fragments in his notes (summarized in Balty and Cazes 2005, pages 17-21), and publishes all the fragments in a museum catalogue of 1828 (nos. 76-84; see also 1835 no. 176; Roschach 1865, no. 28). He concludes that the reliefs must be metopes to a Temple of Hercules (see also Roschach 1865, no. 28). The temple coincides with the site as a presumed Roman city, since Chiragan was not clearly identified as a villa until the end of the 1890s.

There is now scholarly consensus that the stylistic character of these reliefs marks their late antique date, attributed (like the shield medallions) to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century by some, and by others to the 4<sup>th</sup> century more broadly.<sup>912</sup> The exaggerated classicism seen in the panels has been read as a mark of their production in Eastern workshops and Aphrodisias in particular;<sup>913</sup> recent analyses of the marble corroborates suggestions of an Eastern origin. There are palpable similarities among these panels and the medallions shields, especially in hairstyling and facial features such as the strong brow, deep-set eyes, heavy eyelids, and drilled pupils. The drill is used extensively. Further study of the marble(s) and carving techniques, however, is necessary to assess whether shared traits across these two relief series are sufficient to mark them as the work of a single atelier, or products of the same chronological era.<sup>914</sup> Apparent similarities should not, however, undermine synthesis of the Labors as a relief set in and of themselves. The iconographic theme is sequential by nature and so admirably suited to a relief series and to a collection, even if parallels for haut-reliefs of this size are unknown in the late antique period, let alone in a private domicile.

---

<sup>912</sup> For a late 3<sup>rd</sup> century date see Balty and Cazes 2008, 133-37 and *passim*; this date is in part based on the association these scholars see in commission of large-scale Hercules reliefs and Maximian as a possible imperial owner of the villa (see below for discussion). For a generic 4<sup>th</sup> century date see Bergmann 1999; Hannestad 1994. Other scholars date the pieces only loosely to late antiquity (Stirling).

<sup>913</sup> Bergmann 1999 remains the primary analysis of these sculptures as Aphrodisian productions; see also discussion in Hannestad 1994, 137-39; Cazes and Balty 2008, 137-38.

<sup>914</sup> Bergmann 1999, 35. Without further petrographic analysis, this may be a stretch. The argument is not without weight, however, given striking similarities across the Hercules reliefs and the shield medallions (mentioned *in passim* in the text). Such a large commission may have accompanied a larger project of architectural renovation, which at present can only be dated loosely to the 4<sup>th</sup> century based on Joulin's assessment of construction techniques in the *pars urbana*.



Previous scholarship has focused in depth on the figure of Hercules and the detailed rendering of his nude body and musculature. Niels Hannestad interprets the “excessive emphasis” on muscular definition as a decorative quality in and of itself; even minutiae like tendons and ligaments of the hero’s feet are worked in great detail (cf. fig. 230).<sup>915</sup> This rhetoric may be valid and may argue for an Aphrodisian origin, but emphasis on “exaggeration” has obscured the strong traditionalism of this sequence. There is clear dependence what was a rather conservative iconography in these panels, what with the quotation of well-known labor iconographies and Herculean statuary types such as Lysippus’ weary Hercules. Similarities among these Chiragan reliefs and Herculean sarcophagi further suggests that the sculptors worked with pattern books, or were familiar with relief sculpture iconographies, ideas I explore further in examination of the individual panels.

On a different note, the overstated “excessive” quality of the figure of Hercules in these panels has somewhat obscured the formal function of such exaggeration and stylization. On a basic level, the hero’s body has been emphasized in great detail to break the repetitive aspect of the Labors. The flexion and torsion of the body and the hero’s gradual maturation from panel to panel not only vividly brings the narrative to life; it counters monotony.

The bulging quadriceps, calves, biceps, triceps, and abdominal muscles of Hercules also appear to be the decorative signature of a workshop skilled in sculpting

---

<sup>915</sup> Hannestad 1994, 139-41.

large, human figures with classically conservative proportions. The figure of Hercules, moreover, stands in stark contrast to shapeless or ill-defined secondary figures in the reliefs like Iolas, Eurytheus, and even Hippolyta. The workshop was clearly adept in producing both types of human figures. The combination of a central figure and shapeless, soft-bodies of secondary others borrows techniques used in architectural relief format, as is apparent from earlier sarcophagi traditions, but it is also a hallmark of late antique group sculpture.<sup>916</sup>

The panel depicting the hero's defeat of the Nemean lion – generally accepted as the first labor - has not survived, but the head of Hercules presumably associated with this panel was recovered (fig. 225).<sup>917</sup> This head is uncovered, presumably because the hero has not yet won the lion pelt. The face is youthful and idealized, with dramatically arched brows and thick, forked locks across the forehead.<sup>918</sup> It is nearly identical in aspect to the figure of Hercules in panels of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> labors with the Hydra of Lerna and the Erymanthian boar, but in these later episodes the young hero's head is covered by the lion pelt.

---

<sup>916</sup> For late-mythological statuette groups see discussion of compositions in Stirling 2005, *passim*.

<sup>917</sup> MSR Inv. no. Ra28a, 30373. Dimensions: 22 cm max. width; 31 cm max. height; 20 cm. max. depth (fragmentary). This fragment has been associated with the Hercules reliefs from the very beginning (du Mège 1828, no. 84; 1835, no. 176; Joulin 1901, P. IX, 11B; Espérandieu 1908, no. 899.2; Rachou 1912, no. 28a) though Bergmann (1999, 33 (4.2)) thought it might belong to a secondary set of Hercules reliefs, *contra* Cazes 1999, 86. A number of assorted fragments in the depots of the Musée Saint-Raymond may be associated with this panel, for example, fragments of the hero's hand holding a cylindrical object, presumably the club (fragmentary right hand: Ra 2000.311.3; fragmentary left hand(s) Ra 2000.311.2; Ra 2000.311.4). The panel of this first labor, however, remains difficult to reconstruct.

<sup>918</sup> These are reminiscent of the forked curls in the medallions, cf. Attis, Asclepius' coiffure. This, indeed, is the focus of Bergmann's 1999 monograph.

In the relief which depicts the second Labor, Hercules stands at the left side of the panel and rests his weight on his right leg because the hydra has wrapped one of its bodies around his left ankle (fig. 226).<sup>919</sup> The hero's body generates a chiastic composition, with the right arm raised above the shoulders, poised to strike the club down on one of the heads of the hydra which he holds in his left hand.<sup>920</sup> His extended limbs are a formal complement to the twisted bodies of the hydra, who sits in the bottom right corner of the panel. The composition of this scene is not dissimilar from what is known on columnar sarcophagi, but here the sculptor(s) has capitalized on the potential of a larger canvas and gives attention to a number of secondary features which enrich what had become a rather standard iconography.<sup>921</sup>

A small subsidiary figure, presumably Hercules' assistant Iolas, is perched in the upper right corner of the panel, in what appears to be a cloud of smoke or fire (fig. 227).

---

<sup>919</sup> MSR Inv. no. Ra 28b, 30374. The panel has been reconstructed from various fragments. Dimensions of the largest extant piece: 88 cm max. width; 161 cm height; 22 cm max. depth. The right vertical border of this panel is nearly intact such that the height is secure. A small fragment of the hero's right foot in the left corner of the panel does not attach to the larger fragments. Dimensions of this second fragment: 36 cm max. width; 22 cm max. height; 14 cm max. depth. Du Mège 1828, no. 75; 1835, no. 162; Roschach 1865, no. 28b; Joulin 1901, fig. 90b; Espérandieu 1908, no. 899.7; Rachou 1912, no. 28b. The fragments came to light in the 1826-30 excavations, and the panel was recently restored in 1994-5 (*Documentation*). This is the first of many panels in which we see Hercules wearing the lion pelt over his head. In Roman art, Hercules is often depicted with the lion pelt, though most often it is draped over his arm rather than wrapped around his head (see LIMC Herakles 2058-92).

<sup>920</sup> The snake head which he held in his hand is no longer extant, but seems to have projected out from the panel, fully sculpted in the round. Five heads of the hydra are preserved, with another two conjectured based on fractures.

<sup>921</sup> Cf. a columnar sarcophagus from Perge (Antalya inv. A928, LIMC Herakles 1733) and an arched sarcophagus from Rome (Borghese collection inv. 1540/41, LIMC Amazones 123). The hero's right arm is missing but the bicep suggests it was raised behind his head. In both these examples, however, the hero is alone, there are no secondary figures and he does not wear the lion pelt. See also Jongste 1992, 109-128 for Asiatic sarcophagi types, though these differ only minimally from Roman sarcophagi with respect to this particular labor.

In some versions of the myth Iolas burns the heads of the hydra to prevent their regrowth, but he rarely appears in artistic depictions.<sup>922</sup> The inclusion of his vaporous fire, which is surely suggested by the sfumato waves, has no known parallel in Roman art. Though most of the left corner of this panel is missing, a small detail has been added here too – there are vestiges of a low-relief griffin head. This iconography is peculiar, and there is no comparandum in other depictions of this labor. Stylistically this griffin is quite similar to a long-necked, late antique griffin head found at the villa of Quinta das Longas, though the latter is sculpted in the round as a small-scale statuette (fig. 48).<sup>923</sup> Like the piece from Quinta das Longas, it is possible that the griffin from Chiragan is a ship ornament rather than a real beast, and alludes either to the lake where the hydra allegedly lived, or to the voyage that brought Hercules to Lerna.<sup>924</sup>

It may be said that the relief of Hercules and the Erymanthian boar is a similar fusion of traditional iconographies and stylistic innovation (fig. 228). In this scene the task has already been completed, and Hercules presents the giant boar to a terrified, tiny Eurystheus who hides in a krater in the left corner of the panel.<sup>925</sup> In the Chiragan relief Hercules carries the boar in front of him such that his body is largely hidden from view;

---

<sup>922</sup> In the vast majority of Roman arts, only Hercules and the hydra are shown (LIMC Herakles 2063 for the exception of a Hadrianic marble relief from Corinth, possibly with Iolas included.) Iolas also does not appear in sarcophagi of the Herculean labors (Jongste 1992, 16).

<sup>923</sup> See Chapter 2. The long neck of the Quinta das Longas griffin suggested to excavators that it was a ship prow ornament rather than an animal. It too is presumably made in Eastern workshops. The parallels between these two griffins is intriguing, though I am at a loss for how to explain this at present.

<sup>924</sup> Strabo *Geo.* VI.2, VI.8.

<sup>925</sup> MSR Inv. no. 28d, 30375. Several fragments have been reconstructed to the following dimensions: 88.5 cm max. width; 144 cm max height; 20 cm max. depth. Du Mège's 1828, no. 76; 1835 no. 163; Roschach 1865, no. 28c; Joulin 1901, Pl. VIII, 93B; Espérandieu 1908, no. 899.9, Rachouc 1912, no. 28d.

he wraps his arms around the boar and holds it close to his chest. This imagery is unlike most Roman depictions, which show the hero with the boar raised on his shoulders so as to better highlight his figure.<sup>926</sup> In the Chiragan panel, the focus is rather on the boar, and sets the stage for a study of texture in sculpture (fig. 229). The boar's coarse, hairy coat is a contrast to the smooth flat fibers of the lion pelt, the tightly curled locks of Hercules' hair, the rippling, muscled flesh of the nude hero and the soft, flabby body of Eurystheus (fig. 230).

The presentation of the live boar to Eurystheus is indeed the most common representation of this 3<sup>rd</sup> labor in both Greek and Roman arts; with such humor this task stands a popular iconography in non-sequential depictions of Hercules' labors.<sup>927</sup> This particular iconography is also one of the few that emphasizes not the climactic moment of the labor, but the resolution of the task. Interestingly, the resolution and the accompanying cessation of action is also featured in the relief of Hercules with the Stymphalian birds, and possibly in the Augean stables. Unlike the third Labor there is little comparanda for these two scenes. Outside of seriated sarcophagi and mosaic floors with all 12 Labors, the Stymphalian Birds and the Augean stables rarely appear.

In the panel of Hercules' fifth Labor with the Stymphalian birds, the hero wears the lion pelt over his head, its paws tied and resting on his chest (fig. 231).<sup>928</sup> The hero's

---

<sup>926</sup> LMIC V, IV D.4, D.5, D.7, D.8, with a preference for carrying the boar over the left shoulder in the Roman era.

<sup>927</sup> Cf. Commentary in LIMC *Herakles and the Erymanthian Boar* (W. Felten).

<sup>928</sup> MSR Inv. no. Ra 28g, 30377. Several fragments have been reconstructed to the following dimensions: 95 cm max. width; 130 cm max. height; 16 cm max. depth. A separate fragment of a tree trunk/stump and

face is as before, with a ridged brow and deep set eyes, but the hero has now matured. His face is fuller, his torso broader, and he now wears a thick beard. The upper lip is covered by a short but thick mustache of two-pronged forked hairs, and the beard is bulbous, decorative ornament of drilled circular ringlets. With this facial hair this older Hercules closely resembles the mature males of the medallions series, Asclepius and Vulcan (cf. fig. 216).<sup>929</sup>

Though this labor is rarely depicted in Roman art and only appears in the labor sequence, the iconography of this panel is still a departure from the few extant examples.<sup>930</sup> In the Chiragan panel, the task has been completed, and all of the birds are dead. Hercules stands inactive and relaxed in the left half of the panel, with both arms hanging down at his sides.<sup>931</sup> Hercules looks to his left, as if taking stock of the work he

---

bird in the lower right corner of the panel measures 20 cm wide by 42 cm tall by 8.5 cm deep. These fragments were found in du Mège's excavations, du Mège 1828, no. 26; 1835, no. 164; Roschach 1865, no. 28e; Joulin 1901, Pl. VIII, 94B; Espérandieu 1908, no.899.10; Rachou 1912, no. 28g. s

<sup>929</sup> The stylistic parallels among these panels and the shield medallions may be significant. Beyond coiffures, brows are ridged; eyes are deep-set and the gaze unfocused; the forehead is high and smooth; the cheeks are flat and smooth; naso-labial folds are prominent. The Hercules figures, in general, have more dramatically arched brows, while the deities in the medallions have heavier eyelids. These differences may be a consequence of the larger format of the medallions and proportion of their figures, such that these two relief sets may still derive from a single workshop, if not from a single commission.

<sup>930</sup> Judging from extant images in Roman mosaics and sarcophagi, LIMC Herakles, *Herakles and the Symphalian Birds* (commentary by S. Woodford, who notes "No extant representation show H. merely driving the birds away; he is always attacking them"); also Jongste 1992, 18 for a summary of this labor on Roman sarcophagi.

<sup>931</sup> This is the first panel in which the mature Hercules appears. The panel of the 4<sup>th</sup> labor with the Ceryneian Hind, does not survive. A separate head of the mature Hercules wearing the lion skin over his head (Espérandieu 1908, no. 899.4) does survive, but may belong to another fragmentary labor, cf. the 8<sup>th</sup> labor and the Cretan Bull (nt. 934), the 11<sup>th</sup> with Cerberus or the 12<sup>th</sup> in the Garden of Hesperides (both discussed in nt. 946). No extant fragments can be securely related to the hind, though several fragments of a hooved animal do survive, Inv. nos. Ra 139c; Ra 139b; 2000.311.10; and a fragment of an animal's foreleg Inv. no. 2000. 31.24. These fragments have not been published. It is unclear whether they belong to the bull or the hind, or to the same animal.

has completed; in the right half of the panel we see various arrangements of dead birds. In the top right corner of the relief, a bird hangs upside down, its side pierced by one of Hercules' arrows, summarily sketched in low relief.<sup>932</sup> Another fragment of a dead bird along the right border of the panel suggests that the Stymphalian birds were piled in the corner. The immobility of the hero and the lifelessness of the birds adds a stillness to the scene that, coupled with the hero's maturation, emphasizes the physical and emotional demands of these tasks.<sup>933</sup>

Somewhat analogous in tone to the relief of the Stymphalian birds is the panel depicting Hercules' 7<sup>th</sup> task and the cleaning of Augeas' stables (fig. 232).<sup>934</sup> Again the task has been completed and the hero stands in profile in the middle of the panel.<sup>935</sup> His right foot is raised and propped on the lid of a basket as he leans forward, twisting his

---

<sup>932</sup> The bow which he presumably held in his left hand is now missing, but the quiver is slung over his left shoulder and its strap crosses the chest diagonally.

<sup>933</sup> Only one extant fragment depicts the completion of this task *and* matches the emotional quality of the Chiragan relief, and that is the metope of the archaic temple at Olympia in which Hercules presents a bird to the goddess Athena (LIMC Herakles 1705). The iconography differs but the tone is the same.

<sup>934</sup> The panel of Hercules' 8<sup>th</sup> Labor with the Cretan Bull is preserved only in fragments. No fragments of Hercules can be securely attached to this panel, but marvelously, the head of the bull is extant (MSR Inv. no. 28c, 303078; Dimensions: 48 cm. max. width; 49 cm max. height; 20 cm max. depth; This fragment was found in du Mège's excavations, for bibliography see du Mège 1828, no. 77; 1835 no. 165; Roschach 1865, no. 28h; Joulin 1901, fig. 117b; Espérandieu 1908, no. 899.9; Rachou 1912, no. 28C). The bull's head is massive, its eyes wide, its nostrils flared and its tongue hangs out. Atop its head is a hairy coat of two and three-pronged forks, executed with the drill. Hercules appears to have been wrestling the bull; fragments of the fingers of his left hand are preserved and grab the bull's right ear. His right arm appears to have put the bull in a headlock; its large tongue hangs over the hero's arm. Additional fragments of the bull's hooves and legs probably belong to this panel (see above nt. 934), though by their slightness as compared with the bull's large head is perplexing.

<sup>935</sup> MSR Inv. no. Ra 28j, 30376. Several fragments have been constructed to the following dimensions: 85 cm max. width; 138 cm max. height; 20 cm max. depth. Du Mège 1828 no. 83, 86 (the head); 1835; no. 173, 176 (the head); Roschach 1865, no. 28d; Joulin 1901, no. 101; Espérandieu 1908, no. 899.1 (head not pictured); Rachou 1912, no. 28j. The fragments of this relief seem to have been reconstructed around 1900, in methods that are no longer used (plaster, iron bolts, etc.).

body to rest his left elbow on his knee. He loosely holds a pick in his left hand, the pick head angled down.<sup>936</sup> Hercules' right hand is wrapped behind his body and rests on the small of his back in a direct quote of the celebrated figure type of Lysippus' Weary Hercules, which in turn underscores the hero's fatigue in this panel.<sup>937</sup> Such weariness contrasts with his inherent strength, as evident from his straight back, bulging torso muscles, and the lion's pelt, which is draped over his shoulder so that the head sits directly under Hercules' chin. Sculpted in low relief, the lion's ferocious head is cleverly placed to echo Hercules' determined forward gaze. This relief is among the most interesting in the series, in that there are clear precedents for Hercules' pose but no comparanda for this particular portrayal of the labor.<sup>938</sup> Thus the relief reflects an art-historical consciousness that scholars usually associate with workshop traditions or pattern book use.

A more conservative hypothesis would favor the use of pattern books, but parallels among the Chiragan reliefs and late-imperial era sarcophagi, especially those from Asiatic workshops, may signal connections between relief statuary production and sarcophagi.<sup>939</sup> The staging of several Chiragan panels resembles Asiatic columnar

---

<sup>936</sup> His club, not of use in this kind of work, lies next to the basket.

<sup>937</sup> This is a well-known type in the Hellenistic and Roman era, in a variety of media and scales.

<sup>938</sup> In sarcophagi the hero is commonly depicted standing erect with a pick slung over his left shoulder, cf. 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century sarcophagi from Rome (LIMC Herakles 1716; 1717; 1722). The Lysippan type is used rarely (Herakles 2300 and 2301, both from Rome). Most depictions show the hero at work, but depictions of this labor are rare and usually appear in cycles (LIMC Herakles, *Herakles and the Augeian Stables* (commentary by S. Woodford).

<sup>939</sup> It is unclear what workshop tradition architectural sculptures belonged to in the Late Antique period. However, Niels Hannestad recently argued that Roman sculpture scholars may wish to look more closely at



sarcophagi, in particular those that appear less frequently in numismatic or non-sequential iconographies.<sup>940</sup> For instance, the scene of Hercules' 9th labor with the Amazon queen Hippolyta (fig. 233).<sup>941</sup> At Chiragan, Hippolyta is depicted astride her horse in a stance that suggests flight. Both her back and the horse's rear face the viewer. Hippolyta wears a Phrygian cap and a *peplos* which has fallen from her right shoulder, presumably revealing her breast. She holds a double-headed axe in her right arm. Her shield has fallen to the bottom right corner of the panel, suggesting that she has been bested, or that the conflict is over (she does not appear to wear the belt).<sup>942</sup> The emotional impact of this scene rests in Hippolyta's gaze, which is rendered in profile and directed left, presumably locking eyes with Hercules. The hero is no longer extant but he must have occupied the entire left half of the panel. This composition, that is, a dynamic contrast between the male hero and the female queen with the latter in flight, is the arrangement preferred by Asiatic sarcophagi sculptors.<sup>943</sup>

---

sarcophagi production in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century for the precedents of large, late-mythological statuary (2007). When evidence for sarcophagi production is taken into account, the apparent decline in sculpture in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century is less pronounced. See also Jongste 1992 for analysis of Hercules' labors on Roman sarcophagi.

<sup>940</sup> Labors which appear frequently in non-sequential contexts include Hercules and the Lernian Hydra (LIMC Herakles 2058-92) and the Hercules and the Nemean lion (LIMC Herakles 1926-89). In the Roman period, these labors (among others) often appear on coin reserves, seal stones, statuettes and votives.

<sup>941</sup> MSR Inv. no. Ra 28h, 30381. Only the right half of the panel is preserved: 66 cm max. width; 146 cm max. height; 19 cm max. depth. Du Mège recovered fragments of the pelta, the body of the horse (1828; no. 79; 1835; no. 167; Roschach 1865, no. 28f). The body and head of the amazon were found in later excavations, see Joulin 1901, fig. 96b; Espérandieu 1908, no. 899.5.

<sup>942</sup> The belt is not visible. It is possible that she has already lost it or that she offered it to Hercules with her left hand which is no longer preserved (an idea fostered in later literary accounts, Apoll. Rhod. 2.966ff).

<sup>943</sup> In Roman sarcophagi Hippolyta is often dead or has fallen from her horse. She is rarely pictured atop her horse, and/or engaged in battle. The "fleeing" style is much more common in Asiatic sarcophagi, as is the inclusion of the pelta shield and Phrygian cap (Jongste 1992, discussion p. 18).

The panel which represents the 10th Labor and Hercules' capture of Diomedes' horses also appears to draw on the iconographic motifs used in Asiatic sarcophagi in that Diomedes, as opposed to his horses, plays a major role (fig. 234).<sup>944</sup> In the Chiragan panel Diomedes' horses have been relegated to the bottom left corner of the relief. Diomedes takes center stage, and cowers in the left half of the panel beneath Hercules, who stands at right. Hercules grabs Diomedes' head in his left hand and pulls it upwards.<sup>945</sup> Very little remains of the figure of Diomedes; only his face and left hand are extant, but with these fragments we can reconstruct the scene. Diomedes lashes out in pain and desperation. His eyes are eyes directed upward and his mouth gapes open as he grabs the hero's thigh with his left hand. His grip is tight and Hercules' flesh spills out from beneath the king's fingers. Hercules stands with his back towards viewers, and only his face is sculpted in profile. He wears the lion pelt atop his head. Again, it is placed so that the maw is open and ready to strike with a force that contrasts with the serenity of the hero's face and the twisted, pathetic expression of Diomedes.

---

<sup>944</sup> MSR. Inv. no. 28i, 30380. Three fragments of the panel remain. The figure of Hercules: 54 cm max. width; 105 cm max. height. 15 cm max. depth. The head of Diomedes: 30 cm max. width; 31 cm max. height; 16 cm max. depth. Fragment of two horse heads: 19 cm max. width; 38 cm max. height. 13 cm max. depth. The horses and Diomedes were recovered in du Mège's excavations; the figure of Hercules was found in Lebègue's excavations in the same zone, 1890-91.

<sup>945</sup> This labor was never very popular in non-sequential images. In Asiatic sarcophagi Diomedes is quite common but almost always as a subsidiary figure and on a smaller scale than the Diomedes of the Chiragan relief. In Roman sarcophagi, Diomedes seldom appears and his horses are much more prominent. The combat is with the horses, though it is rarely a "combat" and very often simplified to a simple portrayal of Hercules and two horse heads. If Diomedes appears, Hercules does often hold him by the hair, but this scene is much more common among Asiatic sarcophagi (Jongste 1992, catalogue and discussion pp. 19-20).

One final relief in this series further argues that the sculptural workshop responsible for these panels was familiar with the iconographic motifs of Eastern sarcophagi, or with the East's workshops.<sup>946</sup> At 103 cm wide and 155 cm tall it is the largest extant relief, though this is inconclusive because few of the panels can be fully reconstructed.<sup>947</sup> This panel depicts Hercules' defeat of the giant Geryon (fig. 235). In the Chiragan relief Geryon has fallen to his knees and cowers in the left corner of the panel at the feet of Hercules. The hero looms over the giant, his massive body stretched diagonally across the panel in a visual testament to his superior strength. His left foot sits

---

<sup>946</sup> In the interests of space, I have chosen to reserve discussion of the two remaining panels of Hercules labors for further study, and thus I present here only a short analysis of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> labors. The panel depicting Hercules with the golden apples of the garden of Hesperides is preserved in two fragments (MSR. Ra 28f, 30372 and Ra 28k, 30383). One of these (Ra 28k) is the hero's left hand, which clutches the apples; the lion skin is draped over the wrist. This fragment was found in Du Mège's excavations, while a fragment of the hero's torso (Ra 28f) belonging to this panel does not appear until Joulin 1901, Pl. IX, no. 119A (presumably found in the excavations of the 1890s). We can reconstruct the panel with Hercules occupying central space, his body frontal but oriented to the left, and the apples of Hesperides clutched behind his back. Fragments belonging to a panel of Hercules and Cerberus were not identified and reconstructed until 1997, and only the hero's torso remains (Ra 28e, 20279). The lion skin was presumably draped over his head – its paws lay tied on the hero's chest, and the skin flies out behind Hercules like a cape, suggesting his forward movement in and through the underworld. Again, the body is frontal facing but oriented towards the viewer's left. No fragments of Cerberus remain.

<sup>947</sup> Recent French scholarship has focused on this relief as significant within the series. Jean-Charles Balty sees particular importance in this labor, specifically in the focus on the defeat of a giant loosely associated with the Western Mediterranean and with the Tartessos region of southern Iberia (2008, 133-37). Balty associates the panel with the purported late 3<sup>rd</sup> century owner of the villa, Maximian (see below). In my opinion, however, this importance is unwarranted and detracts from our understanding of the Hercules reliefs as a set. To understand any emphasis on Geryon as a mark of the villa owner's personal connections to southern Hispania is a great stretch. Nor is the focus of this scene on the defeat of the giant as opposed to the capture of his cattle a significant departure from traditional iconography; scenes of the combat between Hercules and Geryon are infinitely more popular (Jongste 1992 discussion pg 20). On a different note, it is unclear that this was indeed the largest panel. The Hercules and Geryon relief is the largest *extant* in terms of total surface area and at 103 cm wide it is the widest. The panel of Hercules and the Stymphalian Birds measure 90.5 cm wide, and most of the others are estimated at 85-90 cm. Heights of the panels, however, are difficult to reconstruct because the top and bottom borders are seldom extant. The height of only three are known, and the relief of Hercules and Geryon is actually shorter than the relief of Hercules and the Stymphalian birds (151 cm vs. 161 cm). That of Hercules and Hippolyta is 146 cm tall. A good deal of variance in size may be inferred from this, such that arguments for the gross size of the Geryon panel as a mark of its importance cannot be substantiated.

atop Geryon's, with iconography that literally signals the victorious crushing the enemy. As in the previous panel of Hercules and Diomedes, the pathos of Geryon contrasts sharply with the calm visage of the hero, for Hercules has already dispatched two of the giant's three heads. Indeed, the giant is rendered as a man with three heads springing from a single neck and body, a formula which is particular to Asiatic sarcophagi.<sup>948</sup> The right head hangs lifeless and the left is dying; meanwhile Hercules holds the third and central head in his left hand, his right arm raised and poised to strike.

Given the probable Eastern origins of this relief set, it is perhaps no surprise that the panels borrow motifs favored by the workshops of Asia Minor. Analysis of each relief suggests that we also acknowledge degrees of iconographic innovation, but this is likely a product of the scale of this commission. The architectural format and the large size of individual panels has lent necessary space for the modernization of what was a highly traditional sequence. This synthesis of contemporary sculpture and classicizing, conservative iconography is, I believe, key to understanding the social landscape for which these late antique reliefs were commissioned.

---

<sup>948</sup> Jongste 1992, catalogue and discussion p. 20. Geryon was regularly chosen to represent this labor, even though Hercules' actual task was to capture his cattle, who do not appear in the extant fragments of the Chiragan relief and are often missing from Asiatic sarcophagi. Jongste notes, however, that the three-headed giant type, was never very popular (see also LIMC Herakles 2527).

### III.3 Analysis of the Hercules Labors Reliefs and the Relief Program at Chiragan

I have already mentioned the popularity of Hercules and his labors as a subject in arts of the Roman era, whether in mosaics and other luxury arts, or smaller objects like coins, terracotta, and lamps.<sup>949</sup> Hercules was an important figure in civic contexts throughout the Roman era, but he was also an especially beloved figure in the domestic sphere. Small statues of Hercules are commonly found in houses and villas from the 1<sup>st</sup> CE on, and Hercules and his labors were frequently chosen for mosaic pavements.<sup>950</sup> Outside of secular contexts, soldiers, the military elite, and even emperors (Augustus, Trajan, Commodus, Caracalla, Gallienus, the Gallic emperor Postumus, and Maximian, among others) saw Hercules as their divine patron.<sup>951</sup> Many emperors portrayed themselves in the guise of Hercules and appear wearing the hero's lion pelt in numismatic portraits and (more rarely) official portraiture.<sup>952</sup> Recent late antique scholarship has questioned the lasting appeal of Hercules, suggesting that in Late Antiquity he found favor among polytheists and Christians alike as a semi-divine mortal with indomitable strength and the

---

<sup>949</sup> LIMC Herakles 1713-61. For terracottas in particular see Nagy 2016. For the Hercules sequence in sarcophagi, Jongste 1992.

<sup>950</sup> For discussion of this motif in mosaics see Ellis 1991; Dunbabin 1999. The full labor sequence is particularly prominent among the mosaic pavements of North Africa and Iberia, cf. the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century mosaic from Liria (Valencia), MNA Madrid (LIMC Herakles 1741); mosaics from the Maison des Travaux d'Hercule, Volubis (Dunbabin 1978, 277, 6); from the House of M. Sinius Rufus, Tunis, now in the Bardo (*ibid.* 40, 238). Generally, each labor is laid out in a separate emblemata, *contra* the free-field composition of the labors at the villa Casale at Piazza Armerina, early 4<sup>th</sup> century (Wilson 1973).

<sup>951</sup> For the importance of Hercules vis-à-vis emperors of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century see Hekster 2005; see also Vermuele 1977 for 2<sup>nd</sup> century – Tetrarchs.

<sup>952</sup> A well-known example is the portrait of Commodus as Hercules in the Capitoline. Lesser known examples include numismatic portraits of the Tetrarchs (Sutherland 1967).

favor of the gods. His mythology, some have argued, was attractive as a story marked by failure, hardship, redemption, and immortality; as such, he may have been a key pagan figure in the assimilation of Christian beliefs.<sup>953</sup>

Thus, one might say that Hercules' appeal was universal. Such broad appeal is important to keep in mind when thinking about the motivation(s) behind this commission. A wealthy, influential *dominus* of Chiragan may well have seen himself in Hercules, as other have argued, but to my mind the choice of this mythological hero and this relief series lies in its legibility among a larger audience.<sup>954</sup> In my stylistic analysis of the Chiragan reliefs I call attention to several innovations, but I repeatedly stress the use of iconographies which do not depart from convention, insofar as these images borrow and build on tradition, celebrating Hercules as a time-honored hero. Thus these reliefs appeal to learned, cultured aristocrats, but also to their clients and non-elites as well. The familiarity of Hercules and his heroics are anchored in collective memory, and herein may lie the motivation behind such a display.

If we mark this iconography as familiar, and the socio-historical landscape of the later Roman era as amenable to it, only the architectural format chosen for these contemporary sculptures is puzzling. As stated previously, we have no parallel for reliefs of this size and scale in a domestic setting. Their legibility, and the prominence they must

---

<sup>953</sup> Uhlenbrook 1986. It has been further suggested that in the later Roman era Hercules was assimilated with Sol Invictus, who enjoyed particular prominence under Constantine.

<sup>954</sup> Cazes and Balty (2008, 133-137) link these reliefs with the purported late-3<sup>rd</sup> century *dominus* of Chiragan, Maximian. Léon Joulin linked the reliefs not to a specific person but to a great art collector with a taste for Hercules (1901). See also Strong (and Toynbee) 1976 for Hercules' appeal among elite *domini*.

have enjoyed on the walls of a large gallery or reception hall suggests an audience, which is not at odds with what we know of the estate as a setting for the reception of clients, the entertainment of local and visiting elites, and the regulation of sub-servient others.<sup>955</sup> In Chapter 5 we looked at estate owners in rural Novempopulania more broadly and the vibrant statuary habit which is documented archaeologically through the 4<sup>th</sup> century. I remind readers that it is in this particular landscape that Chiragan's statuary reliefs may have resonated with a wider audience. Their commission may be a consequence of this statuary environment, such that the particular character of Novempopulania and its statuary habit should remove some of the astonishment attached to Chiragan's "matchless" sculpture collection.<sup>956</sup> Few domestic audiences were better equipped to assess and appreciate the outstanding character of Chiragan's relief statuary program than the surrounding countryside and its neighboring *domini*, who were demonstrably invested in their estates as spaces for reception, entertainment, and status projection.

That said, it is possible to interrogate the use of architectural statuary at Chiragan further, as it remains the only villa in the region with this type of sculpture extant. The figure of Hercules has local comparanda, but a set of his labors in relief does not. This is not in itself strange, since the use of relief sculpture was much more frequent in civic architecture and public contexts. Thus viewers may have seen the seriated, contemporary

---

<sup>955</sup> The elaborate decoration of villa triclinia and audience halls in the archaeological record has also been interpreted as evidence of the villa's social function, cf. Ellis 1991; Dunbabin 1999; Scott 2004.

<sup>956</sup> I refer readers to Chapter 5. The fragmentary, scattered finds of antique statuary, portraiture, and late-mythological statuettes at villas like Séviac, Nérac, Lamarque, and Montmaurin do speak to a statuary habit among the region's elite landowners. Chiragan's extensive assemblage may preserve what has been lost at these sites, as argued in section II.5 of chapter 5.

architectural reliefs as an indicator of the estate's importance or quasi-official status, and thus a strong statement of its *domini's* authority and social position. A direct statement of relief statuary's importance in this villa is in fact preserved in an additional relief from the Chiragan assemblage which departs from the mythological genre, and depicts a probable *dominus* as a public official (fig. 236).<sup>957</sup> What is singular about this life-size portrait relief is that it appears to commemorate office-holding in the private sphere as opposed to the public, as though transplanting long-standing traditions of honorific portraiture and civic munification from an urban setting to a rural one. Large-scale architectural sculpture at Chiragan, and this relief portrait in particular, suggest the increasing importance of the villa as a socio-political landscape in Novempopulania.<sup>958</sup>

The second half of this chapter develops this argument, beginning with an examination of this relief portrait, and the recent arguments made for the identity of the person represented.

---

<sup>957</sup> That said, the reliefs are not necessarily contemporary.

<sup>958</sup> It could be said that the Roman villa had long played an unofficial role in facilitating socio-political exchanges among elites, clients and patrons, but that role is rarely celebrated explicitly in a villa's decoration with political art. The late antique villa as a socio-political sphere, however, correlate to an abandonment of urban life, politics or the *urbs* itself. Late antique archaeology has explored the "official" function of apsidal architecture in similar discussions (Ellis 1988; 1991), but much of this scholarship presumes a sort of retreat from political office and civic life (see critique in Bowes 2010). Here I am not arguing that Chiragan's statuary program correlates with its *domini's* decision to abandon urban life in politics, given the presence of an official, consular relief (discussion follows).



#### IV.A “Consular” Relief: Arguments for the Villa *Dominus* in Late Antiquity

Several fragments recovered in du Mège’s excavations have been reconstructed in recent years as a historicizing relief of a late antique official.<sup>959</sup> Three extant fragments preserve the head of a bearded man; vestiges of a right forearm in a long-sleeved, pleated tunic, with the right hand holding a *mappa*; and a fragment of a left hand holding a cylindrical baton, with the toga draped over the wrist (figs. 240-242).<sup>960</sup> The portrait head measures 29.5 cm tall and, if these three fragments do belong to the same individual, the whole relief stood around 1.5 meters tall, roughly equivalent in size to the Hercules reliefs.<sup>961</sup> Judging from the size and iconography of this relief panel, it must have been a prominent piece in the estate.

The portrait belongs to an older man with a strong brow, a lined forehead, deep naso-labial folds and prominent jawline (fig. 237). Two large wrinkles cross his brow and

---

<sup>959</sup> I note here that there are no joins to assure that these three fragments belong together. They were first associated with a single relief in the early 2000s by Jean-Charles Balty and then-curator of the Musée Saint-Raymond Daniel Cazes. Balty and Cazes were engaged at that time in a larger study of Chiragan’s imperial, in preparation for a series of catalog publications (2005; 2008; 2012; additional volumes *forthcoming*). The fragments were published independently in 2008 as Vol. V in the series of Chiragan’s portraits.

<sup>960</sup> MSR Inv. no. Ra 50, 30325 (head); Ra 97 (right arm); Ra 98 (left arm with drapery fragment). Dimensions of the head fragment: 29.5 cm tall; 22.5 cm max. width; 15.5 max. depth. Right arm fragment: 50.5 cm tall; 23.2 cm max. width; 17.5 cm max. depth. Left arm fragment: 35 cm tall; 18.7 cm max. width; 15 cm max. depth. The back of the extant fragments have been smoothed to accommodate hanging on the wall. For the most recent and thorough catalog publication, see Balty and Cazes 2008, no. 2, 55-74. See also Joulin 1901, PL. IX, no. 114B; Pl. XIV, no. 220B, no. 201B; Espérandieu 1908, no. 895.2; Bergmann 1999, Pl. 13 (Bergmann includes only the portrait head and the fragment of a right arm. The same patterning of wrinkles and a deeply lined brow is prominent in portraits of older men, primarily public officials, military leaders and philosophers, cf. 3<sup>rd</sup> century military portraits at Chiragan (Bergmann 2007); c. 5<sup>th</sup> century philosopher shield portraits of the Bishop’s house in Aphrodisias (Smith 1990); a late 4<sup>th</sup>, early 5<sup>th</sup> century togate statue of an older man, Rome (Smith and Ward-Perkins LSA-1068); c. 400 CE portrait of a male from Séviac (Chapter 5, see section II.3).

<sup>961</sup> Two other fragments of relief may be associated with these three, see below nt. 964.

intersect with two vertical furrows which rise up from the bridge of the nose. In the relief portrait, the man's pupils and irises are sculpted as concentric half-circles and the gaze is slightly lifted. The eyes are deep set, but the eyelids are nowhere near as heavy as among the relief figures we have seen. The hair is thick and lush, but only a few drilled curls and forked locks rest on the forehead; like the beard, the hair is worn rather short.<sup>962</sup> In terms of portrait iconography, the deeply lined face, steady gaze, and strong veristic features emphasize the man's age and respectability. These traits, and the deeply furrowed brow in particular, are well-documented in portraits of the elite, the military, and philosophers from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century on.<sup>963</sup>

If this portrait head does indeed belong with these two fragments of a male's left and right hands, the portrait belongs to a person of importance who is dressed in thin, long-sleeved tunic and toga.<sup>964</sup> He raises a *mappa* in his right hand, and likely holds a

---

<sup>962</sup> The "short" beard of this figure, is short in comparison to the figures of Hercules and male divinities in the other relief series at Chiragan. That said, the beard is rather thick by early 4<sup>th</sup> century standards for portraiture, and argues against the purported identity of the figure as Maximian. Additional arguments against the identification of Maximian follow.

<sup>963</sup> The same patterning of wrinkles and a deeply lined brow is prominent in portraits of older men, primarily public officials, military leaders and philosophers, cf. 3<sup>rd</sup> century military portraits at Chiragan (Bergmann 2007); c. 5<sup>th</sup> century philosopher shield portraits of the Bishop's house in Aphrodisias (Smith 1990); a late 4<sup>th</sup>, early 5<sup>th</sup> century togate statue of an older man, Rome (Smith and Ward-Perkins LSA-1068); c. 400 CE portrait of a male from Séviac (Chapter 5).

<sup>964</sup> For discussion of this costume see below section IV.2. Two other fragments merit discussion here, as they may be associated with this "consular" portrait. The fragments include a relief head of a young, idealized female (Ra 365, 30931), and a syrinx (Ra 108c). The idealized female head may belong to a nymph or a goddess or a (city) personification. The woman is depicted in profile, and wears a fillet around her head. The drill is used extensively in the coiffure, and bridgework is evident. The syrinx is particularly interesting here, in that (alongside the raised *mappa*), it may commemorate a series of games organized and financed by the Chiragan *dominus*. The syrinx has nine pipes, and its front is lightly incised with stylized geometric designs. The closest comparandum is the southeast side of the Theodosian obelisk base, where a group of musicians stand around a large, frontal organ. I admit that further study of these pieces, and their

scepter in the left, or possibly a scroll (fig. 238).<sup>965</sup> The domestic setting for this panel is curious – the costume and pose suggest a civic official, a magistrate or even a consul, but official images of this scale are generally reserved for pieces erected in public contexts, free-standing magistrate statues or historical reliefs of the Emperor. Again, and more blatantly than before, we see the use of architectural sculpture and urban rhetoric in a private setting.

Though the relief portrait is late antique, there is no strong consensus on its date, or the identity of the man.<sup>966</sup> The panel has received minimal publication. In its only catalog publication in 2008, Balty and Cazes identify the fragments as belonging to an effigy to the Emperor Maximian, in commemoration of his consulship in 293 CE (fig. 239).<sup>967</sup> This argument stems in part from the presumed identification of a “consul” in the relief panel, but also from apparent similarities with a free-standing portrait head recovered at Chiragan which has been identified as Maximian (fig. 240). I am of the

---

relationship to the portrait relief discussed above, is warranted. For discussion of these pieces see also Balty and Cazes no. 2d and e, 61ff.

<sup>965</sup> The scroll is generally interpreted as an insignium of *paideia*, Zanker 1995, 190-97, 268-84. Smith marks the scroll as a “civic, urban attribute” (2002Oec, 142-43). For the scroll in late-Roman statuary see the statue of Oecumenius, c. 400 CE, who holds a scroll in his right hand (Inv. 65-199, Aphrodisias museum; and a chlamydatus statue from the early 5<sup>th</sup> century (Mendel 508, Istanbul Archaeological Museum) in Smith (1999).

<sup>966</sup> Espérandieu includes only the head in his catalogue and suggests it may be associated with the Hercules panels (1908, no. 895.2; he dates the technical work broadly to the Late Antique era). Cazes and Balty (2008, no. 2, 55-74) suggest a date in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century, and identify the portrait as Maximian. Bergmann (1999, Pl. 13) discusses the work passim in her study of Aphrodisian sculptures at Chiragan, and suggests a date in the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>967</sup> This particular date is largely based on Balty’s reconstruction of a dynastic statuary group with a *terminus post quem* of 293 (Maximian’s fourth consulship), because of portraits identified as Maximian, his wife, Eutropia, his son Maxentius, and Maxentius’ wife, Valeria Maximilla. Valeria Maximilla was married to Maximian at an unknown point in time *terminus ante quem* 293 (Balty and Cazes 2008, 123-26). For the portrait of “Maximian” see discussion in text. For the portraits of Maxentius, Eutropia, and Valeria Maximilla, now associated with the 4<sup>th</sup> century, see Appendix 6.2.

opinion that there are strong similarities between the relief portrait and the free-standing portrait, such that both may portray the same man at different stages of life. This individual was likely one of Chiragan's later *domini*, an elite individual who served in some sort of official capacity. However, I do not agree with the identification of this figure as the Emperor Maximian, as Balty and Cazes have suggested, and date both the portrait relief and the free-standing head to the later 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>968</sup> I turn to the free-standing portrait now to refute the Maximian argument, before examining the valence of consular imagery in the relief panel in greater detail.

#### IV.1 Maximian's portraiture at Chiragan?

As previously stated, the identification of the relief portrait as Maximian is dependent on a younger, free-standing portrait of the same individual. The free-standing portrait head verges on colossal, and measures 36.5 cm from the crown to the tip of the beard (fig. 240).<sup>969</sup> The piece is broken at the neck and may belong either to a portrait bust or a

---

<sup>968</sup> Though their argument for Chiragan as (one of) Maximian's imperial villa(s) is relatively new (Balty and Cazes 2008), the site has long been cast as an imperial villa because of its grandiose size and the wealth of artistic material culture found in excavations. The guise of "imperial villa" has largely divorced Chiragan from any study of local *domini* and peer polity interactions, and/or certain traditions of elite habitation which may be regionally grounded, as I have argued in chapter 5. The assumption that a villa of this size must be an imperial residence is deeply flawed, as is our scholarly bias towards individuals named in ancient prosopography. It may be that Chiragan's statuary collection knows no local equivalent but that does not immediately mark it as an imperial residence.

<sup>969</sup> MSR inv. no. 34b, 30306. Dimensions from the break at the base of the neck to the top of the head: 43 cm max. height; 27 cm; max. width; 33 cm max. depth. For the most recent catalog publication of the piece and extensive bibliography see Balty and Cazes 2008, no. 1, pp 35-53. See also du Mège 1828, no. 147; 1835, no. 230; Roschach no. 50 (identified as Hercules); Joulin 1901, Pl. VI, no. 60B (Joulin suggests that the piece may be part of the shield medallion series) Espérandieu 1908, no. 892.8 (incorrectly identifies the piece as a head Jupiter and also associates it with the shield medallions, dating it to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century). After Balty's publication of the piece in 1995 (*Le Regard de Rome*, no. 171) successive scholars have

statue. The head was found in du Mège's 1826 excavations, and early reactions to the figure's broad face, deep-set eyes, and exaggerated features were not positive. Du Mège describes the piece as a mediocre "relic of a decadent later era" in initial reports.<sup>970</sup> In 1835 he formally identifies the portrait as a 3rd century iteration of the Emperor Maximian, citing the stocky, wide face, thick neck, strongly arched brows, and deep naso-labial folds as hallmarks of Tetrarchic portraiture.<sup>971</sup>

This attribution stood loosely until the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, when Jean-Charles Balty renewed investigation of the piece.<sup>972</sup> Balty's catalog publication of the portrait has removed some of the stigma which was previously associated with it as a late antique manufacture. He highlights the technical virtuosity of the piece, which he rightly associates with an elite commission. He praises the delicate balance the portrait's bulkier features - the spherical head and strong, thick neck – with the skilled use of the drill in individual locks of the beard and coiffure. However, he does not depart from previous scholarship and supports the identification of the portrait as Maximian. Balty compares the "v" shape of the free-standing portrait's pupils and the gross volume of the head with soldier-emperor portraits of the later 3<sup>rd</sup> century, and cites comparanda for the figure's strongly arched brows and deep naso-labial folds in a veristic portrait of a Tetrarch

---

identified the piece as Maximian Hercules (Meischner 2001, no. 228, 78-79; Rosso 2006, no. 236, *contra* Bergmann 1999 who marks the portrait as a 4<sup>th</sup> century work).

<sup>970</sup> Du Mège 1828, no. 147, 75

<sup>971</sup> Du Mège 1835, no. 230, 129-30. It is possible that Du Mège's identification here is influenced in part by the great number of imperial portraits known at Chiragan.

<sup>972</sup> Balty and Cazes 2008, no. 1, 35-53.

sporting the *corona civica* from Nicomedia (perhaps Diocletian) (fig. 241).<sup>973</sup> With late-3<sup>rd</sup> century portraiture in place as comparanda, Balty confirms identification of the portrait as Maximian.

This attribution would be less problematic if it were not used to martial a larger claim for Chiragan's late antique sculptures as a gross commission for Maximian's imperial villa (although there is no historical evidence that Maximian spent any time in Novempopulania).<sup>974</sup> These arguments are dependent on the aforementioned consular relief and its purported similarity to the free-standing "Maximian" portrait, but other sculptures have been drawn into the fray, among them the Hercules reliefs and several late antique private portraits in the assemblage marked as a dynastic statuary group.<sup>975</sup> I review elements of this argument passim but I begin with the identification of this free-

---

<sup>973</sup> Istanbul Archeological Museum inv. no. 4864. Recent scholarship (Smith and Ward-Perkins 2015, LSA Database) has suggested that this head may have been recurved from an earlier portrait, and that its identity as Diocletian is debatable. For discussion of the purported similarities among this portrait and the Chiragan head, see Balty and Cazes 2008, 38-45.

<sup>974</sup> Balty and Cazes (2008, 129-132) have little concrete evidence for Maximian's presence in Aquitaine. For presence in the West more broadly, they cite evidence for campaigns in Spain and North Africa in 297-98 CE. They also cite a fragmentary epic poem, preserved in a papyrus at the Université of Strasbourg, which alludes to Maximian's campaigns against pirates c. 293 or 296 in Baetica. How this relates to Aquitaine, however, is unclear.

<sup>975</sup> The Hercules reliefs and several free-standing portraits have also been drawn into the corpus of evidence for Chiragan as Maximian's imperial villa. Balty and Cazes associate the Hercules reliefs with this free-standing head for stylistic and historical reasons. The paucity of firm chronological dates for the reliefs, this free-standing "Maximian" portrait, and the relief portrait of the same (?) individual has facilitated such arguments. True, Maximian is known to have taken the title *Herculius*, but so did many emperors; I have already made arguments for the collective appeal of these reliefs (see above). The similarities across the coiffure of this portrait, and male figures in the Hercules reliefs and the shield medallions, however, may merit further consideration. Balty and others have suggested that the reliefs, this portrait, and several others (Appendix 6.2) come from the same workshop(s), and may be products of a single commission (Balty and Cazes 2008, pages 133-38; Bergmann 1999, 35). Bergmann has stressed the repetitive formulae of hair, the two and throng-pronged forked curls, and drilled, circular ringlets (1999). While this portrait, the Hercules reliefs, and the shield medallions may indeed be products of a single commission, they should not be dated to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Further treatment follows.

standing portrait head as Maximian, which is at odds with extant iconography of the Tetrarch.

Certifiable portraits of the Emperor Maximian are known only in coins and group Tetrarchic portraits. If we look to Tetrarchic sculpture, the porphyry group statues from Rome and Constantinople are a far cry from the Chiragan head. In group statuary, the features of individual Tetrarchs are assimilated, such that heads are square, brows are wrinkled, gazes are direct and expressionless, and proportions are stocky (fig. 242).<sup>976</sup> Such heavily abstracted portraiture lacks the plasticity of the Chiragan head, though such plasticity or realism may not have been its design. Scholars have argued that the abstracted, homogenizing portraiture of the Tetrarchy presented the rulers as a united front and served a programmatic function.<sup>977</sup> Indeed, scholars are seldom able to differentiate between the Tetrarchy's Augusti and Caesares in either group portraits or free-standing statues.<sup>978</sup> Numismatic portraits offer no additional aid. Studies of the

---

<sup>976</sup> The porphyry column group (Rome, Vatican Museums) of the older Tetrarchs, Diocletian and Maximian, is not easily distinguishable from the younger Caesares. The pair is shown in an embrace; the figure at left has his arm wrapped around the figure at right, and it rests of the latter's shoulder. Both men wear the *corona* civica and hold an orb in their hands, symbolizing their dominion. In the porphyry group from Constantinople, now affixed to St. Mark's in Venice, the posture is quite similar, but all four figures hold swords and none are identifiable as individuals. Art historians rely on posturing, costumes, and attributes to differentiate between the Augusti and Caesares but even then this is difficult and inconclusive. For discussions of Tetrarchic portraiture in context see L'Orange 1965; Meischner 2001, 69-72; Prusac 2011.

<sup>977</sup> Cf. L'Orange 1965; Kleiner 1992, 400-407. I note here Prusac's recent arguments for this stylization as a feature of re-cutting and reuse of antique portraiture (2011). Such arguments seem prompted, in part, by recent scholarship in late antique history which has sought to dispel the Tetrarchy as a revolution, cf. arguments in Bowman 2005 against Diocletian's reforms as a pre-mediated program.

<sup>978</sup> Tetrarch heads have come to light at many urban sites, but the portrait can rarely be used to identify an individual Tetrarch. Geographic location of the find (East vs. West) is generally used to mark the Tetrarch as Maximian or Diocletian.

Tetrarchy's coinage suggests that the mints, like sculptural workshops, assimilated the facial features of all four rulers. In coins the emperors appear in profile as hardy rulers with short hair, thick necks, tightly coiled beards and a piercing, direct gaze. No thought is given to developing individual physiognomies for each Tetrarch, which indeed may have been beside the point.<sup>979</sup>

Thus, in the only identifiable numismatic portraits of Maximian he looks no different from the other Tetrarchs. He has a thick neck, a strong gaze, a tightly curled beard, and short cropped hair (fig. 243).<sup>980</sup> This iconography is a far cry from the Chiragan portrait and this individual's long beard, forked curly hair, and expressive face with deep-set eyes and arched brows. While exaggerated, these features have not been abstracted for the sake of style, as they seem to be in Tetrarchic portraiture. As such, I see no extant comparanda in Maximian's iconography or Tetrarchic imagery more broadly for identification of the Chiragan portrait as a Tetrarch, let alone Maximian (fig. 240). Scholars like R.R.R. Smith and Bryan Ward-Perkins have recently suggested, independently, that the Chiragan portrait should be dated to the later 4<sup>th</sup> century and to a resurgence of classicizing style in the Theodosian era.<sup>981</sup> Of particular importance is the

---

<sup>979</sup> For numismatic portraits and Tetrarchic coinage see Sutherland 1967, 88-89; Reyes 1993.

<sup>980</sup> One of the few coins which may possess a more individualized iconography is an *aureus* of Maximian Hercules produced in the mint of Trèves in 302, in which the emperor is dressed as Hercules and wears the lion's head. Balty cites this portrait in his catalog (2008, fig. 13). In this numismatic portrait, the beard is somewhat thicker than is customary (cf. Sutherland 1967), but the tufts of the beard have a circular arrangement, much like the rounded tufts which also appear on the free-standing Tetrarchic portrait from Nicomedia (Diocletian? See above nt. 973). I note, however, that these rounded tufts of beard are not the long, circular forked and s-shaped curls of the Chiragan portrait.

<sup>981</sup> LSA-1071, Smith and Ward-Perkins.



beard this individual wears. In the Tetrarchic and Constantinian era, beards (when worn at all) are short and only lightly marked. Only in the Theodosian era do longer beards enjoy a resurgence, and by 380 CE a beardless face has become the exception.<sup>982</sup>

With this in mind, we may want to adopt a new approach to the study of this piece. Without evidence to certifiably mark the portrait as a Tetrarch, or even an imperial person, it is wrong to do so. This head more likely belongs to a private portrait of a late 4<sup>th</sup> century elite *dominus*, and as such furnishes additional evidence for this region's statuary habit in Late Antiquity. As we saw in Chapter 5 Novempopulania's *domini* used statuary projects, and especially portraiture, to assert their social standing and elite identity well through the 4th century.

Reassessment of the "Maximian" portrait as a private portrait of a late 4<sup>th</sup> century elite person also affects interpretation of the consular relief portrait which purportedly depicts the same individual, albeit older. The differences between these two portraits have been downplayed in the recent publication but such differences merit discussion, because they speak to an extended period of statuary commissions at Chiragan, possibly under one individual.<sup>983</sup> In the free-standing head, the smooth, flat cheeks and heavily bearded jawline create a highly textured facial landscape, dominated by a large forehead and ridged brow. This man's eyelids are very heavy and half-cover his bulbous eyes.

---

<sup>982</sup> Smith 2002, 139. From this point on, the beard is associated with public magistrates, officials, and philosopher types (Smith 1990; Meischner 2001, 113-125; Smith 2002 138-140), cf. the portrait of Oecumenius, the governor of Aphrodisias, dated to the early 5<sup>th</sup> century (Smith 2002) and for local comparandum, a portrait loosely dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century at Lamarque (chapter 5, section II.1 and fig. 181) of an older male, who wears a long, curly beard.

<sup>983</sup> Balty and Cazes 2008 for the most recent publication.

Both the iris and pupil are drilled in the form of a small “u”. The free-standing portrait has no wrinkles and the skin is smooth, suggesting that the individual is 15-25 years younger than the man in the relief, if both men are indeed the same individual.

In the relief portrait (fig. 237), age lines have formed across the forehead, the brow, and at the corners of the eyes. Naso-labial folds are more pronounced and the lower half of the face has taken on additional weight. The passage of time here is significant in that it may document single individual’s life story. The maturity of the sitter in the relief portrait suggest it was commissioned at a later time than the portrait, near the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. However, because we cannot be sure that both men are one and the same, a conservative *terminus post quem* in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century must be given to the relief portrait based on the figure’s dress.<sup>984</sup> From the fragments of the right forearm and left hand, we can reconstruct a toga and a long-sleeved undergarment (fig. 238).

#### IV.2 The Relief of a Late Antique Official

The long-sleeved undergarment purportedly worn by this individual is a particular feature of the later “toga dress” suit, according to R.R.R. Smith’s study of late honorific portraiture.<sup>985</sup> Extant statuary suggests that later *togae* mark a significant departure from the toga of the Imperial era. In public statues of the later Roman era, two undergarments

---

<sup>984</sup> I note here that even if the portrait head and the two arm fragments do not belong to the same individual, they surely belong to the same relief fragment, see also nt. 964 for two additional fragments, perhaps related to this piece.

<sup>985</sup> Smith 1999; see also 2002; 1997.

are worn beneath the toga, as opposed to the one of earlier eras. Smith's work documents the appearance of such costumes in public statuary beginning in the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century, which he marks as a direct response to the augmentation of the elite class (figs. 244, 245).<sup>986</sup> Full standing statuary suggests that both this long-sleeved garment and the tunic were worn beneath the toga, and both garments were shortened in late antiquity to reveal patrician boots and further distinguish his rank in public office. With an increasingly large body of official civil servants and titled elite, Smith argues, the traditional toga had become inadequate as a status symbol. New iconographies, rather, were developed to fulfill the needs of an increasingly diverse class of elite, and coincides with the production of many new statues in Eastern metropolises and in Rome in Late Antiquity.<sup>987</sup>

Smith and other scholars have further argued that in these togate statues, attributes like the *mappa* and the scepter may have been used to distinguish rank or official status. The *mappa* in particular has been read as an attribute of a consul, because it was used to signal the beginning of games, but the status of this attribute as "consular" is now debated

---

<sup>986</sup> For discussion of late antique dress in public statuary in depth see Smith 1999, 176-80; 2002, 142-44; 2016, 15-19. Smith suggests that changes to the toga were prompted by increased interest in articulating the level of one's elite status in the later 3<sup>rd</sup> century, since all individuals were technically Romans and could wear the toga in theory (1999, 179). The shortened length of the toga brought more attention to the figure's boots, see below. Additional attributes – the scroll, the *mappa*, the scepter – were also added to further distinguish the rank of individuals in public office, see discussion below. These arguments, as readers may know, are linked to concurrent arguments for the bureaucratic rise in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, cf. Heather 1994; 1997.

<sup>987</sup> The most thorough treatment of this phenomenon remains Smith's work, 1997; 1999; 2016; Smith and Ward-Perkins, eds. 2016. The vast majority of extant sculptures are associated with urban centers in the Eastern Empire, cf. Aphrodisias (Smith 2016), Ephesus (Auinger and Sokolicek 2016); and Rome (cf. Weisweiler 2012; Machado and Lenaghan 2016).

because of the frequency with which it appears in provincial and public statuary from the late 4<sup>th</sup> century on. For example, various *togati* hold and raise *mappae* on southeastern face of the Theodosian obelisk base in Constantinople, but these half dozen men could not all have been consuls in the same year (fig. 246).<sup>988</sup> It is thus possible that the *mappa* served a largely symbolic or costume function as an elite attribute in the 4<sup>th</sup> century (Smith 1990), at least before it was restricted to consular imagery at some point in the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

In the Chiragan relief, the man holds a *mappa* in his right hand, and the domestic setting would seem to discount any public purpose for this relief. That said, the raised *mappa* may still be significant, and could mark the official status of this portrait figure, even if the relief itself served no official purpose. Indeed, raised *mappae* appear frequently in public statuary, and are often used to distinguish an office holder, as on a statue of 5<sup>th</sup> century proconsul in Ephesus and several Theodosian-era statues associated with magistrates in Aphrodisias (fig. 245).<sup>989</sup> In Rome, fewer late antique honorific statues are extant, but two *togati* statues are known from the Horti Liciani (fig. 244).<sup>990</sup>

An older, clean-shaven man and a younger man, presumably father and son, wear the late

---

<sup>988</sup> For discussion of this attribute and its possible association with the elite class, as opposed to a consulship see Smith 1999, 179-80; see also Cameron 2013.

<sup>989</sup> Two Aphrodisian statues are mentioned in Smith 2002, 179-80: a 5<sup>th</sup> or early 6<sup>th</sup> century statue of a senatorial rank individual, Pytheas, who wears the late toga, and a younger magistrate in a chlamys from the early 5<sup>th</sup> century (Pl. IV; I.4); see also Smith 2016. The raised arm required a larger block of marble, such that a raised *mappa* is significant in a free-standing statue. Another statue in Aphrodisias dated to the late 5<sup>th</sup> or early 6<sup>th</sup> century holds a lowered *mappa* in the right hand, but a scepter in the left. Smith has argued that this attribute here may suggest the individual's proconsular status, perhaps as governor.

<sup>990</sup> Few extant statues remain, but even amidst the decline of the epigraphic habit statuary bases attest to a continuance of public dedications, see Weisweiler 2012; also 2010.

antique toga costume; the left hand is broken on both statues but with the right hand both raise the *mappa*. These statues have been dated to the early 5<sup>th</sup> century, and more recently to the Theodosian era.<sup>991</sup>

This comparanda attests to the highly codified dress code in place from the late 4<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> century, and the *raised* mappa as an attribute of high-ranking magistrate, and/or one who had the ability to initiate official games. But the public setting of these honorific free-standing statues, whether in Rome or Aphrodisias, discourages against interpretations of the Chiragan relief as functionally equivalent to a public magistrate statue. Rather, the setting and the format of the Chiragan piece may suggest connections to another more private form of late-Roman art, the consular diptych.

Consular diptych - small sculpted ivory portrait panels – were apparently commissioned to commemorate an individual's rise to the consulship (fig. 247).<sup>992</sup> Most have not been found in archaeological excavation, but from the small size of the panels and the preciousness of the material scholarship assumes that they had a private valence. Literary evidence suggests that beginning in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century, these panels were exchanged as gifts among elites, as visual effigies to an individual's public standing and civic service.<sup>993</sup> The imagery of these diptychs is quite standard: the official is frontal facing, erect or seated and dressed in late antique toga. He often holds the *mappa*

---

<sup>991</sup> LSA 1068, LSA 1069, dated to the early 5<sup>th</sup> century by Smith and Ward-Perkins (LSA Database), and to the Theodosian era by Machado and Lenaghan (2016).

<sup>992</sup> For further treatment see Cameron 2013.

<sup>993</sup> Symmachus' letters suggest that his son circulated consular diptychs after he gave the annual games in Rome, [CITE](#)

(sometimes raised) in the right hand, and/or the scepter in the left.<sup>994</sup> Most of the extant consular diptychs date to the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> century, but strong similarities among this genre and the Chiragan relief again suggest that Chiragan piece should be dated no earlier than the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and more likely the final quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

A late 4<sup>th</sup> century date, however, does not ease identification of the Chiragan portrait as a consular portrait. We have no extant consular diptychs before the early 5<sup>th</sup> century, such that it is unclear how firmly developed this “consular” iconography was in the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>995</sup> Alan Cameron, like R.R.R. Smith, has argued that in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, the *mappa* was not yet an attribute reserved for consular office. Cameron argues that it may have been used (as in the Theodosian base) by various magistrates, and especially by those who sponsored public games.<sup>996</sup>

Thus we should be cautious about associating the Chiragan’s relief portrait with a consulship as opposed to a magistracy or provincial governorship.<sup>997</sup> Public *togati* with a

---

<sup>994</sup> Scholars have argued that the raised *mappa* in consular diptychs commemorates the lavish games which the consuls gave each year. Indeed, the setting of some diptychs is specified as the circus or public arena, cf. the diptych of Areobindus, consul of Constantinople in 506 CE (Musée national du Moyen Âge (Musée Cluny)).

<sup>995</sup> The earlier extant diptych, securely dated, is that of Ancius Probus in 406 CE (Museo di Aosta).

<sup>996</sup> We have no extant diptychs dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Alan Cameron’s recent study of the origins of this genre (2013), however, suggests that ivories may have been produced in the later 4<sup>th</sup> century but at which point they were not restricted to consuls. Cameron’s suggestion depends on letters of Symmachus, which suggest that he commissioned small ivories and other objects for friends and elite contacts to commemorate the games given by his son, and the praetorian games of his close friend Memmius. Cameron thus suggests that magistrates who sponsored and paid for games may have been among the first to present these objects as elite gifts, with the iconography becoming “consular” only in later years. Cameron’s argument focuses on a different medium and can only be taken so far in discussion of Chiragan, but if this iconography cannot be securely associated with consuls before the 5<sup>th</sup> century, it is best to associate the Chiragan relief with a magistrate as opposed to a consul.

<sup>997</sup> As a mark of an office-holding, I cite the raised *mappa*. I acknowledge, however, that it is possible that the relief depicts the elite *dominus* in the guise of a late antique elite, rather than an official (see Smith’s

raised *mappa* do not mark a consul in most settings, especially in the provinces. We must also remember that the raised *mappa* and consular diptych were not fully developed as consular iconography in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Thus at present, the Chiragan relief is best interpreted as the portrait of a local elite *dominus* who achieved a magistracy in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century, or served in some sort of official capacity in imperial bureaucracy. The raised *mappa* may suggest this official status, or actively commemorate a series of games that this *dominus* sponsored while in office.

Whatever position this individual held, we should note that the commission of an “official” relief portrait for his estate strongly suggests that he did not abandon life in his locality. It may be that the aforementioned younger, free-standing portrait head depicts the same man, and stands as evidence for a *dominus* who resided at Chiragan both before and after he served in an official capacity. That a sculptural relief portrait commemorating his service is documented in a private setting as opposed to a public context is significant, but is in no way a departure from the mode of Novempopulania. This mode of self-commemoration – contemporary marble portraiture – evinces participation in the local statuary habit, and thus suggests the social climb of a local *dominus* in and of Novempopulania. Beyond the “official” iconography of this consular relief, the context of its display evinces the importance of local elite identity construction.

---

arguments above). Further study of this piece is necessary to affix a more precise date to the iconography, and to ascertain any relationship to consular diptych.

### IV.3 The Nymfius Inscription at the Villa of Valentine: Local *Domini* in Office

To explore evidence for Novempopulania's local elite *domini* as bureaucratic officials in greater depth, I close this particular section with explicit confirmation for such suggestions at the nearby villa of Valentine (35 kilometers southwest of Chiragan).<sup>998</sup> A funerary epitaph associated with this villa, the so-called Nymfius inscription, celebrates the deceased as an *illustratus* who served in both local and provincial government. The Nymfius epitaph thus provides rare inscriptional evidence for the participation of Novempopulanian elite in various levels of imperial administration, and the villa estate as a place for commemoration of those activities.<sup>999</sup>

The Nymfius inscription (CIL XII 128, see Appendix 6.1) is a poem of 24 in elegiac couplets dedicated to the deceased by his wife, Serena, loosely dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1000</sup> The marble stone on which it was inscribed measures 1.97 meters in length and is 0.73 meters in height. The stone had been reused in the walls of a small church not far from the site of Valentine. Therefore, the inscription cannot be securely connected to

---

<sup>998</sup> For a summary of the villa Valentine, see chapter 5, nt. 756 and *passim* section III.2.

<sup>999</sup> I note that our understanding of Gallic elite more broadly is heavily biased towards the Late Antique period's literary sources; Ausonius, Sidonius and Martin of Tours have permitted syntheses of a "vibrant late-Roman Gallic Aristocracy". The correspondence culture of the Gallic elite highlights the ongoing importance of patron client relationships and social connections, couched in an ethos of *paideia* and *xenia*. This evidence is important in its own right, but it privileges the circles of the imperial court and predisposes us to see imperial office as infinitely more important or superior to local and/or provincial government. While literary sources like Ausonius, Sidonius and Martin of Tours give insight into a vibrant late-Roman Gallic Aristocracy and are important in their own right (see Sivan 1993, chapter 2; Balmelle 2001, chapter 1), this sort of evidence should not be mapped directly onto the villas and archaeological remains of southwestern Gaul.

<sup>1000</sup> This date is based in part on its association with the villa Valentine and its late antique floruit in the early-to-mid 4<sup>th</sup> century.



the villa of Valentine, but the history of pilfered building materials used in the construction of this church does suggest that the inscription came from the villa of Valentine, and likely from the extra-mural mausoleum/temple associated with the estate.<sup>1001</sup>

In 1993 Hagith Sivan published her analysis of the inscription with an eye towards the religious, socio-economic and political identities of this Nymfius.<sup>1002</sup> The inscription of such a lengthy literary poem on a large, marble stone strongly suggests that the deceased was an educated elite individual, and presumably the owner of the extensive villa located nearby. For our purposes, this inscription sheds light on the socio-political profile of elite residents in the area. The poem begins with effusive praise of Nymfius' personal merits and virtue as it develops his role as an elite patron on multiple levels.

---

<sup>1001</sup> The inscription was first discovered in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and later removed when the church was destroyed in 1738 and taken to the Musée de Toulouse (now the Musée Saint-Raymond). The church – the priory d'Arnesp – in which the inscription was found was probably built in the 14<sup>th</sup> century along with the 13<sup>th</sup> century bastide de Valentine. It is located not 600 meters from a Romanesque church built in 1188 on the ruins of an earlier Roman or paleo-Christian temple/mausoleum and necropolis. Valentine's excavator Georges Fouet suggested that the inscription probably belonged in a rectangular structure, 6.60m by 5.42m, which was found not far from the villa estate of Valentine and excavated in the 1970s (Fouet 1980; 1990). The function of this structure is unclear though its architecture suggests a small paleo-Christian or pagan temple, or a mausoleum. Fouet dates it loosely to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Colored marble plaques, an architectural marble of a dolphin and a small non-portable altar table were found inside. Fouet also suggests that materials of this structure were possibly reused in later constructions in the region, for example, the bastide de Valentine and the priory d'Arnesp.

<sup>1002</sup> The inscription was first examined by du Mège as Toulouse's Inspector of Antiquities in 1806, and first appears in Roschach's catalog of the museum in 1865. For additional biography see CIL XII 128. The religious identify of Nymfius as either Christian or pagan has dominated most discussions of this inscription in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (see Sivan 1993 for further treatment and bibliography). There is scholarly consensus that Nymfius was a Christian, though this is unconfirmed. The language of the epitaph language borrows classical formulae and literary styling, and Sivan reminds us that Christian funerary language had not developed its own conventions by the 4<sup>th</sup> century (*ibid.* 105-06). The marble stone itself is decorated with five crosses, but these could have been added at a later date. The religious beliefs and practices of Nymfius are irrecoverable, but if he was Christian he (like many other *domini*, see Bowes 2008) may have played an important role among local lay communities (Sivan 1993, 107-08).

Line 9 reads *te coluit proprium provincia cuncta parentem*, the whole province called you its own father. The metaphorical use of *parens* here appears as early as the late Republic, but nevertheless this conceit suggests that the entire province (presumably Novempopulania) and its people looked on Nymfius as *parens*.<sup>1003</sup> The adjective *proprius* also has a private valence, and strongly suggests that Nymfius belonged here and is of this region.<sup>1004</sup>

The verses that follow suggest that Nymfius held multiple official appointments. Lines 10 and 11 describe Nymfius' benefactions, and in particular the *munera* he gave to *plaudentis populi*. The "cheering people" strongly suggest that *munera* refers to games he sponsored, although *munera* may refer more broadly to public service and munification projects. If Nymfius did sponsor games, however, they likely coincided with an office-holding appointment, perhaps at the regional level.<sup>1005</sup> In lines 13-14 the deceased is presented as the link between the *patria* and a council of the local elite: *concilium procerum per te patria alma vocavit seque tuo duxit sanctius ore loqui*. According to this verse, the *patria* called upon Nymfius to organize a local *concilium* of *proceres*, a local elite council. The *patria*, the inscription claims, spoke to this body through Nymfius,

---

<sup>1003</sup> In another verse of the inscription Nymfius is presented metaphorically as the *princeps* (line 18) whose death has brought multiple cities and their people to grief. This statement is obviously effusive but makes no mistake as to his importance in provincial society.

<sup>1004</sup> The use of *proprius* as opposed *suus* may suggest private possession of the deceased as *parens*. The use of *suus* would be fairly neutral, whereas *proprius* implies a more nuanced relationship, and almost a sense of personal ownership. The TLL identifies the primary meaning of *proprius* as something pertaining to a particular person or thing in such a way that it neither belongs to, nor is common to anyone else (*proprius* TLL, Vol. X 2, p. 2094 I. 50ff). However, the metrical composition of this poem must also be taken into consideration, because *proprius* fulfills a poetic function that *suus* cannot.

<sup>1005</sup> For the relationship between games and public service, see Cameron 2013 in Late Antiquity; see also discussion of circus and games in Humphrey 1986.

which suggests that Nymfius was the mediator between the two groups and was himself connected both to imperial administration and to the local council.

On the local level, it is not clear to what body specifically the *concilium procerum* refers. Scholars suggest that the *concilium* may be a municipal body like the *curia* of nearby Lugdunum Conventus; or a provincial assembly; or even an ecclesial body attached to the diocese.<sup>1006</sup> Sivan is of the opinion that the stress given to the province in line 9 favors identification of the *concilium procerum* as a provincial assembly, though it is also possible that the *concilium procerum* was a municipal body in which Nymfius served as interlocutor. While we cannot know precisely how this body of *proceres* functioned, we do know that *proceres* were the wealthiest individuals in society and participated in both urban/municipal and provincial assemblies well into late antiquity.<sup>1007</sup> From this inscription, it is clear that Nymfius was a member of this *concilium*, but he was also active in higher levels of administration as its speaker in extra-regional functions.<sup>1008</sup>

---

<sup>1006</sup> The first reference to Christian leaders as *proceres* does not appear until the 430s in the *carmen de ingratis* (line 97) of Prosper of Aquitaine, (TLL vol. X 2, p. 10.2 1516.60). Thus the association of this *procerum concilium* with a diocese or ecclesial body of Church leaders would be a stretch. Moreover, *sanctius* in this context need not have a Christian valence; *sanctus* is used long before Christianity to convey an aura of reverence and religiosity.

<sup>1007</sup> For discussion of the possibilities see Sivan 1993, 111.

<sup>1008</sup> The importance of these details is underscored by the scarcity of inscriptional evidence for Gallic patronage in late antiquity more broadly. Beyond Nymfius, we know of only two other Gallic patrons, both of whom also served as magistrates. One inscription honors Valerius Dalmatius as the Pannonian patron of Lugdunensis III (AE 1902). Another inscription honors Claudius Lupicinus, possibly the governor of Maxima Senonia, for his civic patronage of the cities of Auxerre and Sens (CIL XII 921). Interesting, this inscription was not found at the site of Lupicinus' benefaction in Auxerre or Sens, but in the ruins of what is presumably Lupicinus' Aquitanian villa (Le Touron) near Monségur. The domestic context of an

As such, this inscription paints a vivid picture of a late antique elite individual's movement within the bureaucratic system, and to that movement as multi-directional. The importance of "elite" standing, moreover, is honed and reified at every level, from locality to Empire. That claims of Nymfius' social position were commemorated in a funerary inscription, likely set up in a grand mausoleum on his estate, also suggests that villa ownership was integral to his self-identification. There are significant differences between this epigraph and the portrait relief at Chiragan, but the rural, domestic context of both objects does lend credence to the *rus* as a place for social edification.

Both this relief and the Valentine epitaph are also important contributions to recent work on Late Antiquity's elite class, and specifically the local character of those elites, which we discussed in chapter 5. Like the Valentine epitaph, I see the Chiragan relief portrait as strong evidence for gradations of "elite" identity in the later Roman era. This individual, like his neighbor, seems to have worn many caps – as *villa dominus*, as an upstanding local aristocrat, and as an appointed official in various levels of imperial administration, whether as a provincial magistrate or a proconsul of Novempopulania. He need not have been of the purple, as previous scholarship has suggested, to have played an important role in both local and imperial administration.

Analysis should therefore acknowledge the display of this relief in the private context of the estate as commemoration of a *dominus*' participation in imperial

---

inscription which celebrates his civic deeds is somewhat curious, though not unparalleled to judge from the Nymfius epitaph.

government. But the function of this relief is not merely commemorative. As evidence of the owner's participation in imperial administration, its functional purpose in the villa of Chiragan is the social edification of the *dominus* among a local audience. Such a relief impressed upon viewers the value of this particular *dominus* as a patron with connections to, and experience in imperial administration. We may thus infer a degree of competition among villa *domini* for patronage, since the use of relief portraiture links Chiragan's *dominus* to the local aristocracy among whom sculpture was a powerful tool of identity formation and social promotion.<sup>1009</sup>

I remind readers of the prevalence of contemporary late antique portraits in the rural landscape of southern Aquitaine, alongside the dearth of such imagery in urban contexts. This evidence, coupled with the relief portrait of Chiragan and its larger

---

<sup>1009</sup> The question readers may be asking, why the portrait relief? I argue below for the estate as an increasingly political landscape in late Aquitaine, and its promotion as the product of a group habitus. It is, however, possible, to cede some agency for this commission to the larger relief program at Chiragan. Consider this official relief alongside the aforementioned series of Hercules' labors, and the shield medallions, for indeed, the relief portrait was displayed in a villa full of architectural relief sculpture. Differences among this consular relief and the multiple mythological relief series suggest that Chiragan's relief program was *not* the product of a single commission, though possibly a single lifetime. I admit that only scant fragments of the so-called consular relief remain, and as a portrait it is difficult to compare to the Hercules reliefs and shield medallions. In the veristic portrait, the drill is used less frequently in the hair and beard than is typical of the other figural reliefs, and the drapery of his long-sleeved tunic is a good deal more refined. Fragments of both the man's right arm and left hand preserve details of the frame, which was delineated by a simple incised line running along all four edges of the panel, approximately 6 cm wide. The Hercules reliefs are also rectangular, upright panels, but these are framed by two, molded borders with scotia. I have already suggested that the Hercules panels and medallions may come from the same workshop, and have been conservatively dated to first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. The portrait relief, on the other hand, must be given a *terminus ad quem* mid-4<sup>th</sup> century, on account of the figure's dress. Thus it may postdate the other relief series, and would have come to Chiragan at a later time. It is possible that the commission of this portrait as a relief was thus in some way influenced by the pre-existing architectural décor of the villa and its program of relief sculpture, already in place by the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century. We may wish to grant some agency to the objects themselves, such that the prominence of relief sculpture inspired the commission of a portrait relief in this vein.

program of architectural sculptures, may advise revisions to the presumed domestic, or leisurely function of the villa estate in Aquitaine. The statuary assemblage of Chiragan in particular signals the rise of the villa as the preferred sphere for social edification in Aquitaine, and the estate as a dynamic power. Accepting the *rus* as a newly invigorated, or perhaps *the* environment for status projection and honorific commemoration, I now explore rural Aquitaine as the agent of another, important type of antique portrait display, that is, imperial portraiture.

The last chapter reviewed the private portraiture tradition in Novempopulania, and suggested that the continuity of this tradition lies in the changing social make-up of late antique Aquitaine. Portraits were displayed by elite *domini*, I argue, to secure their status and authority as a traditional, land-owning aristocracy. The display of contemporary portraiture, whether an official relief portrait or a free-standing bust, is also a habit of the private sphere as opposed to the public. Such ideas must be considered when exploring motivations behind displays of the imperial portrait, which is inherently associated with power, authority, status assertion and the public sphere.

#### **V. Portrait Tradition, Part II: Marcus Aurelius in Southern Aquitaine**

The previous chapter alluded to the curious evidence for imperial portraiture in villas of this region – three sites furnish evidence for antique imperial portraits of the same emperor: Marcus Aurelius busts were found at the villas of Lamarque, La Garenne-Nérac and Chiragan. Only Chiragan boasts portraits of other imperial figures, with over 20

imperial busts extant.<sup>1010</sup> Thus, this section begins by parsing imperial portrait displays as another aspect of the region's statuary habit, and includes Chiragan with qualifications. For indeed, evidence for type IV Marcus Aurelius portraits in the hands of multiple *domini* here in Late Antiquity is significant in and of itself.<sup>1011</sup>

The selection of this Emperor's portrait, however, is not in shocking, given the high esteem in which he was held as an ideal leader into the late antique period.<sup>1012</sup> The 3<sup>rd</sup> century *Historia Augusta* reports that many homes had statues of Marcus Aurelius or Lucius Verus, but if this is true, few have survived.<sup>1013</sup> Thus in Novempopulania, the evidence for his portrait in domestic contexts is exceptional. The Lamarque Marcus Aurelius head is just over life-size but is heavily fractured and has suffered many abrasions (fig. 183).<sup>1014</sup> It is broken at the nose and only the top of the head has survived. Yet the coiffure of long drilled curls with an anastole, and a central horizontal furrow across the brow mark the piece as a Type 4 official portrait of the Emperor, probably

---

<sup>1010</sup> It has been suggested, however, that a portrait of Hadrian now in the Musée de Nérac may also, like the portrait of Marcus Aurelius, come from the villa La Garenne (Braemer).

<sup>1011</sup> The prevalence of this emperor's portrait was also noted independently by Rosso (2006, 28), who does not comment on the contextus with which these portraits are associated. Rosso's study is concerned rather with imperial dedications over time. She also notes a statuary base with a inscribed dedication to Marcus Aurelius in Lactora (Lectoure), after the death of Lucius Verus. The monument has been dated to 175/76, see Rosso 2006, no. 20. Rosso documents 50 "dedications" (portraits and inscribed monuments) to the Antonine dynasty; dedications to the Julio-Claudian dynasty (again, portraits and inscribed monuments) are the most common, with 121 examples documented in Roman Gaul (*ibid.* 22-25, table II).

<sup>1012</sup> Cf. Stertz 1977.

<sup>1013</sup> *Historia Augusta, Marcus Aurelius* 18.6

<sup>1014</sup> For catalog publication of the piece see Rosso 2006, no. 22, 218-19 with bibliography. . For the archaeological context of this portrait, found in the 1994 excavations at Lamarque, see discussion in chapter 5, section II.1. The piece is now in the museum associated with the site of Lamarque, Villascopia.

diffused from 170-180 near the end of Marcus Aurelius' reign.<sup>1015</sup> The piece is admirably modeled and likely comes from an official workshop. The Emperor's eyelids are heavy but the drilled pupils and incised irises give the portrait a strong, penetrative aspect, a combination which has led many scholars to see the portrayal of the aging Stoic philosopher-ruler.<sup>1016</sup> That the later inhabitants of Lamarque were able to identify the sitter as a former Emperor seems clear from the prevalence of his image in local circles.

The Marcus Aurelius from La Garenne-Nérac also belongs to the Emperor's type IV portraiture, and more of this head is extant (fig. 185).<sup>1017</sup> The surface has suffered many abrasions and the nose is missing, but the portrait is clearly the aged Emperor with heavy lids, somber eyes, and a thin face. The drilled mass of curls has been lifted off the forehead with an anastole. Part of the beard is missing along the chin, but long drilled curls are still apparent along the jawbone. This piece was found near the monumental entrance to the villa's *pars urbana*, and the damage it has incurred may suggest that the villa was pillaged at a later time.<sup>1018</sup> The bust-length type IV portrait of the wise and weary Emperor dressed in a cuirass from Chiragan is the best preserved example among

---

<sup>1015</sup> The Ur-type of type IV portraiture is based on a portrait of Marcus Aurelius in the Capitoline Museum, the Capitoline Imperatori 38. For full discussion of this portrait type see Wegner 1939; see also Fittschen and Zanker 1985, Vol. I, no. 68.

<sup>1016</sup> Cf. Bergmann 1978, 26; Kleiner 1992, 270-72; Rosso 2006, no. 22-23 (pages 218-220); no. 221 (461-463). It should be said, however, that it would be much more difficult to identify such psychological pathos if we did not know the identity of the sitter. Portrait studies of Marcus Aurelius are heavily influenced by his own writings and the biographical story.

<sup>1017</sup> Inv. No. 47.1.346, Château-Musée Henri IV, Nérac. Height of head: 37 cm. The piece was first compared to the Imperatori 38 type by François Braemer (1982, 136-7); see also Rosso 2006, no. 23, 219-20 with bibliography.

<sup>1018</sup> There is no provenance information for this piece in the museum, and others have suggested that it comes from the ancient town of Elysees (Maurin et al 1992, 31).



these three villas (fig. 248), and was found in the same context as a youth portrait of Marcus Aurelius.<sup>1019</sup>

There may be something in the fact that three of the four extant portraits belong to Marcus Aurelius' fourth official type. Klaus Fittschen and Paul Zanker cite 39 extant copies of the official Type IV portrait in their 1985 catalogue of the Capitoline's marble collection. More type IV portraits have been discovered in the last thirty years, among them the piece at the villa Lamarque. Yet from Fittschen and Zanker's catalog, it is clear that an overwhelming majority of Type IV portraits claim urban provenances.<sup>1020</sup> In the Western Empire, finds are heavily concentrated in Rome and the Italian Peninsula, marking not just Chiragan but the villas of the southern Aquitaine basin as distinct.

Nearly all of the villas in the Italian Peninsula which have furnished evidence for Marcus Aurelius portraits (or imperial portraiture generically) have been marked as imperial residences, which may give pause to our understanding of the Aquitaine villas as inhabited by a local elite. But further examination of these Italian villas suggests there is no conclusive evidence for imperial honors; rather, it exposes the scholarly biases towards imperial portraiture as a marker of an imperial *dominus*. Such is the case of the so-called villa of Lucius Verus at Aquatrasera, where seven portraits of Lucius Verus,

---

<sup>1019</sup> MSR Ra 61b, 30108. Height of bust: 75.5 cm; max. width of bust 53.5 cm. Height of head: 34 cm. Du Mège 1828, no. 127 ; 1835 no. 206; Bergmann 1978, 41; Rosso 2006, no. 221,461-63; Balty, Cazes and Rosso 2012, no. 12, 220-232, with full bibliography. Youth portrait: MSR Ra 61a, 30107, discussion follows below.

<sup>1020</sup> *ibid.*, see also Bergmann 1978, 41-42. Bergmann identifies two types within Type IV, IVa and IVb. Her study suggests that type IVb portraits cluster in the Eastern half of the Empire, while IVa is most common in the Italian Peninsula.

three of Marcus Aurelius, one of Plotina and one of Faustina Minor were found in 17<sup>th</sup> century excavations.<sup>1021</sup> Though the chronology and layout of the site is not well understood, the high quality of the many Antonine-era imperial portraits led scholarship to suggest that the site was an imperial residence, or a sculptural workshop.<sup>1022</sup> Similar arguments have been made for the so-called villa of Gallienus along the Via Appia outside of Rome, where two statues of Marcus Aurelius were found, and the villa at Rieti, where busts of Faustina the Elder, Antoninus Pius, Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius have precipitated assumptions about the imperial standing of the villa owner, in this case the brother-in-law of Commodus, Bruttius Praesens.<sup>1023</sup>

These three sites are included in Richard Neudecker's 1988 study of sculptural assemblages from imperial-era villas in the Italian Peninsula, an important resource for statuary display habits in the West, and for the use of imperial portraiture. With respect to the latter, it appears that the display of imperial portraiture in the villa is not uncommon. Imperial portraits were found in 12 of the 78 sites which Neudecker catalogues.<sup>1024</sup>

---

<sup>1021</sup> Mastradonato 2000. See also Neudecker 1988, no. 45, pp. 200-202 (bibliography included). The villa was excavated in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and reports include mosaic floors, painted stucco ceilings, alabaster and marble architecture, which is indicative of a villa to my mind, rather than a workshop.

<sup>1022</sup> The lack of stratigraphic information or site plan has led to the suggestions that this was a sculptural workshop of the Antonine era, based on the multiple portraits of Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius, *ibid.* Neudecker (1988, 202) also entertains the idea but decides in favor of an imperial villa residence.

<sup>1023</sup> See Neudecker 1988, 84-91. For the so-called villa of Gallienus along the villa Appia, see no. 38, pages 189-191; for the villa at Rieti no. 35, pages 180-184.

<sup>1024</sup> Most of the sites have been loosely dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> century, based on prevalence of Antonine-era portraiture, the presumed crises of the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century and a general lack of systematic excavation for chronological dating. New sites and finds have been published since Neudecker's catalogue. For example, the Villa at Oplontis, conjectured to have been the home of Nero's second wife Poppaea based on its impressive sculptural collection and multiple Julio-Claudian era herm heads (Bergmann 2002).

Outside of the Italian Peninsula, however, the dearth of domestic sites with evidence for imperial portraiture has permitted assumptions that *domini* with imperial portraits were imperial bureaucrats or emperors.<sup>1025</sup> In the provinces of the West, the evidence for imperial portraits (and portraits in general) is a good deal more elusive, in spite of the extensive evidence for elite residences and villas. The rural context of the West's villas may play some part in this, in that imperial portraiture and/or art markets may have been harder to come by, in Late Antiquity in particular.<sup>1026</sup> Securely identified imperial portraits were found at the villa Milreu, and as we have seen the site is generally assumed to have been an imperial residence based on a collection of at least three imperial portraits of Agrippina the Younger, Hadrian and Gallienus.<sup>1027</sup> The portrait of

---

<sup>1025</sup> In the Eastern Empire, finds are concentrated in urban centers, for example, the House of Jason Magnus in Cyrene. Private female and male portraits, idealizing statuettes, and busts of Antonius Pius and Marcus Aurelius were found in a house of the late 2<sup>nd</sup> / early 3<sup>rd</sup> century, which was once associated with Jason Magnus, a high priest of the Temple of Apollo in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century (discussion in Fejfer 2008, 94). At the Hanghaus II complex in Ephesus, excavations in the 1980s found evidence of antique imperial portraits of Livia, Tiberius, and Marcus Aurelius (Aurenhammer 1983; 2003). Portraits of Livia and Tiberius were found together in Wohnenheit VII in 1980. In 1982, a portrait of Marcus Aurelius and the Severan-era private portrait were found in Room 36a of Wohnenheit VI in Hanghaus II. Near the busts were a bronze coin of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and late ceramics of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Aurenhammer notes the antiquity of the Livia and Tiberius portraits in the late antique context (145-6) only in passing. She concludes that their display is probably related to traditions apparent in Delos, Pompeii, and Roman villas (citing Zanker 1979; Dwyer 1980; Neudecker 1988) and is a sign of loyalty, a conclusion which tacitly disregards the implications of a late antique context. Excavations of the terrace houses at Ephesus from 1960-85 were directed by the Austrian Archaeological Institute (ÖAI) and were until recently a project of the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien.

<sup>1026</sup> Among the many late-Roman villas of Britain only the site of Lullingstone has furnished evidence for portraiture. Two portraits of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century respectively were found buried beneath a house church installed in the villa in the 4<sup>th</sup> century (Meates 1979) It has been argued that the portraits may represent imperial figures and functioned as cultic objects, given their discovery in a subterranean cellar which functioned at one point as a *sacellum* for water deities. The imperial identity of the figures is contested, and it is more likely that these were ancestral portraits.

<sup>1027</sup> Chapter 4, section III.2.

Domitian found at El Ruedo, as I have argued, was quite possibly not even recognizable as an imperial portrait.<sup>1028</sup>

In the Aquitanian basin, however, the display of the Marcus Aurelius portrait at multiple estates suggests that his image was indeed recognizable in Late Antiquity. These pieces may well have been acquired by earlier owners, but they remained culturally relevant in the Late Antique period, perhaps especially among those late antique *domini* who now enjoyed opportunities to advance themselves in the imperial bureaucracy, and looked to past rulers to affirm and sanction such pursuits.<sup>1029</sup> Thus it is possible that this local phenomenon was, like the display of antique portraiture more broadly, motivated by the increasing benefits of self-promotion in 4<sup>th</sup> century in Aquitaine. Whereas antique private portraits legitimized a *dominus*' ancestry, the political iconography inherent to an imperial portrait legitimized the same *dominus*' participation in administration and bureaucracy.

But how, or why had the rural countryside and its estates become the preferred sphere for social edification in southern Aquitaine? A question like this requires a good deal of interdisciplinary study to begin answering properly, such that the end of this chapter can only hope to begin such dialogues. If we look to a villa like Chiragan and to

---

<sup>1028</sup> Chapter 3, section V.

<sup>1029</sup> Previous scholarship has long affirmed the display of imperial portraiture in the Roman *domus* as a mark of the *dominus*' power and social connections. Such images are regularly read as fulfilling a symbiotic function in that they express the homeowner's loyalty to the imperial house, and suggest a connection to that house that impressed upon others, and clients in particular. Thus fulfilling social needs of the *dominus* (Bartmann 1991, 76-77; see also Neudecker 1988, 84-91. The notion of a connection or relationship to the imperial house, however, may be purely a suggestion, in that in Aquitaine, most imperial portraits were more than two hundred years old.

its late antique statuary assemblage, the program of large-scale reliefs and historicizing portraits does indeed suggest an urban statuary landscape. That such imagery was welcome, even desirable for the estate, and that such desire seems to have been shared among elite land-owners, suggests the increased importance of this landscape and these groups in Late Antiquity.

This is not to say that the program of statuary at an estate like Chiragan marks the decline of urbanism in the late antique period, which previous scholarship saw fit to explain for the resurgence of the villa writ broad. Recent scholarship has reconstructed the increasingly bureaucratic world of the 4<sup>th</sup> century as one that saw slow, horizontal growth across all levels of administration, from municipal to imperial. I have already discussed the effects of such growth on the late antique elite class, in that new venues for official promotion were now available to the land-owning elite. I note here simply that the nature of the Empire's growth in the 4<sup>th</sup> century marks a significant departure from the Imperial era. A single center of power no longer held sway, and in such an environment, day-to-day operations and even various levels of imperial administration became much more regionally focused.<sup>1030</sup> It is in this socio-historical landscape that the

---

<sup>1030</sup> By the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century, even the Senatorial elite class no longer needed to reside in Rome. As John Weisweiler has argued (2015), the whereabouts of *honorati* had become less important to those in power. Business was no longer conducted in a single urban center. See also Kulikowski for the growing power of local aristocracies from the Severan era on (2015). For a summary of the senatorial reforms under Theodosius which did away with residence requirements (*CTh* 6.1.13) and the benefits conferred to the land-owning elite, see Heather 1994, 25-32; Weisweiler *ibid*.

peculiar nature of statuary display at late antique Chiragan, and the statuary habits of this region must be synthesized.

It appears that the sculptural program associated with Chiragan in Late Antiquity reflects a conscious awareness of the estate's new potential, in that a wealthy *dominus* with connections to imperial administration no longer needed to obtain residence in an urban sphere like Rome or Constantinople to be successful. The globalized world of late antiquity was, rather, one in which *domini* could easily use connections they had accrued through wealth or service to promote themselves or their clients, while operating from the estate as a base of power. In southern Aquitaine, estate owners likely took increasingly managerial roles in administration, and their estates took on a new importance in the provincial landscape, with new programs of décor designed to reify such functions. Thus Chiragan, the residence of a former magistrate or proconsul to judge from the extant portrait relief, may have functioned as a local center of authority, independent from any sort of urban center. The connections which its *domini* could claim gave the estate an importance, equivalent to or perhaps even surpassing local municipal institutions. Thus we may connect the statuary habit of Aquitaine, which manifests itself in the villa estate, to changes in the venues now permissible for "public" status assertion in Late Antiquity.

## **VI. Conclusions: Chiragan as Example or Exception**

The discussion above reviewed imperial portraiture in Aquitaine's villas, and has marked the parallels across villa sites and the concentration of imperial portraits in the region as

yet another important aspect of statuary displays. Chiragan's large assemblage of imperial portraiture, however, may merit further unpacking. I have spent much of this chapter and the last examining Chiragan as a one of a series of case studies for statuary display as a habit of villa owners in Novempopulania. But whether by chance or design Chiragan proves this rule and thus recommends that its validity be tested. If this site is taken as exemplar of the regional *habitus* with respect to imperial portraiture, or private portraiture, or statuary display more broadly, we become predisposed to mark this regional *habitus* as synonymous with collecting. To do so would be unjust to the evidence as it stands, for no other villa records such an extensive statuary collection. Thus if Chiragan evinces the region's statuary habit, we must acknowledge that it only does so with qualifications. In what remains of this chapter, I analyze Chiragan as a singular phenomenon within a regional landscape of highly codified expressions. In what follows I turn away from its imperial portraits as evidence for a regional statuary habit, and consider them instead as a possible exemplar for collection in archaeology.

Readers may remember the two portraits of Trajanic-era youths found at Chiragan (figs. 211, 212), which earlier scholarship associated with unidentified persons of the imperial family.<sup>1031</sup> I have argued that they are best considered as private portraits, given the prominence of private portraits in the region and a local parallel at the villa of Montmaurin. Readers may also remember several late antique portraits discussed in previous chapters – the Theodosian era female (figs. 205, 206), and the late 4<sup>th</sup> century

---

<sup>1031</sup> Chapter 5, section IV.3.

head marked as a portrait of Maximian (fig. 240). I note that analysis of these two pieces as private or imperial portraits, and the aforementioned Trajanic-era youths in the same fashion, is complicated by the extensive evidence for both types of portraiture at Chiragan. There are over 30 unidentified “private” portraits in the assemblage, but there are also more than 20 imperial persons documented here, which has suggested to many that Chiragan housed an imperial portrait “collection (fig. 249).<sup>1032</sup>

Imperial portraiture may be primed for such syntheses, in that this genre is one of the only determined and defined sets of images which exists in the Roman world. No other sculptural genre can claim such a fixed repertoire of images. That said, Chiragan’s extant imperial portraits cannot be read as a comprehensive collection. Scholars identify from 25-30 portraits, but these portraits are not sequential.<sup>1033</sup> Most extant heads belong to the Antonine or Severan-era, though there are a cluster of Julio-Claudian figures and four portraits of Trajan. No Flavian persons are extant, and only a few of the post-Severan portraits in the Chiragan assemblages are securely identifiable as imperial

---

<sup>1032</sup> I regret that this chapter will not discuss the corpus of private portraiture in any greater depth. Several other pieces are mentioned here in Appendix 2, and have been catalogued in various publications (Espérandieu 1908; Balty and Cazes 2005; Balty et al. 2012). A full study of Chiragan’s private portraiture is warranted, and would no doubt complement analysis of the private portrait tradition in Aquitaine. For recent discussions of the imperial portrait assemblage as a collection, see Hannestad 1994, 128-33; Rosso 2006, 173-79, no. 210-239; Bergmann 2007.

<sup>1033</sup> No consensus has been reached on the number of securely identifiable imperial portraits. Most scholars mark the portrait of Maximian (discussed above), and three others in Appendix 2 as imperial portraits (Rosso 2006; Balty 2008); such identifications are debatable. Other portraits may plausibly represent imperial persons, but evidence is inconclusive, cf. a Julio-Claudian male, identified as Tiberius Gemellius or Agrippa Postumus (Balty and Cazes 2005, no. 2, 101-18; Rosso 2006, no. 210, 440-42); the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century (?) head of an adolescent male, identified as Pertinax (Rosso 2006, no. 224, 467-68); and a 3<sup>rd</sup> century portrait, identified as a Etruscilla (Rosso 2006, no. 235, 484-86; Bergmann 2007). The identification of Pertinax is the least secure, as the portrait depicts an adolescent, but there is comparanda for the head in the Capitoline museum (Inv. no. 391, Fittschen and Zanker 1985, no. 79).



figures.<sup>1034</sup> While all are sculpted in white marble, none can be linked to the same workshop or to a single provenance.<sup>1035</sup> The scale of the portrait heads, if we consider them as a set, varies from 24 – 34 cm, with Antonine heads among the largest.<sup>1036</sup> Here I survey a fraction of these portraits, and in particular those that clarify and complicate our understanding of the principles which may have organized these pieces as an imperial portrait collection. I begin with aforementioned portraits of Marcus Aurelius.

We have seen the comparanda for the cuirassed bust-length portrait of the stoic Emperor near the end of his reign, a type IV portrait, at the villas of Lamarque and Nérac. The second portrait of Marcus Aurelius, however, knows no local parallel – here the emperor appears as a young prince (fig. 250).<sup>1037</sup> This portrait belongs to the Emperor's second official type, presumably created for his marriage to Faustina and formal entrance into public life c. 144-47 CE.<sup>1038</sup> Marcus is presented as confident, serene young adult.

---

<sup>1034</sup> Flavian portraiture and dedications, however, are lacking in Roman Gaul; only eight are extant, see discussion in Rosso 2006, 26-28. For the 3<sup>rd</sup> century portraits in greater depth, see Bergmann 2007. Among the identified individuals are a portrait of Phillip the Younger, c. 247-249 CE (Inv. 30128, Rosso 2006, no. 233, 480-82) and a portrait of young female, possibly Tranquillina, the wife of Gordian III, c. 241-44 CE (Inv. no. 30130, see Rosso no. 234, 482-84 for fuller treatment and comparanda).

<sup>1035</sup> There are visible differences among the marbles, though no formal analysis has been carried out. François Braemer has suggested that the portraits are sculpted in an assortment of Greek, Italian, and even local Pyrenean marbles (1952-53, 143).

<sup>1036</sup> See Rosso 2006, Table 11, page 175 for a succinct presentation of the sizes and possible stones used in Chiragan's imperial portraits. Rosso's catalog suggests 30 imperial portraits, no. 210-239.

<sup>1037</sup> MSR Inv. no. Ra 61a, 30.107. Dimensions of the bust: 78 cm tall; 57 cm max. width. Height of head, crown to chin: 29.5 cm. Parts of the nose and chin are missing, and the piece has suffered some abrasions, but it is well-preserved. Great care is taken to articulate the figure, even in the back of the head. The original foot remains. For catalog and bibliography see Balty, Cazes and Rosso 2012, no. 12, 208-218 with full bibliography; Rosso 2006, no. 220, 460-61. The portrait is first published by Du Mège (1828, no. 127; 1835, no. 205) and was found in his excavations on September 29<sup>th</sup>, 1826 (Balty and Rosso 2012, 35-36; see also Balty and Cazes 2005, 38).

<sup>1038</sup> Though Marcus Aurelius did not take the throne until 161 CE, his portraits were exhibited throughout the Empire as early as 138 when he was formally adopted by Antoninus Pius (following a tradition of

Light marks on his face evince a short but full beard, and a mustache graces the upper lip. The small mouth is admirably modelled and slightly parted with the drill. The head is turned slightly to the left and the gaze of the eyes follow in this direction. The eyelids are heavy but the gaze has a piercing quality; the pupils and irises are carefully delineated. Atop the head is a voluminous mass of curls, the longer locks falling in all directions, characteristic of the sculpture at the height of the Antonine era. In this bust-length portrait, the future emperor wears a *paludamentum*, fastened at his right shoulder with a round rosette *fibula*. The workmanship in this piece is laudable, such that arguments for its manufacture in a state workshop are difficult to dispute.

This youthful portrait is a strong contrast in both body and spirit to the portrait of the elder Marcus Aurelius. Here, the cheeks are full, the skin supple, the hair and beard relatively short, whereas in the later portrait, the skin has grown taught, the cheeks are sunken, and both the beard and hair are worn longer. The portrait of the younger Marcus is infused with a sense of anticipation and optimism. The figure's youth, his calm poise, and strong, direct gaze inspire confidence. In the older man's portrait, the figure and his gaze have the same strength, but age is apparent, such that a calm serenity is now attributed to experience and wisdom. As a pendant pair, the pieces are visual testaments to biological age and the passage of time, and memorialize the humanity of an individual who by Late Antiquity was considered a god. As antique imperial portraits, moreover,

---

adoption begun under Hadrian). For Type II of Marcus Aurelius' portraiture and comparanda see Balty and Rosso 2012, 211-217; Fittschen 1999, 22-31. Scholars suggest that this iconography was developed for the occasion of his marriage, or perhaps the birth of his first son.

both pieces attests to the enduring legacy of Aurelius, and suggest the timelessness of Empire and Roman *ethos*.

We cannot know, however, whether these two pieces were displayed in the same room to make such statements, let alone within a larger set of imperial portraits to cement imperial propaganda. To infer such a theme from the sum of the extant parts may be dangerous, but is difficult to avoid, because the natural first of an imperial portrait collection would be a portrait of Augustus, like that found at Chiragan in du Mège's excavations (fig. 251).<sup>1039</sup> The Chiragan Augustus wears the *corona civica*, and the iconography is presumably based on his second official and most widely diffused portrait, the Primaporta type.<sup>1040</sup> Jean-Charles Balty's study of this piece suggests that it was commissioned posthumously and, like most extant imperial portraits, made in a state workshop. As an "official" portrait of the first *princeps*, this piece may be read as propaganda for an imperial message, if we are to infer a thematic cohesion from the display of so many imperial portraits.<sup>1041</sup> As an antique in Late Antique domestic setting, the Augustus portrait would have underscored the endurance of such a message.

---

<sup>1039</sup> MSR Inv. no. 30101, Ra 57. Dimensions of bust: 48 cm tall; 34 cm max. width. Height of the head, chin to crown (not counting the laurel wreath): 30 cm. The piece was recovered in du Mège's excavations (Du Mège 1828, no. 120; 1835, no. 188) and has been published extensively. For its recent catalog publication and detailed bibliography see Balty and Cazes 2005, no. 1, 75-98; see also Rosso 2006, no.213, 448-50.

<sup>1040</sup> Given to the *princeps* in 27 B.C.E in gratitude and celebration of his victory at Actium A nearly identical portrait to the head at Chiragan is present in Munich's Glyptothek (CITE). The coiffure of the Chiragan Augustus portrait matches that of the Primaporta statue, found at the villa of Livia and interpreted as a Tiberian copy of an Augustan original.

<sup>1041</sup> Balty summarizes it succinctly: "L'empereur ne vieillit pas; l'empereur n'a pas d'âge. Son image est immuable, image de l'éternité même de l'Empire (2005, 79)".

But does imperial iconography, in this context, have an inherently propagandistic valence? It is possible that such meaning is imposed by modern scholarship. For example, alongside other antique portraits, and contemporary pieces, the display of Augustan and Aurelian portraiture may evince a consciousness and appreciation of the propensity of fashions to evolve, whether in imperial portraiture, or portraiture writ broad. The stylistic differences across these three imperial portraits are evident in simple comparison. In comparison to both the elder and younger Marcus Aurelius, Augustus appears as a youthful male at the prime of his life, with the penetrating gaze of his unmarked eyes countered by soft, full cheeks, small lips, and an idealized facial landscape.<sup>1042</sup> But the head of Augustus lacks the volume of later Antonine portraits, which favor the drill to create shadows and texture in coiffures and drapery. Subtle differences across these portraits mark the manufacturing techniques and artistic style of various generations of previous Romans.<sup>1043</sup>

But were these artistic fashions apparent to ancient viewers, when both the Augustan and Aurelian portraits may be categorized as antiques in the 4<sup>th</sup> century? Multiple portraits of several emperors within the Chiragan assemblage answers in the affirmative, though whether multiple portraits of a single emperor signals a certain

---

<sup>1042</sup> Balty (2005, 82-88) and Fittschen (both note the faithfulness of the Toulouse portrait to the Primaporta type (*ibid.*, 82-88; see also Boschung 1993). Augustus' aspect has been called both melancholy (Cazes 1999, 118) and gentle, indicative of Augustan classicism (Balty 2005, 75).

<sup>1043</sup> Scholars highlight the planes of the face as a 1<sup>st</sup> century reworking of classical Greek imagery, the refinement of which may have been evident in successive generations of Julio-Claudian portraiture; at Chiragan, in portraits of Tiberius (Ra 90, 30145, Balty and Cazes 2005, no.6, 165-79), Antonia Minor (Ra 31, 30303; *ibid.* no. 6, 147-61), and a possible Julio-Claudian prince (Ra 122, 30160, identified as Tiberius Gemellus in *ibid.* no. 2, 101-18).

fascination with imperial iconography in flux, or with artistic style as unfixed and evolving, is as yet unclear. At Chiragan excavations have unearthed not only two portraits of Marcus Aurelius, but four portraits of Trajan, four of Septimius Severus and three of Caracalla. Most of the multiples cannot be ascribed to the same iconographic type and discount the notion of “fixed” boundaries, whether in imperial portraiture or artistic style. This may be the greatest evidence that the Chiragan portraits were synthesized as a collection. In theory, the foundation of a collection is the cultural complexity inherent to its incompleteness; the fixed repertoire of imperial iconographies is by no means secure.<sup>1044</sup>

Let us look at the four portraits of Trajan in depth. These heads are remarkably similar in size, ranging from 24-25 cm in height. Scholars have associated these four portraits with three of Trajan’s official portrait types, although there is debate over whether the earliest head (Inv. no. 58c) belongs to the *Antrittstypus* or the *Bürgerkronentypus* (fig. 252).<sup>1045</sup> This head is fragmentary and damage along the forehead has hindered analysis of the coiffure. Among portrait scholars, however, and perhaps ancient viewers as well, the piece is easily recognizable as Trajan. The mouth is

<sup>1044</sup> For modern theories of collection and fanaticism see Baudillard 1994; van der Grijp 2006.

<sup>1045</sup> MSR Inv. no. Ra 58c, 30104. Dimensions of the head: 24.5 cm tall by 20 cm max. width by 20 cm max. depth. The head is fragmentary and broken at the neck; most of the frontal forehead is missing, and there are breaks at the chin. The tip of the nose is missing. The piece was found in du Mège’s excavations (1828, no. 194); also published in Joulin 1901 fig. 260 p. 17, 116; Espérandieu 1908, no. 954. For catalog, bibliography and a discussion of the *typus* see Gross 1940, no. 77; Rosso 2006, no. 214, 450-51 (*Bürgerstypus?*); Balty, Cazes and Rosso 2012, no. 1, 80-91 (*Antrittstypus?*; *Bürgerstypus?*) Balty et. al note the exceptionality of the piece in that it is not recut from a head of Domitian, as many early Trajan portraits were); other scholars have suggested that this is a post-mortem portrait, cf. Braemer 1953, 145. Scholars have identified anywhere for nine to four Trajanic portrait types, with significant variations based on the arrangement of the coiffure.

small and pursed, its corners accented. Naso-labial folds are clearly marked. The almond-shaped eyes are smooth, the eyelids thin. The emperor is presented as a middle-aged man with heavy jowls, that is, with a verism entirely lacking in the aforementioned portrait of Augustus. The forelocks are missing but detail in the back of the head shows that individual locks were modelled with great care.<sup>1046</sup>

Another Trajan head, this one linked to the Decennalia type, is in better condition (Inv. no. 58b) (fig. 253).<sup>1047</sup> The piece is broken just below the neck and was probably attached to a heroic bust and draped with the *paludamentum*.<sup>1048</sup> The hairstyle differs significantly from the earlier portrait, which alert viewers must have noticed and appreciated. Individual locks across the forehead are more clearly delineated and combed to the left. This coiffure has a levity that the former lacks, perhaps because the drill has been used to mark channels among locks of hair. The lips are small and pursed, but the top lip no longer hangs over the bottom as in the earlier portrait. From extant fragments of the shoulders, the head was turned slightly to the right.

I pause here, before considering two other portraits of the same Emperor, to note that the dates of the two aforementioned heads are inferred from numismatic portraits, and that these dates have been associated with life events by modern scholarship. I do not

---

<sup>1046</sup> For discussion of this piece within the coiffures of Trajanic portrait, see Balty and Rosso 2012, 82-86.

<sup>1047</sup> MSR 58b, 30103. Dimensions of the head: 23.5 cm tall. The bust fragment measures 41 cm tall by 25.5 cm max. width by 24 cm max. depth. This piece was also found in du Mège's excavations (1828, no. 122, 63; 1835, no. 195, 111) and published in Joulin 1901, no. 262b, 115; Espérandieu 1908, no. 958 (the head has been restored in this image, with plaster additions of a chin, a nose, and the entire bust). For more recent catalog publication see Gross 1940, no. 31; Rosso 2006, no. 215, 451-53; Balty and Rosso 2012, no. 2, 92-101.

<sup>1048</sup> Cf. the Trajan Decennalia portrait of the Capitoline Museum, Imp. 22 (Rome).

suggest that viewers were aware of such events, for this we cannot know.<sup>1049</sup> Slight variations within the repetition of the Trajanic image, however, were likely apparent to a later audience of Chiragan. The stylistic variation across these two portraits is subtle but significant, and may speak to the distinguishing eyes of the villa's owners. It is possible that multiple portraits of Trajan reflect a certain appreciation for this emperor and/or his reign, or that multiples of this emperor speak to easy access to Trajanic portraiture.<sup>1050</sup> Readers may remember that Trajanic-era portraits of private persons also exist at this villa, and the nearby estate of Montmaurin.<sup>1051</sup>

The third Trajanic portrait at Chiragan has been marked as belonging to the *Opferbildtypus*, based on yet another variation of the emperor's coiffure (Inv. no. Ra 117) (fig. 254).<sup>1052</sup> The locks appear somewhat longer and looser, and have been brushed in various directions above the temples and ears. Individual hairs are not marked with the same precision as the other two Trajan heads (58b and 58c), but in this portrait the more schematic arrangement of locks lends the piece a certain plasticity. Even with the repetitive facial features (the thin lips, marked corners of the mouth, naso-labial folds, smooth, unmarked eyes), there are clear differences from the other two portraits we have

---

<sup>1049</sup> Nor are we sure that official portrait were issued for life events. For a full discussion and contemporary synthesis of portrait dating methods see Fittschen 2015.

<sup>1050</sup> The same would then be true of Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus and Caracalla.

<sup>1051</sup> Without the ability to affix the moment of acquisition, however, discussions of acquisition can only go so far.

<sup>1052</sup> MSR. Inv. no. Ra 117, 30154. Dimensions of the head, chin to crown approximately 25 cm. Dimensions of the fragmentary bust with head: 55 cm tall, 37 max. width. This piece, unlike the others, was found in Lebègue's excavations 1890-91 (Lebègue 1891b, 415), and published in Joulin (1901, fig. 261d, p115) and Espérandieu 1901, no. 956 (the tip of the nose and a small fragment of the chin have been restored in plaster). For recent analysis and bibliography see Rosso 2006, no. 216453-55; Balty et al 2012, no. 3, 102-112.

seen. The brow is aggressively pinched and the face itself is longer and leaner, with a warmth and a strength that is lacking in the other portraits. This head is turned slightly to the left, and a clean, rounded break along the left side of the nude chest suggests that the emperor wore a *paludamentum*, suggesting another heroic military portrait.

The fourth Trajanic portrait has also been marked as an Opferbildtypus (Inv. no. Ra 58a), but with palpable differences from the other Opferbildtypus head, and the two additional Trajan portraits (fig. 255).<sup>1053</sup> Ra 58a is broken at the neck, and the break may suggest that the head belonged to a statue as opposed to a full-length bust. The emperor's head is turned to the left, but both the head and gaze are lifted upwards. The emperor's hair is similarly coiffed with respect to the former Opferbildtypus portrait, but still, a different hand is evident in its working. The work is less refined and the overall effect less dynamic, but this piece is interesting in that it furnishes evidence for ancient repairs. Indeed, a deep chavity was cut into the space of the right, and pick marks suggest that the ear that broke off was reattached at some point in antiquity.<sup>1054</sup> The repair is securedly marked as antiques by limestone concretions that have accrued in this cavity, parallel to those on all surfaces of the head.

In summary of these four Trajanic portraits, we cannot forget that these Trajanic portraits belong to a much larger assemblage, and various pieces in that assemblage

---

<sup>1053</sup> MSR. Inv. no. Ra 58a, 30102. Dimensions of the head, chin to crown approx. 22.5 cm. Height of fragmentary bust with head, 36.5 cm. This piece was found in September 1826 of du Mège's excavations (1828, no. 123; 1835, no. 196), and published in Joulin (1901, fig. 264b, p115) and Espérandieu 1901, no. For recent analysis and bibliography see Rosso 2006, no. no. 217, 455-56; Balty et al. 2012, no. 3, 102-112.

<sup>1054</sup>



suggest that other marbles were acquired, accumulated, or mentally organized along similar principles. Multiples of the emperors Caracalla, Septimius Severus, and Marcus Aurelius are also evident. Nor is the apparent fascination with copies and/or multiples at this site particular to imperial portraiture. Indeed, there are also several copies of idealizing statuary types in the Chiragan assemblage, for example, two different statue/ttes of Lysippus' Hercules. Both are sculpted in white marble and loosely dated to the Imperial-era. The larger statuette stands 62 cm tall, and the smaller 33 cm respectively (fig. 256).<sup>1055</sup> From the extant fragments, it appears that the statuettes were remarkably similar. Only the torsos and fragments of the legs remain, but the posture is undoubtedly the well-known Lysippan Hercules.<sup>1056</sup> We can only guess what decorative purpose the multiple copies of this piece served in Chiragan.<sup>1057</sup> Both are fully sculpted in the round and amenable to a variety of displays. As free-standing sculptures, they also may have served as a reference point for the contemporary quote of the Lysippan pose in the late relief of Hercules in the Augean stables (fig. 232).

Previous scholarship has argued that the Romans were aware of, and even interested in stylistic nuances and variation within the copying tradition, but rarely does

---

<sup>1055</sup> MSR Inv. no. 30342 (62 cm); Ra 48 (33 cm).

<sup>1056</sup> Weight rests on the hero's right leg; the left is relaxed. The torso is bent at the waist and leans slightly leftward, its weight supported by a tree trunk draped with the lion's pelt. His right arm is bent behind his back and rests on the small of his back.

<sup>1057</sup> It is nearly impossible to reconstruct the display of these pieces based on the findspots. It is possible that the smaller statuettes were arranged in niches or on tables. Similarities among the statues suggest that they could well have been arranged in a single space, but this is of course conjecture and they would not have stood as pendants in a formal sense. In general, Hercules statuettes are associated with entertainment spaces, whether the garden or triclinia.

the statuary assemblage of one site attest to such claims.<sup>1058</sup> I mention one additional example of this interest or appreciation of the subtle contrasts and variations across standardized iconographies. Two Isis statue/ettes have been identified at Chiragan by the knot of the *calarsis* that these draped female wears. Beyond this costume, the two statues look almost nothing alike (fig. 257). One of these pieces is a small, white marble figurine, suitable for a table.<sup>1059</sup> It has been dated to the Imperial-era and is of rather good quality. The other Isis statue is a larger than life-size polychrome model, nearly 2 meters tall.<sup>1060</sup> The body is rather shapeless and massive and has been marked as a lesser quality work than most marbles in the Chiragan assemblage. However, the use of different colored marble for the drapery must have added to its value; it is sculpted from a grey marble with white veins, and suggests that the piece was imported. These Isis statuettes, like the aforementioned Hercules statuettes and the imperial portraits of Trajan, suggest that Chiragan's *domini* appreciated multiples and subtle stylistic variation in marble statuary.

To my mind, the presence of multiple copies and of imperial portraits in particular, suggests a fascination with collection, as it is defined in modern parlance.<sup>1061</sup> There are elements across the marble assemblage broadly which may also evince the participation of late antique *domini* in curation: the possible conservation of antique marbles (the aforementioned Type IV Trajan head), and the rich evidence for

---

<sup>1058</sup> Cf. Bartman 1991; 1992; Gazda 2005.

<sup>1059</sup> MSR Inv. no. Ra 28; this piece is currently kept in the depots of the museum, and not on exhibition.

<sup>1060</sup> MSR Inv. no. 30307; Du Mège 1828, no. 109; Espérandieu 1908, no. 927 (here the statue is paired with the late antique head of a woman, "Eutropia," see Appendix 6.2).

<sup>1061</sup> I refer readers to the fuller treatment of this idea in chapter 1.

commissions (portraits and reliefs) well into the late 4<sup>th</sup> century. I cannot, however, trace the acquisition moments of individual antiques or contemporary pieces, nor reconstruct the spaces in which statues were arranged for viewing. Thus we may mark Chiragan's imperial portrait assemblage as a collection in the modern sense of the word, and the marble assemblage writ broad as a collection, but in doing so we must admit that domestic archaeology is not equipped to identify "collection" as a mental impetus or an individual practice. We cannot trace the ownership of this villa, let alone the objects within it, over generations. With this in mind, we should be cautious about marking Chiragan's marbles as a collection, and should refrain from using Chiragan to label this region's statuary habit as a collecting practice.

If we put the questions of what a "collection" is aside, we are still made to wonder whether the set of imperial portraiture at Chiragan marks the villa's *domini* as imperial persons. Previous scholarship has yet to reach a firm conclusion. In 1931 Raymond Lizop first suggested that Chiragan was a gubernatorial estate, reasoning that the sizable imperial portrait collection must have been issued from higher authorities. More recently, Niels Hannestad suggested *passim* that the pieces were culled from a derelict imperial cult. In 2008 the villa was then identified as late-imperial villa of Maximian and imperial successors by Jean-Charles Balty and Daniel Cazes. While each assertion is an appealing solution, none fully considers Chiragan and its portraits in a wider regional context.<sup>1062</sup>

---

<sup>1062</sup> Such claims cannot be verified, and in any case are not mutually exclusive with this villa's participation in regional dialogues.

My research has demonstrated that to cast the villa as an imperial estate would obscure its important contributions to study of Novempopulania as a distinct late antique landscape. Chiragan is an anomaly in the region only in scale – the size and complexity of its marble assemblage is unparalleled – but, as I have suggested, the assemblage corresponds strongly in character with this region more broadly. In fact, it is the statuary assemblages in villas of this region that are anomalous in Late Antiquity. Thus antique sculptures at Chiragan, and the imperial portraits among them, ought to be understood as evidence for antique statuary at villas in the region. This in turn speaks to the power of history and cultural legacy in the late antique period. Such displays acknowledge a past while maintaining an awareness of the present. As I have shown, late antique commissions at multiple villas in Novempopulania underscore the social capital that statuary qua status object held among the local aristocracy. The architectural relief program at Chiragan gives special insight into the 4th century as period in which the estate rose as a local, rural nexus of power. The portrait relief at Chiragan in particular suggests that the prominence of the estate is intimately tied to the rising importance of local *domini*. It falls to new research in archaeology and social history to continue exploration of the regional basis of elite identity, and the repercussions of such groups on society in Late Antiquity.

## Appendices to Chapter 6

### 6.1: CIL XIII 00128

Nymfius aeterno devinctus membra sopore  
 hic situs est. caelo mens pia perfruitur,  
 mens videt astra. quies tumuli complectitur artus.  
 calcavit tristes sancta fides tenebras.  
 te tua pro meritis virtutis ad astra vehebat,                     5  
 intuleratque alto debita fama polo.  
 immortalis eris, nam multa laude vigebit  
 vivax venturos gloria per populos.  
 te coluit proprium provincia cuncta parentem.  
 optabant vitam publica vota tuam.                                 10  
 excepere tuo quondam data munera sumptu  
 plaudentis populi gaudia per cuneos.  
 concilium procerum per te patria alma vocavit,  
 seque tuo duxit sanctius ore loqui.  
 publicus orbatus modo luctus conficit urbes,                     15  
 confusique sedent anxia turba patres,  
 ut capite erepto torpentia membra rigescunt,  
 ut grex amisso principe maeret iners.  
 parva tibi coniunx magni solacia luctus  
 hunc tumuli titulum maesta Serena dicat.                     20  
 haec individui semper comes addita fulcri  
 unanimam tibi se lustra per octo dedit.  
 dulcis vita fuit tecum comes anxia lucem  
 aeternam sperans hanc cupit esse brevem.

## 6.2: Dynastic Portraiture at Chiragan? : “Maximian” and “Family”

What follows here is a brief survey of the three portraits identified as Maximian’s family members. The portraits include: the head of a large middle-aged female, identified as his wife Eutropia; a head of a young woman, identified as Maximian’s daughter-in-law, Valeria Maximilla; and the portrait head of a juvenile male, identified as his son Maxentius (figs. 258-260).<sup>1063</sup> These portraits are better dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century, for reasons I elaborate here.<sup>1064</sup>

The portrait of the young male identified as Maximian’s son, Maxentius, was found in du Mège’s 1826 excavations (fig. 258).<sup>1065</sup> It is sculpted in fine grain white marble.<sup>1066</sup> The head of this younger man is close to life-size at 26 cm from chin to crown. His fleshy, smooth cheeks, soft chin, and lack of any facial hair securely mark him as a juvenile. A strong brow ridge shields the eyes, but this ridge is softer and less pronounced than in the so-called Maximian portrait, or the gods in the shield medallions. The eyelids are not particularly heavy, and both the irises and pupils are sculpted in

---

<sup>1063</sup> In addition to the male portrait, Balty included the portrait of a large middle-aged female, a young woman and a juvenile male in his 2008 catalog of the “Tetrarch portraits” at Chiragan. These heads are presumed to represent Maximian’s wife, Eutropia, his son Maxentius, and his daughter-in-law Valeria Maximilla.

<sup>1064</sup> There are parallels among these three, and with the head of the so-called Maximian, but such parallels do not mark a family group of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century as argued by Balty (2008). These similarities are characteristic of late-antique portraiture and particularly mid-4<sup>th</sup> century sculpture – the angular facial features, non-classical proportions, and extensive use of the drill. The four portraits may not be contemporary and may not have been made by the same workshop. Petrographic analysis is necessary to scientifically assay any workshop connections between them.

<sup>1065</sup> MSR inv. Ra 93, 30150. The extant piece measures 31.5 cm from the crown of the head to the break along the neck. Balty and Cazes 2005, no. 3, 77-90 for catalog publication. Let it be noted that no juvenile portraits of Maxentius have been identified.

<sup>1066</sup> Du Mège 1828, no. 146, p 75.

concentric half-circles, a formula used rather extensively in portraits of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. The hair is cropped short and brushed forward from the crown. Over the forehead and along the temples, several locks of hair are so subtly forked though not as pointedly as in the “Maximian” portrait or the Hercules reliefs. This youth portrait is also less dependent on the drill and is thus less volumetric.<sup>1067</sup> The piece is admirably sculpted but departs somewhat from the many late antique sculptures discussed previously at Chiragan. The greatest similarity among this piece and the “Maximian” portrait lie in the scale and spherical shape of both heads and the thick necks, traits which I mark as common to many late portraits. Balty and Cazes suggest a late-3<sup>rd</sup> century date for this piece, but recent work by Smith and Ward-Perkins has suggested a broad date in the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1068</sup> In my opinion the youth portrait lacks the dynamic classicism of the older male portrait and may predate the Theodosian Renaissance, but this may be merely a product of the portrait’s juvenile features.

If portraiture is indeed a tool of social edification, the youthfulness of this sitters merits further emphasis. The young boy was likely the son of a Chiragan *dominus*, and if estate inheritance was familial, he himself may have become one of the villa’s later

---

<sup>1067</sup> When the drill is used for outside of the face the hand is light and grazes the head only to give some texture to the hair, which lacks the plasticity of the other late-antique sculptures mentioned in this chapter

<sup>1068</sup> The piece was recently published by Balty and Cazes (2008) and dated to 293 CE, a date derived from the association of the portrait with Maxentius and that future Emperor’s marriage to Valeria Maximilla, daughter of Galerius around 293 CE. A portrait of young female uncovered in Lebègue’s excavations in 1890-91 has been identified as Valeria, see below. For revised dating of the “Maxentius” portrait see Smith and Ward-Perkins, LSA 1070.

*domini*.<sup>1069</sup> Within the estate generational portraits are powerful statements of familial status and an enduring regional presence. Portraits of young men had long been used by the imperial family as dynastic statements, but they were also used in this region by landowners to assert themselves as members of a long-standing local dynasty.<sup>1070</sup>

So too might the 4<sup>th</sup> century portrait of a young female evince such claims (fig. 259). The female portrait has been identified as a Valeria Maximilla, the daughter of Galerius and wife of Maxentius. A late 3<sup>rd</sup> century date, however, is much too early for this piece.<sup>1071</sup> From chin to crown this female's head measures 24 cm. The young woman's cheeks are full and fleshy, and the skin is smooth and polished with a porcelain-like quality. Her brow ridge is strong and the skin of the forehead appears taut, a subtle complement to the upward gaze of her eyes. Like the eyes of the aforementioned juvenile male the pupils and irises are drilled as half-concentric circles, but the modeling and contours of her eyes are superiorly crafted, particularly in the lower eyelids and lachrymal ducts. Her ears sit rather low on the head beneath an elaborate coiffure, which

---

<sup>1069</sup> Juvenile portraits are not uncommon at Chiragan; the earliest are dated to the Julio-Claudian era. Most of these youth portraits cannot be identified. At present, the identity of only four juvenile portraits are fixed, and all are members of the imperial house: two portraits of young Caracalla, one of young Geta and an adolescent Marcus Aurelius have been recovered. This evidence does not permit identification of this young man as an imperial dynast, but I admit it is possible. We have, however, no comparanda for this image; at present, we should settle on a private portrait. The tradition of private portraiture among non-imperial children and adults is strong in the provinces, albeit more associated with the funerary sphere.

<sup>1070</sup> Cf. Chapter 5 and discussion of Trajanic-era youth portraits at the villas of Chiragan and Montmaurin.

<sup>1071</sup> MSR Inv. no. Ra 127, 30165. The height of the head from chin to crown is 42 cm. For recent publication see Balty and Cazes 2008, no. 6, 113-122. The piece was first published in Joulin's catalogue (1901, no. 301), see also Espérandeu II, no. 1004. For recent arguments of a Theodosian era date see Schade 2003, I. 41; Smith and Ward-Perkins LSA-987.



provides the most concise evidence for the date of this piece.<sup>1072</sup> A thick turban has been wrapped twice around the crown of the head. Beneath this turban the hair is centrally parted and combed forward in a series of stylized, braided plaits.<sup>1073</sup> To each side of the part are six plaited waves that frame the face. Each wave is demarcated by the drill and covered with light, perpendicular strokes, suggesting that the individual braids were locked into place in a mannered, almost lacquered style. The two central plaits on each side of the part have also been pulled away from the face and straight back to the base of the skull, where they were probably gathered in a low bun.<sup>1074</sup>

This particular coiffure knows no direct parallel in imperial portraiture, but its components are at home among 4<sup>th</sup> century female portraiture. Katherin Schade sees this peculiar combination of plaited braids as a *mélange* of the *Scheitelzopffrisur* (braid running from the forehead to the nape of the neck) and the *Zopfkranzfrisur* (braided wreath or turban).<sup>1075</sup> The later *Zopfkranzfrisur* style is first documented in coin portraits of Galeria Valeria, Diocletian's daughter, in the later 3<sup>rd</sup> century. The braided wreath grows increasingly voluminous in the Constantian era, when it appears as a dome of plaited braids. Braided arrangements grow more varied in the mid-to-late 4<sup>th</sup> century, at

---

<sup>1072</sup> The closest comparanda for this coiffure, strangely, has been identified among mid-20<sup>th</sup> century folkloric styles in Croatia, see Balty and Cazes 2008, fig. 19. I note that there is a late Roman portrait in the MAN-Madrid with a similar coiffure, such that the regional popularity of this coiffure may warrant further study.

<sup>1073</sup> It was probably gathered at the nape of the neck in a chignon of sorts, but the piece is broken at the back and it is not possible to reconstruct this chignon.

<sup>1074</sup> The back of this portrait is heavily abraded and the low bun which was likely there is now missing.

<sup>1075</sup> Schade 2001, *Scheitelzopffrisur* pages 95-96; *Zopfkranzfrisur* pages 96-98, with adaptations of both styles 98ff.

which point a revival of the *Scheitelzopffrisur* style is also documented. This latter style is used profusely in the Theodosian era to judge from extant female portraiture.<sup>1076</sup>

Schade's assessment of the Chiragan head concludes that the combination of the *Scheitelzopffrisur* and *Zopfkranzfrisur* alongside the turban is peculiar, in that there is no comparanda for the fusion of so many components. The style appears to draw on a rich tradition of late-antique female hairstyles and is better dated to the later 4<sup>th</sup> century, thereby weakening arguments for the identification of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century's Valeria Maximilla. Interestingly, many studies of Imperial-era provincial portraits, and especially female portraiture, consider a top-down cycle of influence, such that provincial portraits are assumed to be a *mélange* of imperial styles and fashions. Despite its provincial origin, the same ideas have *not* been applied to the Chiragan female portrait. Its strange fusion of female hairstyles coupled with the rarity of late antique portraits in the West (outside of Novempopulania) has been interpreted as a mark of this young woman's imperial status. That this elaborate turbaned hairstyle was a particular local expression of status has not been entertained, even though two other female portraits found at Chiragan wear similar coiffures.

These two other female heads belong to middle-aged women. One of them – a female with a round face, big eyes, and a small mouth – was recently identified as Maximian's wife, Eutropia, partly because the head is just larger than life-size at 29.5 cm

---

<sup>1076</sup> Cf. Meischner 1999.

tall (fig. 260).<sup>1077</sup> There is a clumsiness to this piece, however, that marks its pairing with the “Maximian” portrait a curious one. Beyond the spherical shape of the head, these two heads have little in common; in such a coupling the female portrait marks itself as a lesser quality work. The hard ridge of brow extends in an unbroken line across the brow and along the bridge of the nose. The eyelids are separated from the eye sockets by a small drilled line that was not softened or smoothed. Her mouth is slightly open because of a drilled channel between the top and bottom lip. This series of lines give the face an angular quality and a heaviness that is countered only by the rounded, wide eyes, the fleshy cheeks and the short, protruding chin. When compared to the younger female’s portrait or the “Maximian” portrait, these traits betray a sculptor who is less adept with the drill and/or disinterested in a smooth, polished piece.

There is, however, one important parallel between this portrait and the younger female, and that is their extravagant turbaned coiffures.<sup>1078</sup> The older woman’s turban, however, is a much larger. A thick swatch of fabric is wrapped thrice around the head. Beneath the turban her hair is centrally parted and the forehead locks are combed into waves on either side of the part. These are not flattened plaits as in the younger female portrait, but drilled wavy locks with bridges, reminiscent of the female deities in the

---

<sup>1077</sup> MSR Inv. no. Ra 38, 30208. Height of the head from chin to crown, 31 m. See Balty and Cazes 2008, no. 5, 97-109 for catalog publication of the piece. See also Schade 2003, I 42; Smith and Ward-Perkins 2016, LSA-988 for revised chronology.

<sup>1078</sup> The greatest similarities between the two are the formulaic concentric half-circles of the iris and pupil, and the turbaned coiffure.

medallion shields. Beyond the forehead, most of the hair is pulled back in a thick plait (*Scheitelkopffrisur*) and gathered at the back of the head in a low bun.

This turban hairstyle is well-attested in the Constantinian era, when appears as either a braided wreath or a fabric wrap.<sup>1079</sup> The former gains popularity in the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and again in the Theodosian era, while the fabric turban is more common in the later 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1080</sup> A revised date for this piece should thus be the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and perhaps in the third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. This portrait lacks the finesse of the younger turbaned female portrait, and the turbaned female discussed in chapter 5 (figs. 205, 206). As such, it may predate the classicizing sculptures which emerge in the Theodosian era.

Here it is necessary to pause and reflect on whether these two female portraits, the young male, and the Maximian portrait discussed earlier are members of a single family unit, as previous scholarship suggests. The argument for the pieces as portraits Maximian's family does not stand, because none can be securely attached to the later 3<sup>rd</sup> century. All four are better dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and to the second half of that century in particular. They may be members of the same family group, but certain features

---

<sup>1079</sup> Very few female portraits are known from the Tetrarchic era so there is little on which to base that identification. It should be noted that turban hairstyles appear in both the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries, but that this particular variety parallels the style of the Constantinian era and mid-4<sup>th</sup> century. For late-antique female portraiture cf. Schade 2003; Meischner 1999.

<sup>1080</sup> Discussion of coiffure iconographies in Schade 2003, 95-104.

counter such suggestions. The clumsy style of the elder female portrait lacks the grace and polish inherent to the “Maximian” portrait and the younger female head.<sup>1081</sup>

Although we cannot mark these portraits as contemporary at this time, all four do point collectively to a private portrait tradition that was alive and thriving in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and especially in the second half of that century. I suggest that the large number of portraits found here mark the inhabitants as strong players in a highly localized system of elite expression.

Curiously, the Theodosian-era female portrait discussed in chapter 5 has never figured into discussions of the purported Maximian dynastic group (figs. 205, 206).<sup>1082</sup> This head may be contemporary with the “Maximian” portrait (fig. 240). Both illustrate a particular fusion of late antique classicism and modelled abstraction in the gross volume of the head and contours of the face. Great care is taken in the modelling of both figures’ eyes, as well as the orbital sockets and thin skin beneath the eye bone. The gaze of both individuals is directed slightly off center, the woman’s to the left and the man’s to the right of center. The pupils and irises are drilled in the same fashion – the irises in chiseled circles, the pupils drilled as small concentric circles or u’s because of the heavy upper eyelids. Discouraged by the apparent differences in marble, previous scholarship has not reflected on these stylistic parallels. I would not go so far as to purport a union between

---

<sup>1081</sup> Note, “clumsy” is not intended as an aesthetic judgment.

<sup>1082</sup> MSR. Inv. no. Ra 82, 30319. Dimensions of the head (broken at the neck): 31 cm tall; 30 cm wide; 30 cm deep. The piece was found in du Mège’s excavations and has been published extensively. For the modern bibliography see above in chapter 5, nt. 782. See also Roschach no. 79, p38; Espérandieu 1908, no. 1030 (its provenance here is listed as unknown); Rachou 1912, no. 82, pg 52.

the two, but they are likely contemporary. If both were made in the East as previous scholarship has argued, they evince a high level of engagement with sculpture markets in the later 4<sup>th</sup> century and speak strongly to the continued relevance of a portrait tradition at Chiragan.

## CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this dissertation has been to contribute to what is now a burgeoning field of late Roman statuary studies, by bringing attention to the diverse statuary corpus associated with domestic contexts, and in particular, with the villas of the late Roman West. This study has focused on several clusters of villa habitation in the provinces of Hispania and southwestern Gaul, and examined villas that document late antique occupation from the mid-to-late 3<sup>rd</sup> century through the 4<sup>th</sup>, and into the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century in several cases. My goal has been to highlight statues and statuary collections as implements in social discourse, and to use this premise to appreciate the nuance and variety among and across the elite estates of the late Roman West, and the elite *domini* who presumably inhabited them.

To bring out such distinctions this dissertation has employed regional analysis; each chapter discusses sculptures in the context of the villa in which they were found, within the larger domestic assemblage when possible. Each villa, its statues, and other accoutrements are then situated in broader contexts of habitation, to bring attention to various patterns of display, but also to identify patterns of habitation as regional proclivities. Summation of the previous chapters must admit that this project argues fundamentally for late antique society as more locally rooted and locally oriented than our literary and historical sources suggest, in that archaeological evidence inherently focuses on place and dialogues *in situ*. Indeed, this work privileges material culture, and

observations from the bottom up, so to speak. It has largely avoided relying only on the examination of “centers” of culture in Late Antiquity, or on the literary testimony that depicts such spheres. This is not to say that such centers were unimportant and that regionalism reigned supreme, but rather that conversations in rural landscapes among homeowners may be gleaned from the material record, and that such conversations, by the very nature of their minutiae, merit our attention. While this dissertation, and indeed any attempt to recover a fragmentary record of the past, can only reconstruct the echoes of such conversations, this limitation does not diminish their importance.

With its focus on local spheres of interaction and variances within and across such spheres, this thesis has attempted to organize a vast landscape of villas and their statues. It admits the difficulty of this project, yet maintains its necessity; for the evidence as presented by the material record cannot be tied up in neat packages and simple conclusions. Findings and conclusions resist an easy summation, precisely because the material resists an easy summation. But it is for this express reason that we must reexamine the neatly packaged, archaeological readings of a homogenous elite who inhabited the Late Antique Empire. Several of the questions raised here cannot claim to have been answered definitively, but the objective of this thesis has been to build a foundation for a series of new conversations. More work is in order. In what follows, I therefore summarize the analyses of the previous chapters, which will serve as a basis for concluding remarks on some of the themes that have run through this dissertation, and highlight directions for future research.



## **I. Summary of the Dissertation Chapters: Hispania**

Chapter 2 employed stylistic analysis of late-mythological statuettes at two villas in the Iberian Peninsula, the only two at which such material is extant: the villas of Quinta das Longas (Elvas, Portugal) and Valdetorres de Jarama (Valdetorres, Spain). This chapter includes a full stylistic analysis of all of the recovered fragments, but its analytical focus is less concerned with the iconography of the late-mythological statuettes than on the place of contemporary marbles in the rural estate. It highlights use of marble as significant at both sites, in that contemporary statuary is rare in the Peninsula in the late antique period. Alongside the statuary, attention is given to use of architectural marbles in the villa of Quinta das Longas, and the presence of sculpted ivory decoration at Valdetorres de Jarama. At both sites, ownership of such precious decorative materials is interpreted as a mark of high social status, but also special access to luxury goods.

Chapter 2 suggests in conclusion that the villas of Quinta das Longas and Valdetorres de Jarama were likely rebuilt and redecorated to serve the needs of local elite based in Emerita and Complutum respectively. The display of these objects in rural estates not only suggests that this mode of décor – marble and sculptures – remained a powerful tool of status projection, but that the rural villa had become an increasingly important sphere for status mediation. While this statement itself is hardly innovative, lingering questions about the shape and function(s) of the late antique estate more broadly deserve some discussion here. Indeed, we have no conclusive explanation at present for the boom of

estate building in late antiquity, and the concomitant motivations behind increased investment and attention to the villa estate and its décor.

Chapter 3 surveyed four late antique villas in the rural *Conventus Astigitanus* of Roman Baetica with mythological statuary, but here the focus was largely on antique sculptures as opposed to contemporary ones. Parallels across the sites surveyed in this chapter are numerous, and recommend this cluster of sites for analysis of peer polity interactions. We argue, therefore, that the similarities across statuary sets and regional fascination with antique sculpture, Bacchic statuary and bronzes should be considered within a larger set of shared proclivities. The concurrent early 4<sup>th</sup> century date of decorative revisions to the *pars urbana* at multiple sites, and the addition of bi-apsidal pools and associated statuary displays at Casa del Mitra and El Ruedo in particular, speak to the depth of interaction among *domini* here. Two of these estates – El Ruedo and Cortijo de los Robles – also furnish evidence for sizable *partes rusticae*, and remind us that many of these later villas were estates with a fully realized economic function, and that this function is yet another important constituent of the late *dominus*' elite cultural package.

Chapter 4 builds on ideas raised in the previous by exploring peer polity and socio-economics among villas in the Roman Algarve. Here, although multiple estates compete for local dominance, only one villa, Milreu, manifests evidence for an impressive collection of heirloom imperial portraits. This chapter demonstrates the issues which surround the study of statuary in an art historical vacuum. If Milreu's statuary is

divorced from the larger domestic assemblage, the interactions among villas and their *domini* fall silent. When integrated into multi-scalar analysis, however, it is apparent that Milreu's portraits were but one of a series of useful tools that asserted the estate's unparalleled preeminence as a means of attracting local clientele and establishing regional authority. This chapter also draws attention to the symbiosis of the estate's *pars rustica* and *pars urbana*, and shows that renovations to the production sphere often precede elaborate decorative renovations to the residential core. This in turn casts the *dominus* as an elite, land-owning farmer and an important figure in the regional economy.

### **I.1 Iberian statuary villas, and Directions Forward**

Synthesis of these three chapters suggests that we may speak, albeit with caution, about the character of villas in this landscape broadly, and the Iberian statuary habit. With respect to the former, although the Peninsula had known Roman dominion for nearly five centuries by the late antique period, its breadth is such that it is predisposed to patchwork clusters of rural habitation. The pockets of villa settlement which furnish archaeological evidence seem to have created spaces for localized groups, and for intimate conversations about regional authority and social identity. This dissertation has explored the types of statuary display preferred by various *domini*, but it is my belief that study of other aspects of these estates in a similar fashion will broaden our understanding of the rural patterning of Iberia, and the organization of the Peninsula's regional aristocracies or dominant groups.

With respect to statuary in Iberian domestic contexts, this dissertation highlights the prominence of mythological imagery, in antique and contemporary sculptures. Such popularity may parallel decorative trends in mythological figural mosaic pavements, though it should be noted that such pavements are far more prevalent than statuary in the later villas of Hispania. Recent Anglophone scholarship has synthesized mythological décor in late antiquity, and statuary in particular, as a form of elite *paideia*, but, given the antiquity of many of objects in question, we should not dismiss the possibility, and perhaps even the probability, that a historical or nostalgic interest was inherent in these displays, especially if we mark mythological imagery as part of an intellectual, cultural practice.

The prominence of antique mythological statuary in the Peninsula also invites consideration of these sorts of domestic displays as conscious acts of curation and conservation. I will return to these ideas momentarily, after completing the survey of the dissertation chapters and reviewing briefly the material in southern Aquitaine.

## **I.2 Summary of the Dissertation Chapters: southwestern Gaul**

Discussion in chapters 5 and 6 concentrates on the densely populated landscape of southern Aquitaine, which corresponds roughly to the late antique province of Novempopulania. Villa estates here have such a strong regional character that examination of the extant statuary assemblages – veritable mélanges of antiques and

contemporary sculptures, portraits and mythological statues – has only scratched the surface of a series of features that are particular to this region and its landowners.

Chapter 5 explores one of these features, the display of portraiture, in greater depth. Portrait finds across sites include contemporary and antique heads, of private individuals but also dynastic persons. This chapter analyzes such displays in a larger socio-historical framework, arguing that the prominence of portraiture should be understood as a component of the great social and administrative changes that took place in late antique Gaul in the early to mid-4<sup>th</sup> century. The creation of Novempopulania likely drew many of its local elite into public service, which naturally expanded the size of the elite class and, in our historical records, subtly obscures the great differences among them. In this environment, I argue, portraiture became an important tool of *domini* who saw themselves as distinct from the nouveau riche, as members of a timeless and traditional Aquitanian elite.

Chapter 6 develops ideas raised in the previous chapter about this region's statuary habit further, in an examination of the extensive statuary assemblage of one of these estates, the villa of Chiragan. The breadth and cosmopolitanism of Chiragan's statuary assemblage is such that the site fashions itself as a cultural capital of sorts in rural southern Novempopulania. This chapter focuses on the villa's monumental architectural relief sculptures, which are unique in this region and in domestic contexts more broadly, and its sizable imperial portrait collection. The quantity as well as the quality of these sculpture finds are such that many have marked Chiragan as an anomaly.

While the estate was surely home to a wealthy, important person in late antiquity, this chapter challenges previous scholarship's focus on imperial ownership and suggests that this assumption has actually obfuscated the way that this estate and its sculpture speak to its surroundings. Thus in this chapter I argue that the frequent use of monumental relief sculpture and imperial portraiture was evidence for Chiragan's participation in the local marble habit articulated in chapter 5, but at the same time, that this can be understood as concrete evidence for a strong statement of superiority in the local language of the Aquitanian elite.

At present, the reasons for the size and breadth of this statuary assemblage vis-à-vis others in Aquitaine and in the late Roman world remain elusive. The site challenges boundaries of scholarly imagination, and as such it is not difficult to synthesize the villa as an imperial estate. But it is precisely such claims that this dissertation has sought to interrogate and to problematize. Indeed, at Chiragan as at other elite villas, claims for imperial or high-level bureaucratic *domini* are largely dependent on historical or literary testimony, and the various elite persons, from emperors to senators to *grammatici* qua bureaucrats, to which these sources bear witness. To counter these pre-fabricated assumptions and to avoid recourse to literary crutches, this dissertation has focused on regional habits of *domini* groups as evinced through archaeology.

Chapters 5 and 6 therefore have shown that while some of the material evidence here is present throughout the late Roman West (mosaics, villas, sculptures), and may be associated with a generic "elite" Roman identity, it is unquestionably the case that

regional penchants existed in this world, subconsciously dividing the elite class into more localized groups. Thus it is possible to discuss a villa like Chiragan in a regional framework, and bring attention to the ways that this domestic assemblage, for all its peculiarities, inhabited a particular landscape, one that treasured marble statuary in an unparalleled fashion.

With these summaries in place, it is now possible to look at some of the themes that manifest themselves at multiple sites and multiple chapters, and provide a sketch of the questions that must direct future research. The objective of this conclusion is framed in such a way that here I blur the statuary typologies that I have maintained throughout this dissertation, in order to bring attention to the statuary medium in late antiquity and to identify this medium as a decorative choice among select villa owners in the late Roman West.

## **II. Conservation and Preservation of Statuary as a Domestic Project**

That the display of statuary in the late antique villa evinces a clear decorative choice is suggested by the dearth of figural mosaic pavements at the sites surveyed in this dissertation, and the wealth of figural mosaics in late antique villas of the West broadly.<sup>1083</sup> Only Milreu with its marine mosaics, and Casa del Mitra with a mosaic of

---

<sup>1083</sup> For mosaics in the later Roman world I direct readers to studies of such pavements in the villas of late Roman Britain (Scott 2004) and in Aquitaine (Balmelle 2001). See also Wilson 1983, among others, for Piazza Armerina. For the North African tradition of later mosaics see Dunbabin 1978; see also 1999 for mosaics broadly throughout the Roman world. For mosaics in Hispania see Dunbabin *ibid.* and recent work by J. Lancha (cf. Lancha et al. 2000; 2003; Lancha and Oliveira 2013).

the Triumph of Bacchus, subscribe to broader trends in two-dimensional figural arts in late-Roman villa décor.<sup>1084</sup>

In comparison to mosaics, the relative paucity of sculpture in the later Roman villa is likely a product of several factors. The nature of archaeological preservation and excavation is such that many of the statues which may (or may not) have once adorned the villa are now lost to us. Yet other scholars and I have noted a palpable decline in statuary production in the late Roman West, such that the paucity of sculpture may reflect the waning presence of statuary as an art form.<sup>1085</sup> So too should decreasing statuary production in Hispania, Gaul, and the western Provinces be associated naturally with increasing difficulties surrounding statuary acquisition. It may be no coincidence that all of the extant sculptures in the villas discussed here are antiques, or contemporary statuary imported from Eastern workshops. With this in mind, it seems advisable to mark late antique domestic sculptures, whether antique or contemporary, as tacit evidence for a larger sculpture conservation program, and quite possibly, collective efforts to preserve what was a highly traditional Roman art form.

Let us briefly review the evidence for statuary display as a form of curation and conservation. Antique statuary dominates the villas discussed in this dissertation. That special care was obligatory in the display of such items is occasionally suggested by the

---

<sup>1084</sup> For the mosaics of Milreu see chapter 4, section II *passim*; also Lancha and Oliveira 2013. The mosaic of Bacchus' Triumph at Casa del Mitra is understudied, but see Moreno Alciade 2001, and discussion of the Bacchic Triumph in Hispania's mosaics more broadly in Lancha et al. 2000; Lancha 2003.

<sup>1085</sup> For the paucity of sculptures in late Hispania see Gonçalves 2007; comments on the habit in Nogales Basarrate 2014 and Witschel 2016. For the Western Empire broadly see Witschel 2016; comments *passim* in Smith and Ward-Perkins 2016.



archaeological context of finds. Among the villas of rural Baetica, El Ruedo and Casa del Mitra, excavations document structural, largely decorative renovations of the central peristyle (and triclinium at El Ruedo) for the refashioned display of antique mythological statuary.<sup>1086</sup> At other sites, where display contexts are harder to reconstruct, analysis of individual pieces suggests possible ancient repairs, such that we can document ancient conservation efforts. Readers may remember a portrait of Trajan at Chiragan singled out in chapter 6.<sup>1087</sup> The collection of dynastic portraiture at this villa, but also at the villa of Milreu, also stand out as carefully curated projects. The biography of the portraits in these collections – the identity of the imperial persons, but also the age of the objects by late antiquity – surely evinces concerted efforts to conserve and safeguard heirloom objects, regardless of whether we can associate those efforts with an individual *dominus* or not.

If we consider preservation of statuary as a necessity, given the status of this medium as an increasingly rare art form, efforts at sites with contemporary sculptures gain special importance. At Quinta das Longas, for example, the contemporary late-mythological statuettes were seemingly displayed in rooms newly paved with architectural marbles in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, rooms that celebrate the medium of marble. At Valdetorres, the entire complex, ostensibly designed for the enjoyment of an elite *otium*, was built in the late 4<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> century to house an impressive collection of imported

---

<sup>1086</sup> For synthesis see chapter 3, section II.

<sup>1087</sup> See above nt. 1084 and discussion of the portrait.

sculptures, placed on bases sculpted in local stone.<sup>1088</sup> The rarity of contemporary mythological statuary in Iberia, and the lavish displays with which these pieces are associated, suggests a special effort on the part of the villa *domini* to show off marble and sculpted arts. So might the villa of Chiragan, with its unparalleled assemblage of late mythological monumental reliefs, be read as a visual encomium to sculpted art. Three-dimensional sculpted objects would have decorated both the rooms and walls of this late antique estate.<sup>1089</sup>

But if statuary as a medium was indeed worthy of conservation, preservation and curation, why the curious clustering of statuary villas in regional pockets of the later Roman West? Was the preservation of statuary as an art form a collective effort in late antiquity, or a special project of select villas and *domini* groups of the late Roman West? To lay the foundation for a study that will move towards answers to these questions, I begin by examining statuary display as a conservation project of late antiquity, in a broader context, that is, in private *and* public spheres.

## II.1 Statuary Conservation in Public Contexts: Rome as a Case Study

We may note here that ample comparanda for conscious preservation of antique statuary in the 4<sup>th</sup> century are evident in urban centers across the Empire, though most of these urban centers are located in Rome and the Eastern Empire, far away from this study's

---

<sup>1088</sup> Both villas and their statuary assemblages are discussed in chapter 2.

<sup>1089</sup> The monumental architectural reliefs here are of great importance, I argue in chapter VI, sections III and IV, and warrant further study.

villas. Recent scholarship has highlighted Constantian reuse of antique sculpture, whether in the spoliation of imperial iconography in the Arch of Constantine in Rome, or the importation of antique statues – portraits, mythological statuary, and cult images – to adorn and legitimize the new capital of Constantinople with a history that was, strictly speaking, not its own.<sup>1090</sup> These acts are often read explicitly as propaganda, but for such projects to succeed, we must acknowledge that the audiences for whom such displays were designed – the collective Roman public – were capable of appreciating the antiquity of these images as relics of the past, or species of a historic marble tradition. So too might these audiences have associated those in power with the preservation of this cultural history.

If we trace the city of Rome through the 4<sup>th</sup> century, we note additional subtle but conscious instances of statuary preservation. Inscriptional evidence suggests that an official *curator statuarum* was present in the city from 331 CE on, and though we are unaware of the precise functions of this office, the *curator* seems to have been in charge of a catalogue of the city's statuary, with the power to move statues to different places if and when necessary, to prevent their destruction or ruin.<sup>1091</sup> An edict by Honorius in 399 CE comes more than two generations later, but it calls for the protection of public

---

<sup>1090</sup> The adornment of Constantinople has been studied in depth by Sarah Bassett (1991; 1996; 2000; 2004). Jas Elsner's discussion of the Constantinian Arch in Rome and *spolia* / relic culture of late antiquity is particularly thoughtful (2000), but see also work on early 4<sup>th</sup> century spoliation more broadly in Varner 2014.

<sup>1091</sup> The *curator statuarum* is documented largely in inscriptional evidence, see *CIL* VI 1708; *CIL* VI, 1159; *CIL* VI, 102. It is possible that the office of curator existed before the late antique period, however, see comments in Rutledge 2012; d'Annville 2015.

(largely mythological ?) statuary throughout the Western Empire, and cites the status these objects held as ancient art as justification for their preservation.<sup>1092</sup> Honorius' decree and the breadth of its dominion seems to have followed several tumultuous decades of pagan and Christian debate over the display of antique "pagan" imagery in public contexts.<sup>1093</sup> The most highly publicized of these events is no doubt the Altar of Victory in the Roman Curia, which was removed by Constantius II in 357, only to be reinstated by Julian several years later; it was removed yet again under the emperor Gratian in 384 and re-erected through the efforts of Symmachus as Rome's prefect at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1094</sup> It is not the place of this dissertation to comment on statuary upkeep (or paganism) in late antique Rome, only to acknowledge that such conversations were taking place in urban centers, and that in Rome in particular, such conversations are contemporaneous with the erection of contemporary honorific statues.<sup>1095</sup>

---

<sup>1092</sup> This edict maintained a ban on public sacrifices, but asks for the preservation of *ornamenta* (presumably statuary) in public contexts, *C. Th.* XVI, 10, 15.

<sup>1093</sup> Recent work has indeed focused in great depth on the late antique statuary habit in Rome. For pagan imagery and/or antique mythological statuary see d'Annoville 2015; Anghel 2015; Lavan 2009. For portraiture see Weisweiler 2012, and more broadly see Machado and Lenaghan 2016.

<sup>1094</sup> The Altar of Victory was a gold statue which had stood in the Curia since the early Empire, when it was recovered by Augustus in the Battle of Actium. Literature on the Altar of Victory in late antiquity is particularly dense, and I therefore direct readers to only a few of the many analyses which exist on this objects and its legacy, cf. Sheridan 1966, and recent work in Cameron 2011 which explores the late antique paganism in Rome. See also Sym. *Epi.* 17, 18 for petitions to re-erect the Altar.

<sup>1095</sup> For Rome's late antique statuary habit see Weisweiler 2012; Machado and Lenaghan 2016.

## II.2 The role of the Villa, and Urban Statuary Landscapes

Rome, of course, should not be used as a model for analysis of statuary display habits in late villas of the Western provinces, but the statuary landscape of the capital does find parallels in domestic spheres of the provinces. Here too we document the display of antique mythological statuary and probable cult images (Mithras Tauroktonos at Casa del Mitra, in particular) in seemingly non-religious settings, suggesting that appreciation of the object was now largely aesthetic.<sup>1096</sup> We can add to this the erection of contemporary portrait busts (Séviac, Lamarque, and Chiragan) and the preservation of antique private and dynastic portraiture (Milreu, El Ruedo, Cortijo de los Robles, and the villas of Aquitaine). But, what function did the villa serve, in preservation of these objects in the rural West? Why does the conservation of statuary arts here appear to have been a project of the villa in Hispania and Gaul? Indeed, although contemporary portraits and mythological statuary is known in several villas, public statuary dedications in these same provinces are few and far between.

The comparanda for statuary conservation as a conscious, collective effort in urban centers like Rome and Constantinople are compelling, and recommend that future work in the Western provinces explore statuary displays as a possible habit of late antiquity, practices in both urban and rural spheres. At present, our knowledge of the

---

<sup>1096</sup> For this piece see chapter 2, section III.3. I note here, however, that this Mithras Tauroktonos is the only one of its kind securely documented in a domestic context in the West (to my knowledge). More work on this statue and its display in the *pars urbana* of Casa del Mitra is in order.

urban landscape of statuary display in late antique towns of Hispania and Gaul is minimal. Indeed, Spanish and Francophone studies of urban décor and urban armature are largely focused on these objects as art historical specimens and are interested in tying them to chronology points that correlate roughly with their creation, implicitly overlooking the reception of Imperial-era objects among successive generations, and their accrued antiquity in later periods.<sup>1097</sup> New work must undertake reconstructions of the late antique city, in major centers like Tarraco, Corduba, Emerita, and Elusa, but also in smaller Roman cities, as in Iiturgicola and Igabrum of rural Baetica.<sup>1098</sup> Only with this work in place will it be possible to mark the display of both antique and contemporary statues as a significant, distinct feature, or a particular project of the later Roman villa.

### III.3 Statues and Elite Identit(ies)

This dissertation has tested conceptions of statuary as a habit or practice of a generic elite, and so will fittingly conclude with a question about the validity of defining a broad “elite” in late antique studies. The link between statuary and a specific elite class may be tenuous, but it is nonetheless difficult to set aside. For example, the association of mythological statuary displays with *paideia* in late antiquity leads us back to the universal elite *typus*. So too does the display of portraiture in late antiquity as emblematic

---

<sup>1097</sup> For example, Tarraco’s public statuary, much of which remained on display into the 5<sup>th</sup> century, has received minimal analytical publication (see Koppel 1985 for a catalog). Studies of reception in the provinces are few and far between but see Fejfer 2002.

<sup>1098</sup> See discussion of Iiturgicola and Igabrum, and the possible decline of rural Baetica’s urban landscape in chapter 3, section I.

of traditional Roman *mores*, argued in chapter 5, presuppose a historic elite typus. It stands to reason, however, that if sculpture is associated with a generic Roman elite, the infrequency of finds in domestic contexts suggests a growing unease with this identity in late antiquity. The paucity of statuary finds in domestic contexts would argue that, if the medium and its iconographies advertised elite status, education, and identity, that advertisement was losing its audience. And indeed, the clustering of statuary villas in Hispania and southwestern Gaul, that is, in select pockets of a much larger later Roman world, suggests that universal values of sculpture were changing, perhaps at pace with social and economic changes in society. If statuary has a Roman character, or an elite character, it would seem that fewer and fewer *domini* in late antiquity conceived of this identity as relevant.<sup>1099</sup> Such conclusions cannot be drawn from a lack of information, but the mere possibility suggests that further study of domestic assemblages, and of the estate as a locus of activity in late antiquity, is necessary. So too is the redefinition and broadening of our archaeological “elite” in order.

This study has advocated regional analysis as a means of identifying the social interactions among concentrated groups of inhabitants, which may be gleaned from the material record. It is possible that further study of habitation groups in this fashion will bring to light a slow evolution of rural residency, and to slow evolution of rural elite bodies and elite identities. It may be that the later Roman era, especially in the rural Western provinces, was increasingly locally oriented, such that independent communities

---

<sup>1099</sup> See elements of this idea in chapter 5, section V.

with distinct sets of practices and patterned behaviors developed. Late antique history has commented on the rise of bureaucracy in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, but only recently have local institutions, local communities, local aristocracies and their leaders been acknowledged as important power players in this system. Recent work has become increasingly interested in these social histories, especially in Late Antique scholarship, and archaeology has much to contribute to such discussions, with evidence that only the material record may evince. And in its own way, study of local groups and their behaviors will contribute to more nuanced syntheses of the late Roman Empire, and its eventual fragmentation into a series of kingdoms, dynasties, and ruling groups, that is, a myriad of localized bodies, with their own distinct material cultures.



FIGURES



1 Map of the villa sites discussed in this dissertation.



2 Map of late-Roman villas identified in Hispania (after Chavarría Arnau 2007, Mapa I).



3 Map of late-Roman villas identified in Aquitaine through survey and excavation (after Balmelle 2001, *Carte des Sites*).



4 Map of concentration of late-Roman villas in the West (after Bowes 2010, fig. 21).



5 The Esquiline Group. L to R: Hercules (Inv. no. 621), Satyr with the Infant Dionysus (Inv. no. 619); Neptune (Inv. no. 622); Standing Male Deity (Zeus?) (Inv. no. 620); Helios/Sol (Inv. no. 623), Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (after Hannestad 2012, fig. 2).

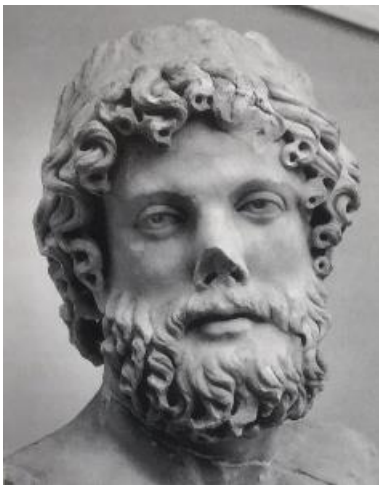


6 The Esquiline Satyr (Inv. no. 619), Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (after Molteson 1996, no. 123).

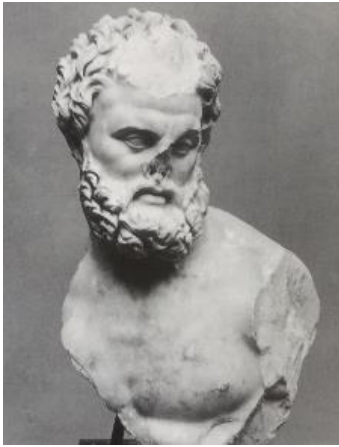


7 At left: detail of the Esquiline Satyr (Inv. no. 619), Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (after Hannestad 2012, fig. 3).

8 At right: the Esquiline Neptune (Inv. no. 622), Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (after Molteson 1996, no. 126).



9 Detail of the Esquiline Standing Male Deity (Inv. no. 620), Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (after Hannestad 1994, fig. 74).

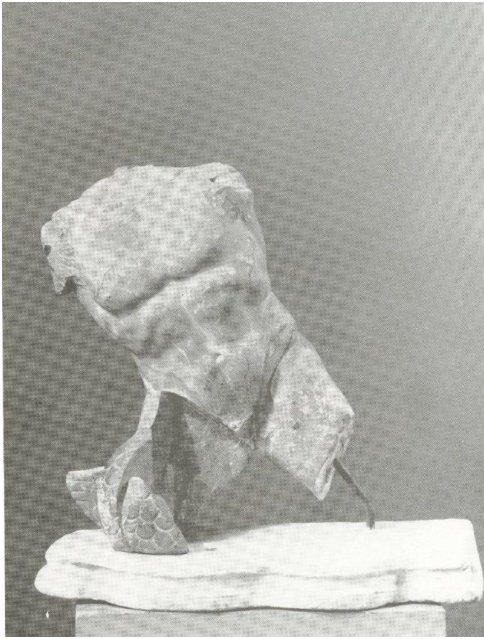


10 The Esquiline Hercules (Inv. no. 621), Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (after Hannestad 1994, fig. 76).



11 At left: statue of a female deity (Selene?) from Silahtarağa, Istanbul Museum (after Bergmann 1999, Pl. 22).

12 At right: statue of Artemis from Silahtarağa, Istanbul Museum (after Bergmann 1999, Pl. 23.1).



13 Torso of an anguiped giant from Silah tarağa, Istanbul Museum (after Chaisemartin and Örgen 1982, Pl. 31).



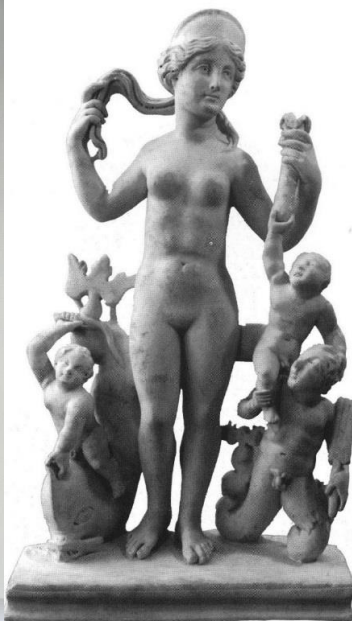
14 Mithras Tauroktonos from Sidon, c. 389 CE by inscription (Inv. no. AO 22256), Musée du Louvre (after Bergmann 1999, Pl. 30.1).



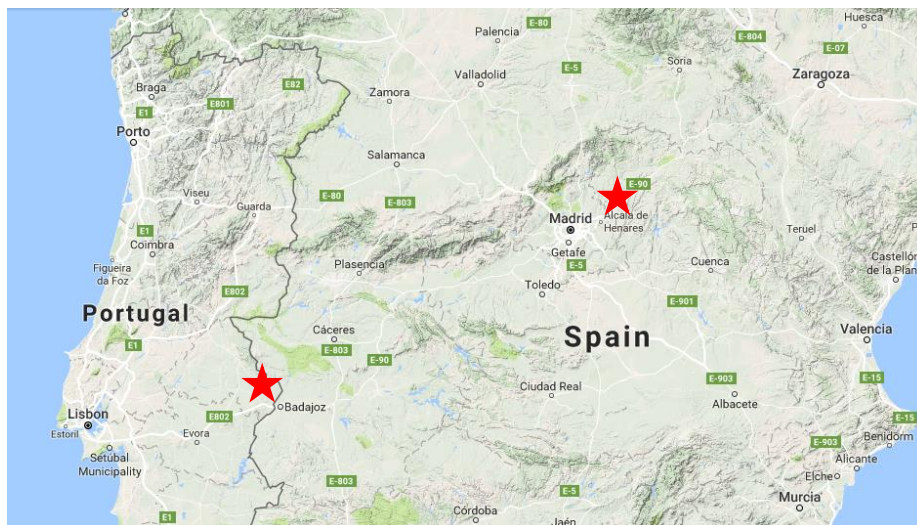
15 The Ganymede Group from Carthage, Musée Paléochrétien, Carthage (after Wikimedia Commons).



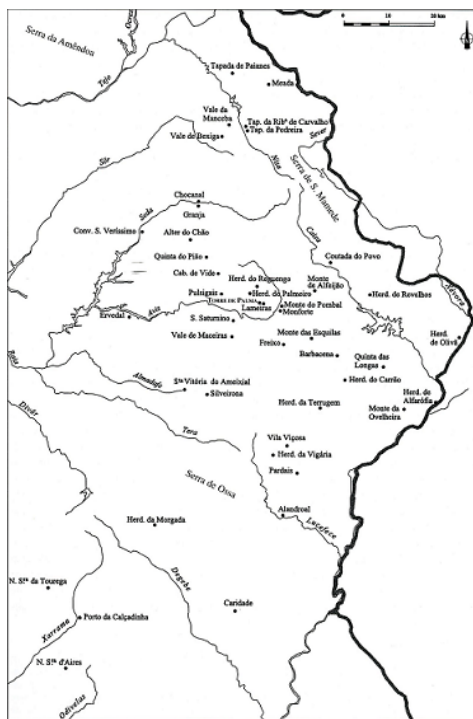
16 At left: the Diana statuette (Inv. no. 71.16.1) from Petit-Corbin, Saint-Georges-de-Montagne, Musée d'Aquitaine, Bordeaux (courtesy of the Musée d'Aquitaine).



17 At right: the Venus statuette (Inv. no. MA 3537) from Petit-Corbin, Saint-Georges de Montagne (Gironde), Musée du Louvre (after Balmelle 2001, fig. 128).



18 Map of central Iberia marking the location of the villas of Quinta das Longas (Elvas, Portugal) and Valdettorres de Jarama (Valdettorres, Spain).

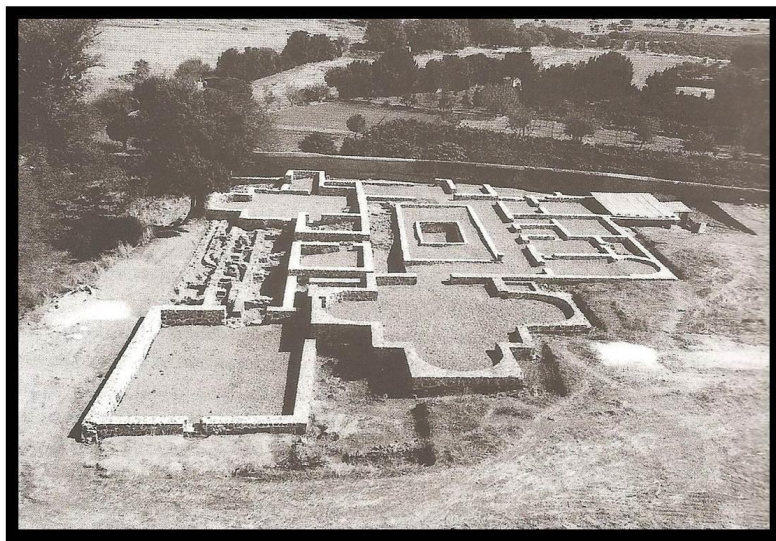


19 Map showing the density of villas identified through survey and excavation at the crossroads of the *Conventus Pacensis*, *Conventus Emeritensis*, and *Conventus Scallabitanus* (after Lancha and André 2000, fig. 1).





Fig. 20 Plan of the villa of Quinta das Longas in the late antique period, with mosaic pavements indicated in black, pavements in *opus sectile* in checkered grey, and pavements in *opus signinum* in light grey (after Nogales Basarrate, Carvalho, and Almeida 2004, fig. 2b).



21 Aerial view of the site of Quinta das Longas, looking east (after Nogales Basarrate, Carvalho, and Almeida 2004, fig. 2a).



22 Black and White *opus sectile* pavement in room no. 23 (the nymphaeum) of Quinta das Longas (after Nogales Basarrate, Carvalho, and Almeida 2004, fig. 3a).



23 At left: *opus sectile* pavements in Casa de los Mármoles, Mérida (after Alba Calzado 2004, Pl. V).

24 At right: plan of 4<sup>th</sup> century Casa de los Mármoles (after Alba Calzado 2004, fig. 38).



25 Finds context of the Quinta das Longas marble statuettes in the excavations of August 2000 (after Nogales Basarrate, Carvalho and Almeida 2004, fig. 4).



26 Anguiped statuette (Inv. no. 2006.355.1) found at the villa of Quinta das Longas, Museu Nacional de Arqueologia (MNA), Lisbon (photo by author).



27 At left: fragment of an anguiped tail (Inv. no. 2006.355.2), MNA, Lisbon (courtesy of the MNA).

28 At right: fragment of an anguiped tail (Inv. no. 2006.355.3), MNA, Lisbon (courtesy of the MNA).



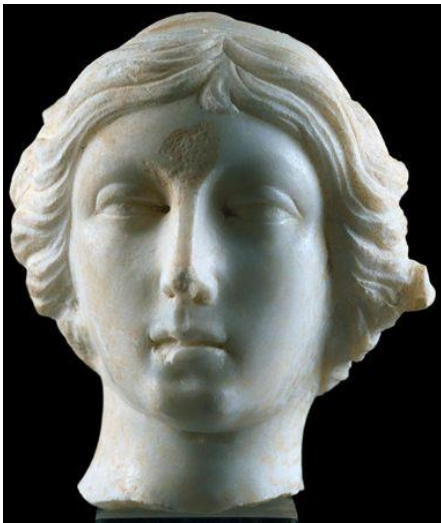
29 At left: statuette of Venus (Inv. no. 2006.355.4), MNA, Lisbon (photo by author).

30 At right: statuette of Venus, (Inv. no. 2006.355.4), MNA, Lisbon (courtesy of the MNA).



31 At left: statuette of Aphrodite (Inv. no. Mendel 313), from Sidon, Istanbul Archaeological Museum (after Stirling 2005, fig. 48).

32 At right: statuette of Aphrodite found in Sidi Bishr (Inv. no. 24956), Bibliotheca Alexandrina, Musée des Antiquités, Alexandria (courtesy of Bibliotheca Alexandrina).



33 Head of an idealized female, (Inv. no. 2006.355.5), MNA, Lisbon (courtesy of the MNA).



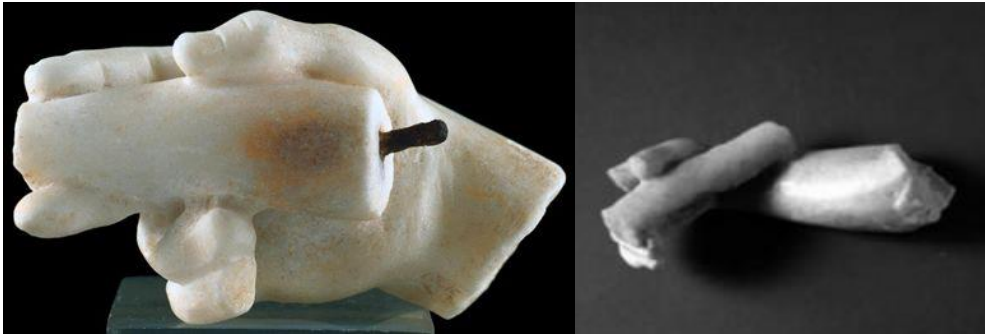
34 Fragment of a female's left hand, holding a shell (Inv. no. 2006.355.8), MNA, Lisbon (courtesy of the MNA).



35 Fragment of a female's left hand, holding a spherical globe (Urania?) (Inv. no. 2006.355.6), MNA, Lisbon (courtesy of the MNA).



36 Mosaic of the 9 muses at the threshold to the triclinium of the villa of Torre de Palma, MNA, Lisbon (after Lancha et al. 2000, Pl. LII).



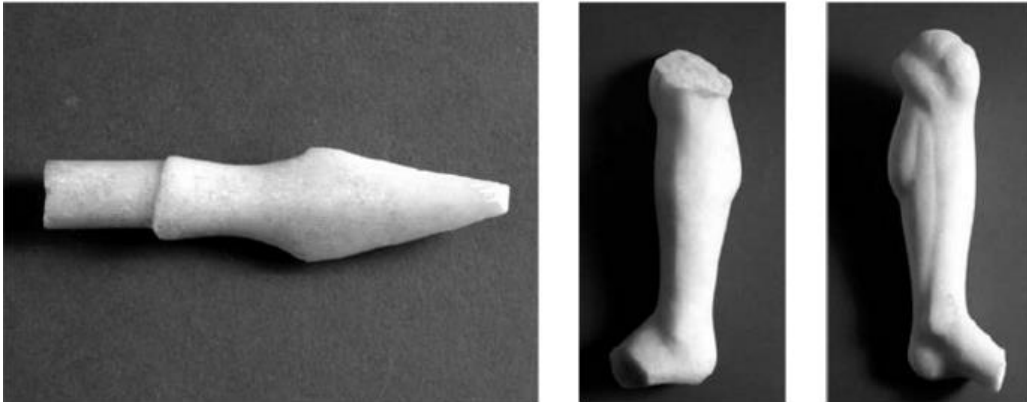
37 At left: fragment of a female's right hand holding a cylindrical object (Inv. no. 2006.355.9), MNA, Lisbon (courtesy of the MNA).

38 At right: fragment of a female's left forearm and hand holding a long cylindrical object, MNA, Lisbon (after Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004, fig. 9b).



39 At left: fragment of an embracing couple preserving a female's nude left forearm and a male's nude right forearm (Inv. no. 2006.355.7), MNA, Lisbon (courtesy of the MNA).

40 At right: Cupid and Psyche group (Inv. no. 180) from Ostia, Il Museo Ostiense (courtesy of the museum).



41 Fragments of a hunting group statuette (?), L to R: the tip of a *venabulum*. and the nude left calf of a male figure (after Nogales Basarrate et al. 2004, fig. 9).



42 At left: fragment of a tree trunk (Inv. no. 2006.355.4266), MNA, Lisbon (courtesy of the MNA).

43 At right: fragments of a tree trunk, likely a landscape element in a group statuette (Inv. no. 2006.355.4268), MNA, Lisbon (courtesy of the MNA).





44 Arboreal fragments (four at left, Inv. no. 2006.355.4269; at right, Inv. no. 2006.355.4267), MNA, Lisbon (courtesy of the MNA).



45 Statuette of Diana from Cherchel (Inv. no. S7), (after Landwehr 1993, Pl. 34).



46 Fragment of a dog attacking a stag (Inv. no. 2006.355.12), MNA, Lisbon (courtesy of the MNA).

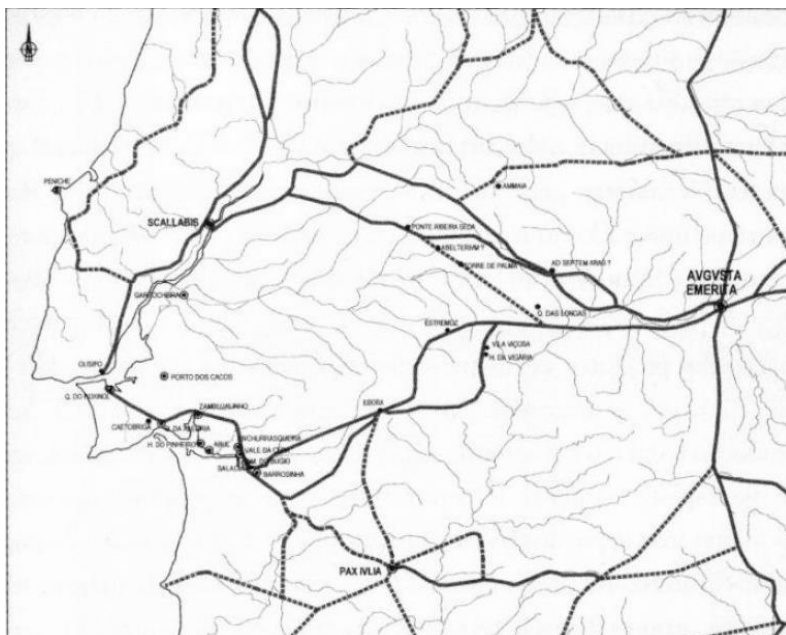


47 At left: Fragment of a panther (Inv. no. 2006.355.13), MNA, Lisbon (courtesy of the MNA).

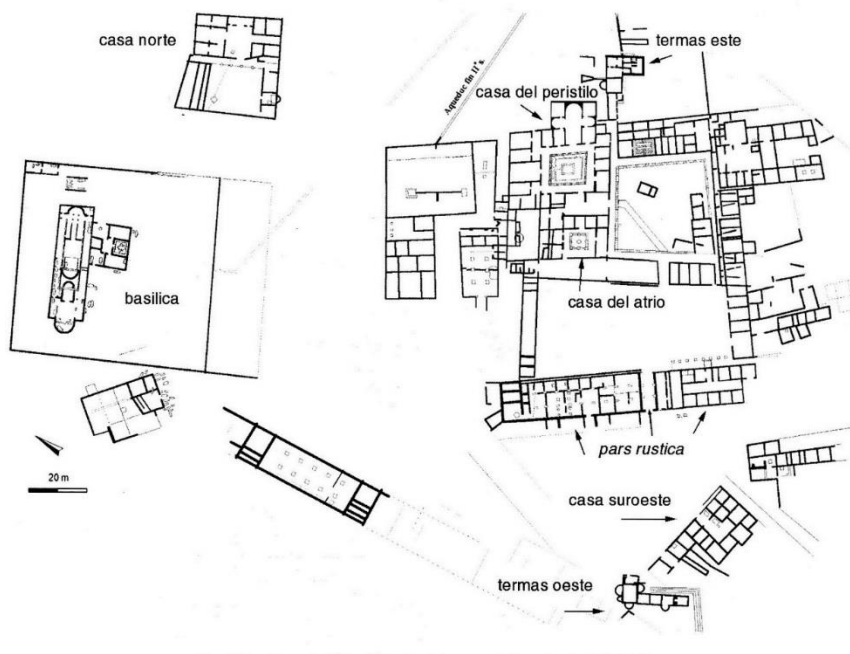
48 At right: Fragment of a griffin or ship prow carved as a griffin (Inv. no. 2006.355.11) MNA, Lisbon (courtesy of the MNA).



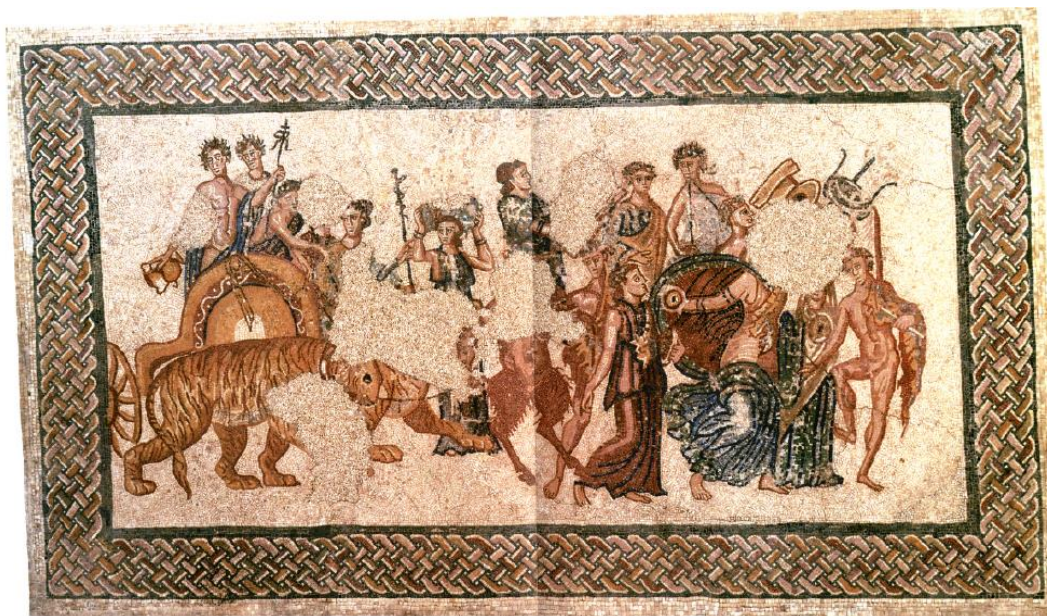
49 Several of the Quinta das Longas statuettes on exhibition in the MNA, Lisbon. Photos illustrating the depth of the figural statuettes (photo by author).



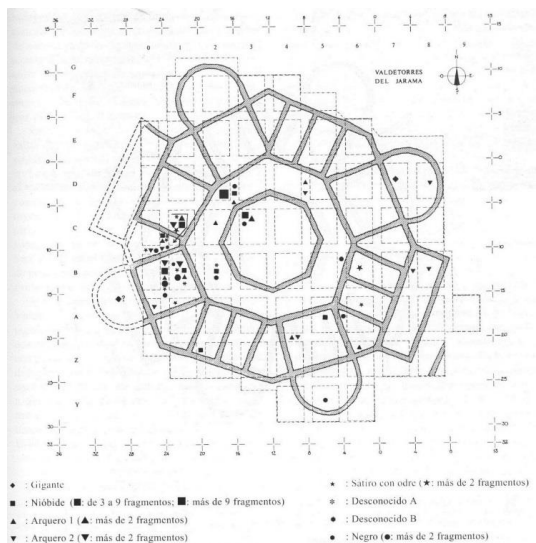
50 Map of the road system in central Lusitania. Black lines are routes listed in the Antonine Itinerary; dotted lines are routes suggested by survey and superficial finds (after Almeida and Carvalho 2004, fig. 8).



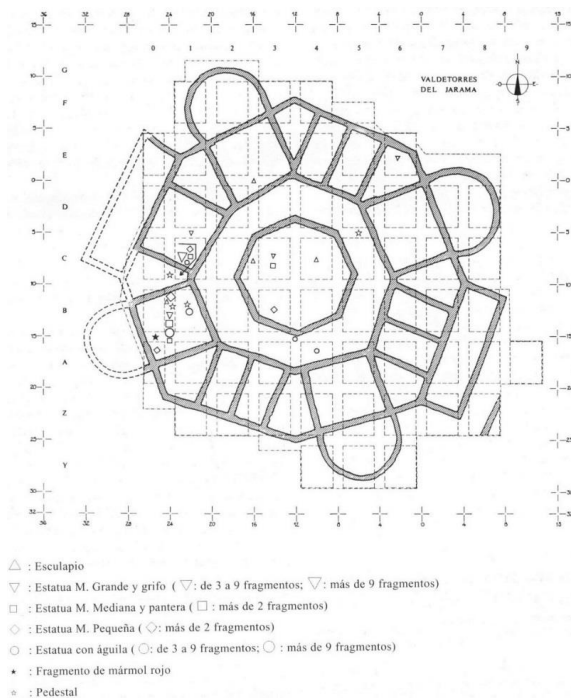
51 Plan of the villa of Torre de Palma (Monforte, Portugal) (after Chavarría Arnau, fig. 108).



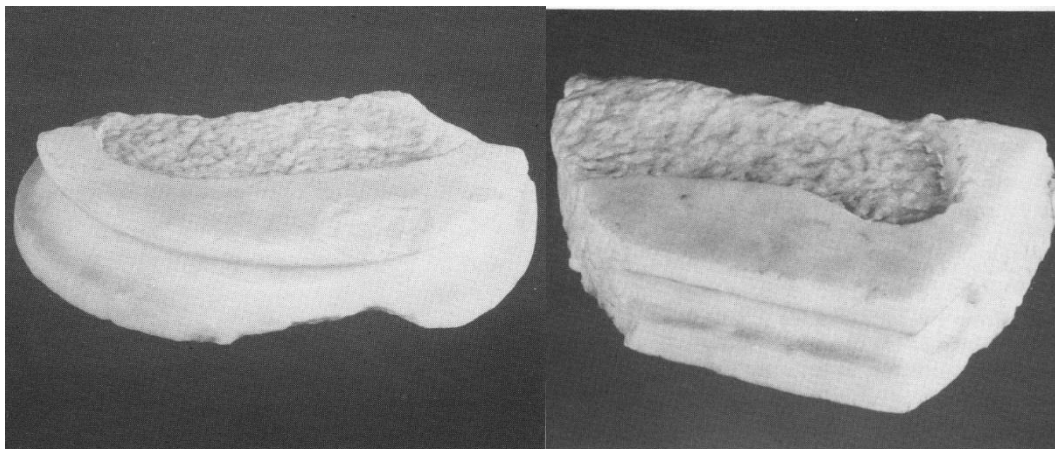
52 Mosaic of the Triumph of Bacchus, from the triclinium at the villa of Torre de Palma, MNA, Lisbon (after Lancha et al. 2000, Pl. LXV).



53 Plan of the site of Valdetorres de Jarama (Valdetorres de Jarama, Spain) with findspots of the extant dark marble statuary fragments (after Puerta, Elvira and Artigas 1994, fig 22).



54 Plan of the site of Valdetorres de Jarama with findspots of the extant white and red marble statuary fragments (after Puerta, Elvira and Artigas 1994, fig 23).



55 A pair of statuette bases found at Valdetorres de Jarama, one in the shape of a horseshoe (Inv. nos. 77-72-2) and the other rectangular (Inv. no. 77-72-3), Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Madrid (after Puerta, Elvira and Artigas 1994, figs. 20, 21).



56 Anguiped torso (Inv. no. 77-72-1) from Valdetorres de Jarama, Museo Arqueológico Nacional (MNA), Madrid (after De Nuccio and Ungaro 2002, no. 7).



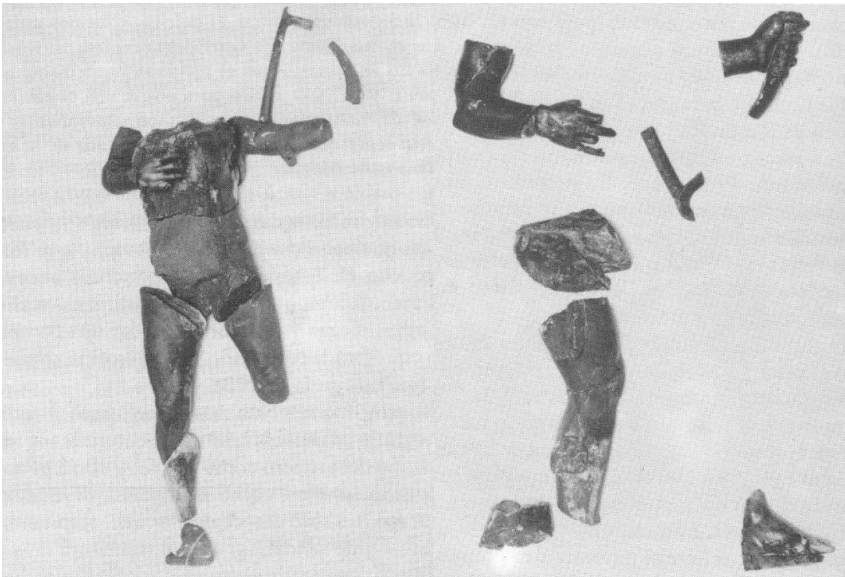
57 Detail of the anguiped torso, highlighting the knobby rib muscles and scaled anguiped limbs, MNA, Madrid (photo by author).



58 The raised left arm of the anguiped torso, possibly raised to shield the face from an attack, MNA, Madrid (photo by author).



59 Detail of the anguiped limbs on the torso at Valdetorres de Jarama, MNA, Madrid (photo by author).



60 At left: reconstruction of Archer 1 at Valdetorres de Jarama, MNA, Madrid (after Puerta, Elvira and Artigas 1994, fig. 5).

61 At right: reconstruction of Archer 2 at Valdetorres de Jarama, MNA, Madrid (after Puerta, Elvira and Artigas 1994, fig. 6).





62 Fragment of Archer 1's left hand and elbow (IV-595, IV-596, and III-88887), MNA, Madrid (photo by author).



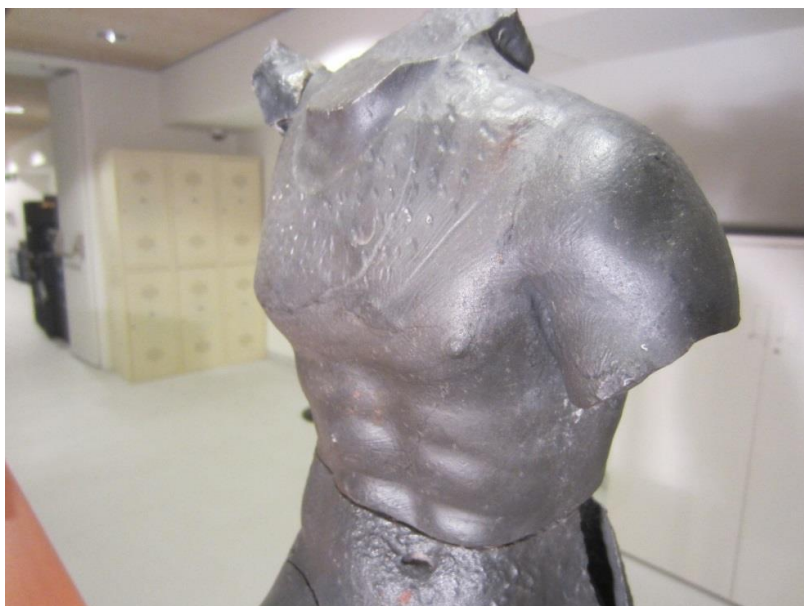
63 Fragments of the left hand and bow of Archer 2 holding the bow (II-88 and IV-600), MNA, Madrid (photo by author).



64 Fragmentary statuette of a Niobid and his horse, MNA, Madrid (after De Nuccio and Ungaro 2002, no. 6).



65 Detail of the Niobid, MNA, Madrid (photo by author).



66 Detail of the markings on the Niobid's chest indicating preparation for an appliqué, MNA, Madrid (photo by author).



67 Detail of the Niobid's horse, MNA, Madrid (photo by author).



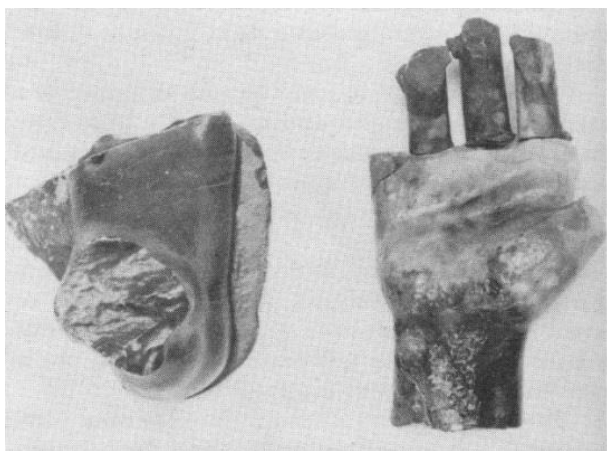
68 Rear view of the Niobid statuette, MNA, Madrid (photo by author).



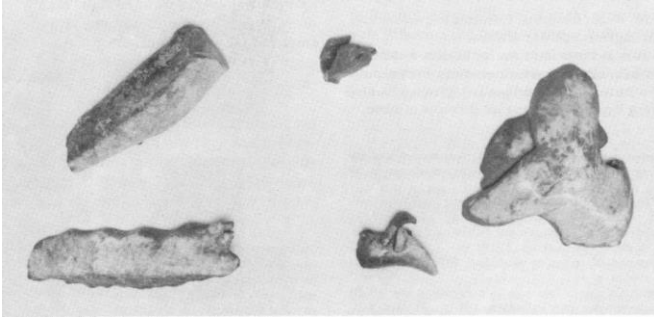
69 Fragments of Unknown statuette B, including drapery, a leg, and the right foot (after Puerta, Elvira and Artigas 1994, fig. 9).



70 Details of the fragments of Unknown B, with the right foot (II-M-7) scored for attachment to a base (photo by author).



71 Fragments of Unknown statuette A, including a right hand and left foot (after Puerta, Elvira and Artigas 1994, fig. 8).



72 Fragments of a Satyr statuette, with arm wrapped around a wineskin (after Puerta, Elvira and Artigas 1994, fig. 10).



73 Details suggesting the statuette was intended for a fountain (photos by author).



74 Fragment of a rocky ledge with two toes, probably associated with the satyr statuette (photo by author).



75 Fragments of a kneeling African statuette, MNA Madrid (after Puerta, Elvira and Artigas 1994, fig. 10).



76 Detail of two fragments of African figure's head (IV-1406) and a reworked repair of the coiffure (IV-136), MNA, Madrid (photo by author).



77 Statue of a young African slave, found in the baths of Aphrodisias. Possibly late antique. Musée du Louvre (courtesy of the Musée du Louvre).



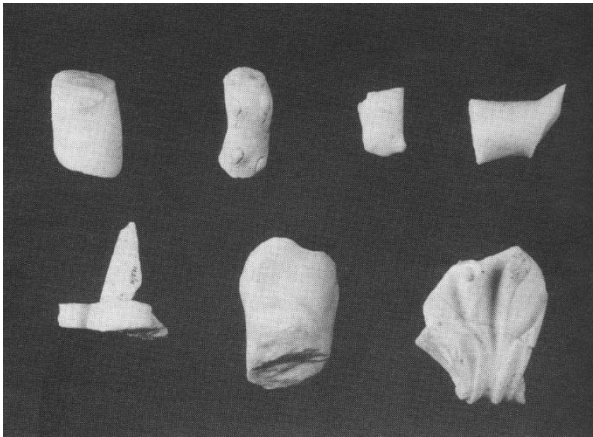
78 Detail of the Fragment of the African's right calf and foot (conjoined fragments I-M-53, I-M-18, IV-585, and IV-789) MNA, Madrid (photo by author).





79 At left: statuette of Asclepius, MNA Madrid (photo by author).

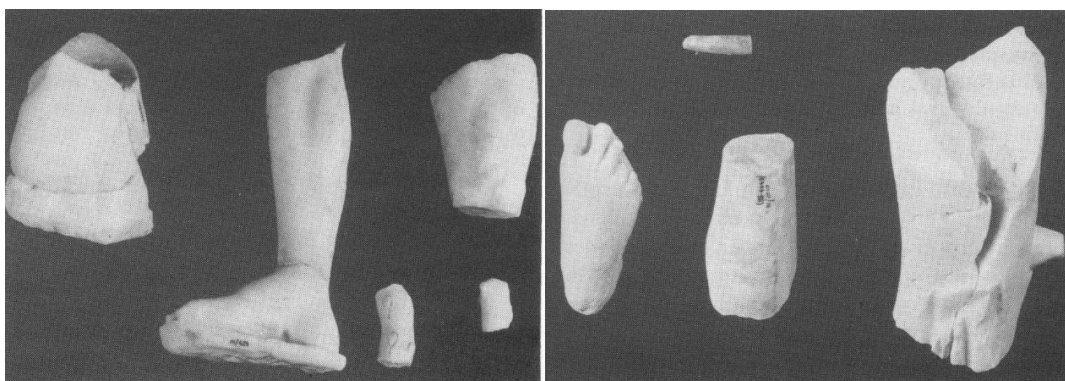
80 At right: rear of the Asclepius statuette (after Puerta, Elvira, and Artigas 1994, fig. 13).



81 Fragments of unknown no. 12 statuette (after Puerta, Elvira, and Artigas 1994, fig. 18).



82 Fragments of a wooden staff (I-M-59 and 77-72-17), associated with the small male no. 12 or medium male no. 11, MNA Madrid (photo by author).



83 Fragments of Unknown no. 11 statuette (after Puerta, Artigas and Elvira 1994, fig. 16).

84 Fragments of Unknown no. 10 statuette (after Puerta, Artigas and Elvira 1994, fig. 14).



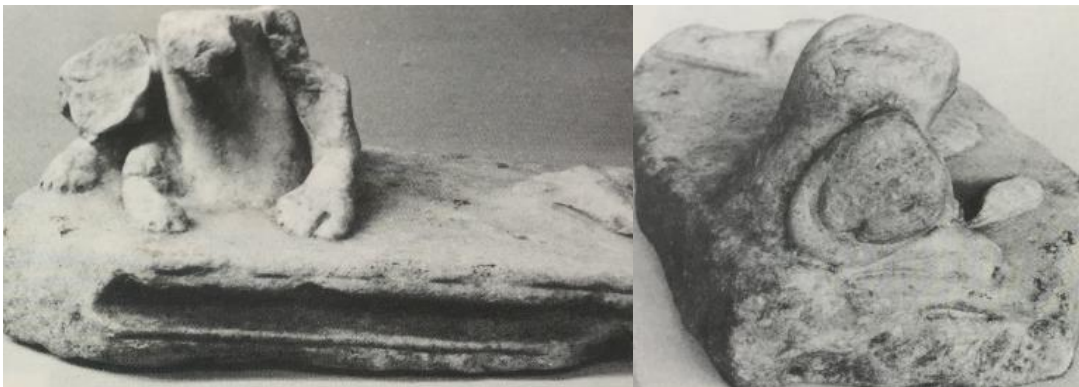
85 Fragment of a panther head (III-882), MNA, Madrid (photo by author).



86 Aion statuette from Sidon (Inv. no. AO 2258), dated to 389 CE by the inscribed base, Musée du Louvre (courtesy of the Musée du Louvre).



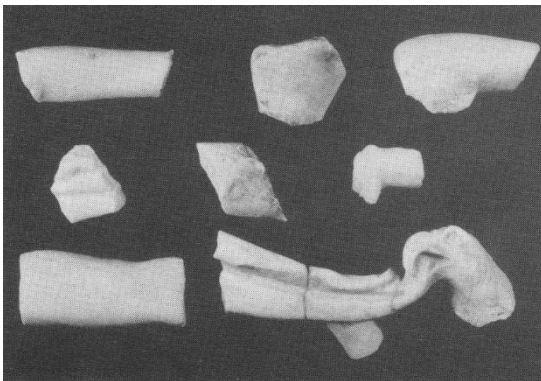
87 Fragments of the unknown male statuette no. 11 (joined fragments IV-424 and IV-605, and III-881) and the panther head (III-882), MNA, Madrid (photo by author).



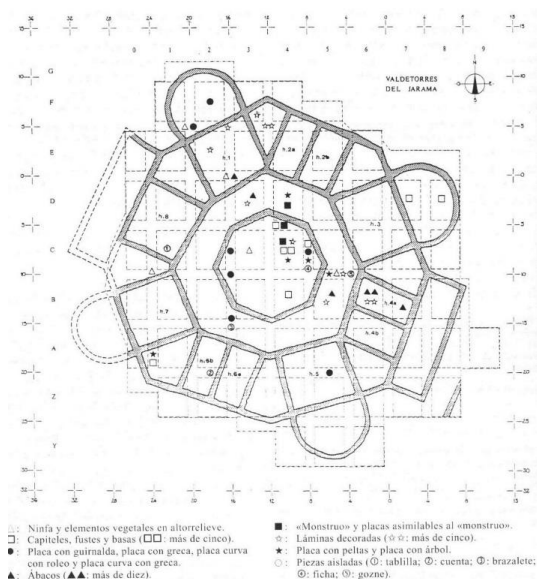
88 Late-mythological statuette base from Maiden Castle (Dorset), front and side back (after Cunliffe 1982, pl. 26).



89 Fragments belonging to a griffin statuette (?), MNA, Madrid (photo by author).



90 Fragments of a small statuette with an eagle grasping drapery in its mouth (after Puerta, Elvira, and Artigas 1994, fig.19).

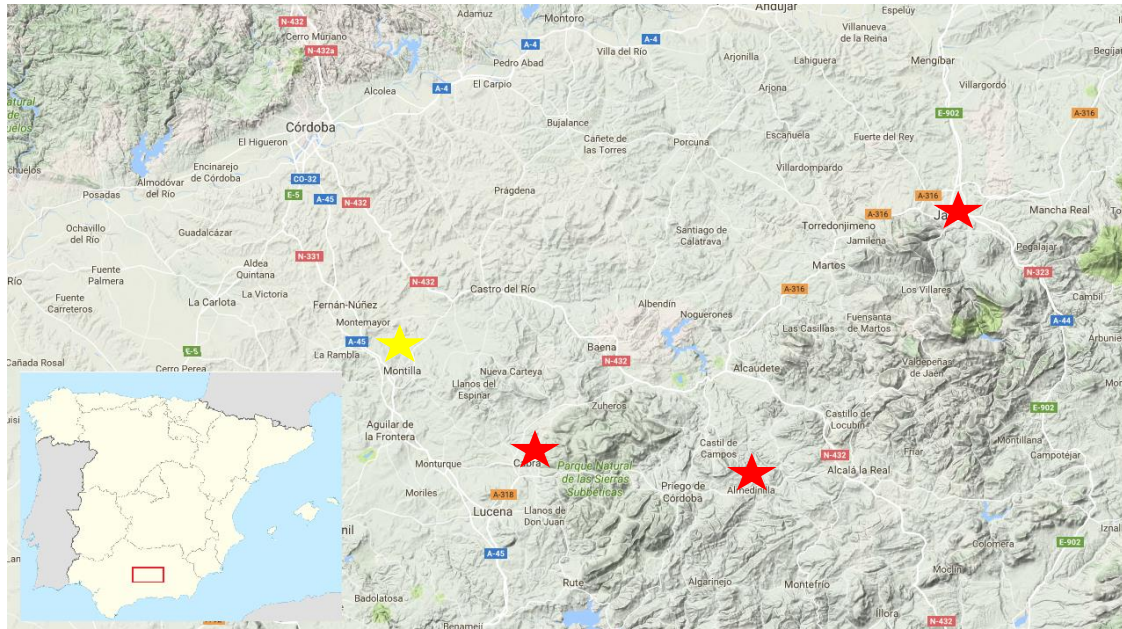


91 Map of the sculpted ivory finds in Valdetorres de Jarama (after Carrasco and Elvira 1994, fig. 1).

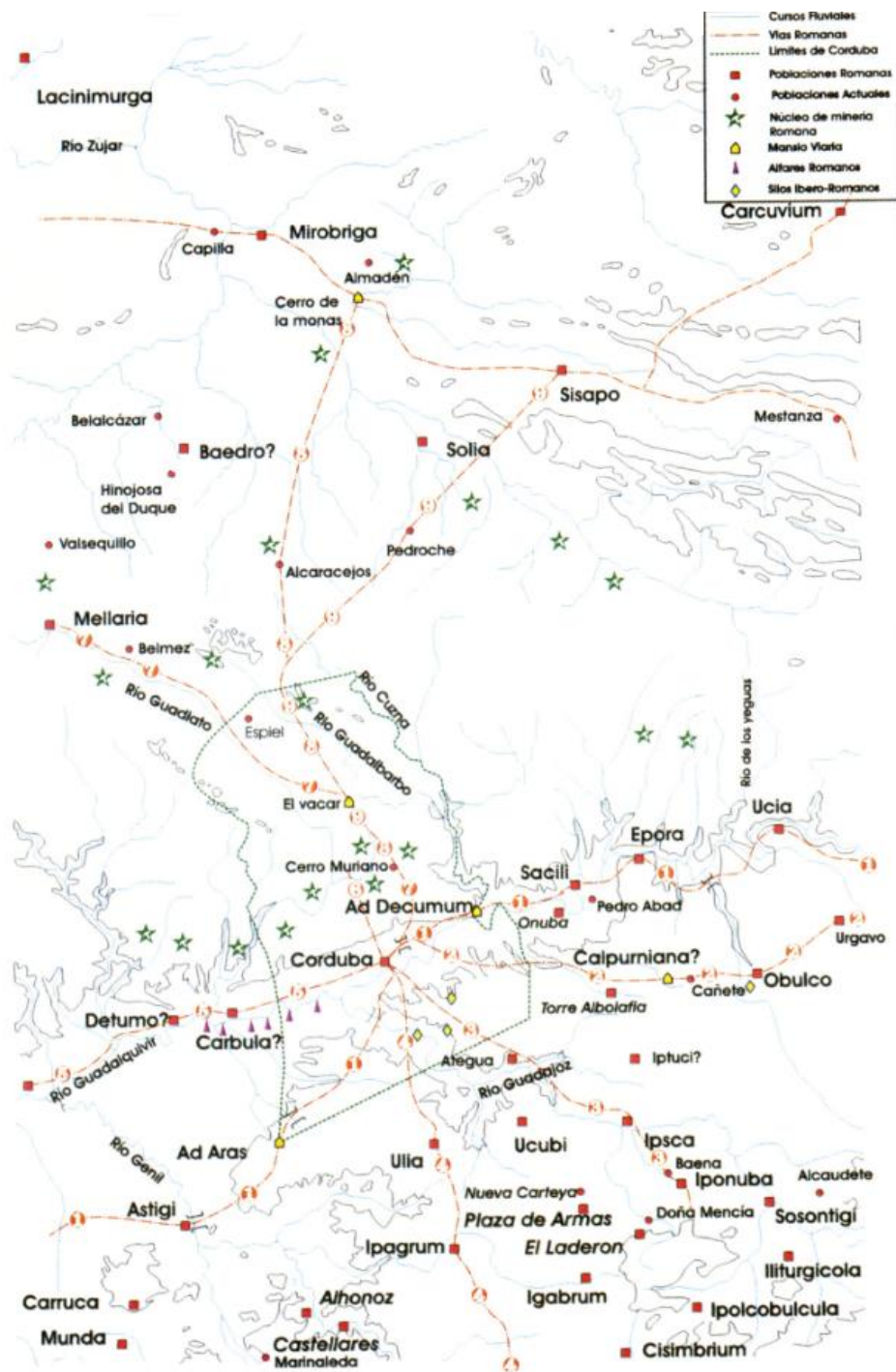


92 At left: the sculpted plaque of a nymph holding an oinochoe (after Carrasco and Elvira 1994, fig. 6).

93 At right: the sculpted ivory “monster” of Valdetorres de Jarama (after Carrasco and Elvira 1994, fig. 7).

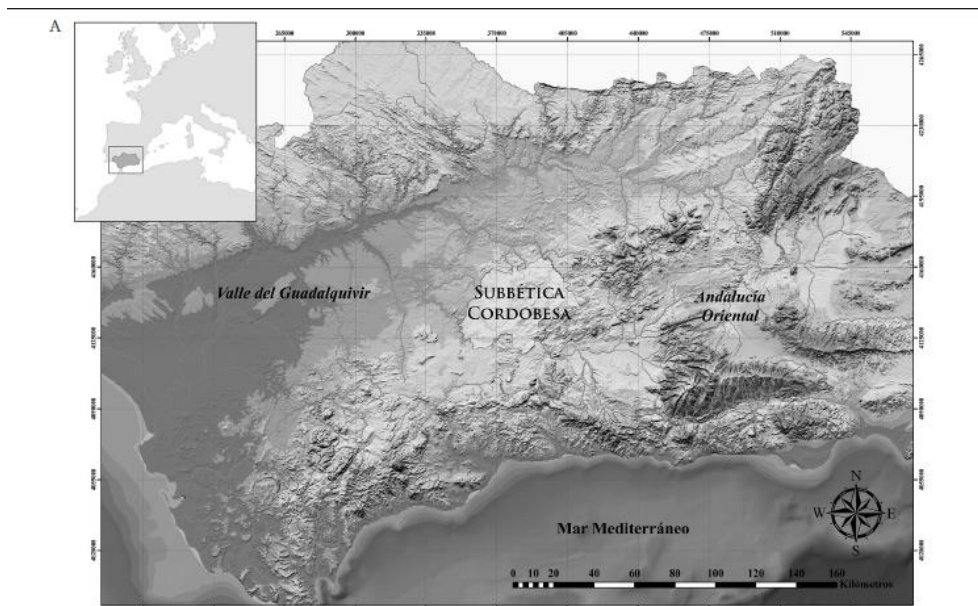


94 Map of the villas with statuary assemblages in rural Baetica's *Conventus Astigitanus*: Casa del Mitra (Cabra, Spain), El Ruedo (Almedinilla, Spain), and Cortijo de los Robles (Jaén, Spain). A possible fourth villa (in yellow) is conjectured from survey, Casilla de la Lampara (Montilla).

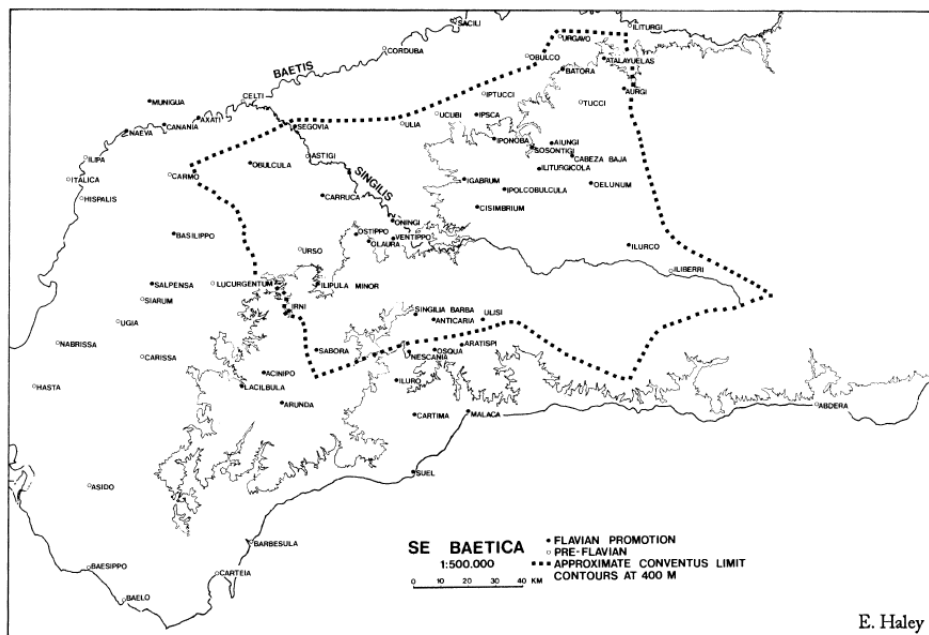


95 Map of Corduba and the territory around the city, much of which belongs to the *Conventus Cordubensis* (after Dupré Raventós, ed., 2004, Pl. VIII).





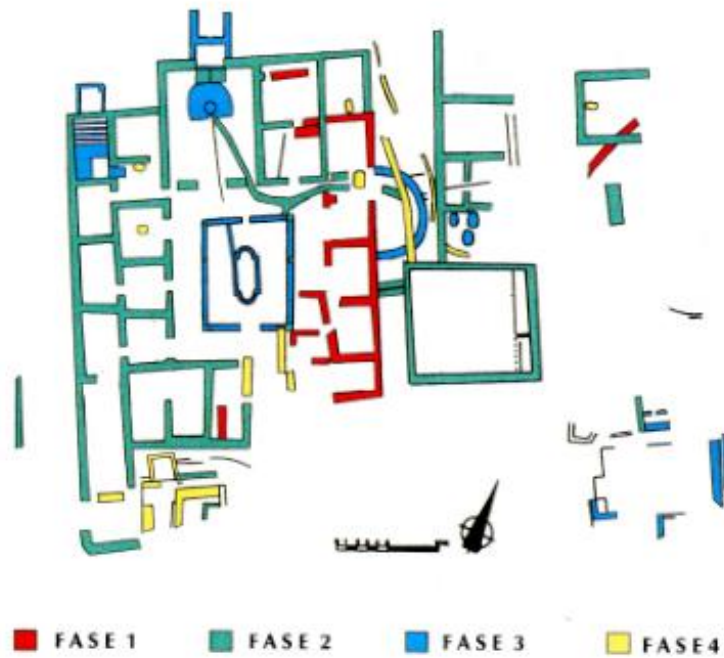
96 Map of the Subbética Cordobesa, roughly corresponding to the ancient *Conventus Astigitanus* (after Carillo-Diaz 2011-12, fig. 1a).



97 Map of Roman and Pre-Roman towns in the *Conventus Astigitanus* in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century (after Haley 1996, p. 297).



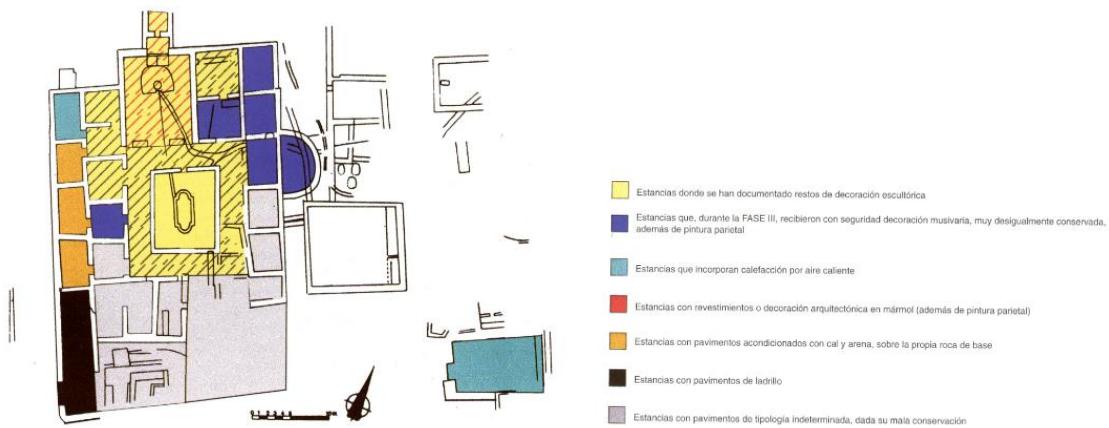
98 Aerial view of the villa of El Ruedo, from the southeast, during excavation of the site and construction of the nearby highway in 1990 (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, Pl. 3).



99 Plan of the villa of El Ruedo marking Occupation Phases I-IV (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, Pl. 8)



100 Statuary niches cut into the eastern wall of the triclinium in Phase II (photo by author)



101 Plan of the villa El Ruedo in Phase III, with findspots of statuary marked in yellow (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, Pl. 15).



102 Image documenting renovations in the peristyle in Phase III. A low wall is built around the peristyle, and the columns are removed (though a base remains *in situ* in the xx corner) (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, Pl. 12a).



103 Image of the bi-apsidal pool built in the central peristyle in Phase III (photo by author)



104 Nymphaeum-ad-aedicola cut into the northern wall of the Triclinium, with the Stibadium in the foreground (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, Pl. 19C).



105 Detail of the nymphaeum, with Cabra Limestone marble columns and frescos of marble wall revetments (photo by author).



106 Life size Hypnos statue (mid-to-late 2<sup>nd</sup> century) found at El Ruedo, Museo Histórico de Almedinilla, Almedinilla (photo by author).



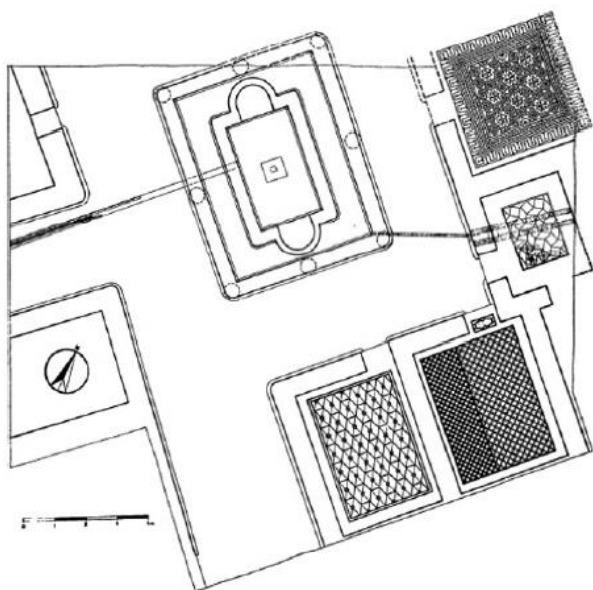
107 Dancing Hermaphrodite statuette in bronze (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century), Museo Arqueológico de Córdoba (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, no. 13).



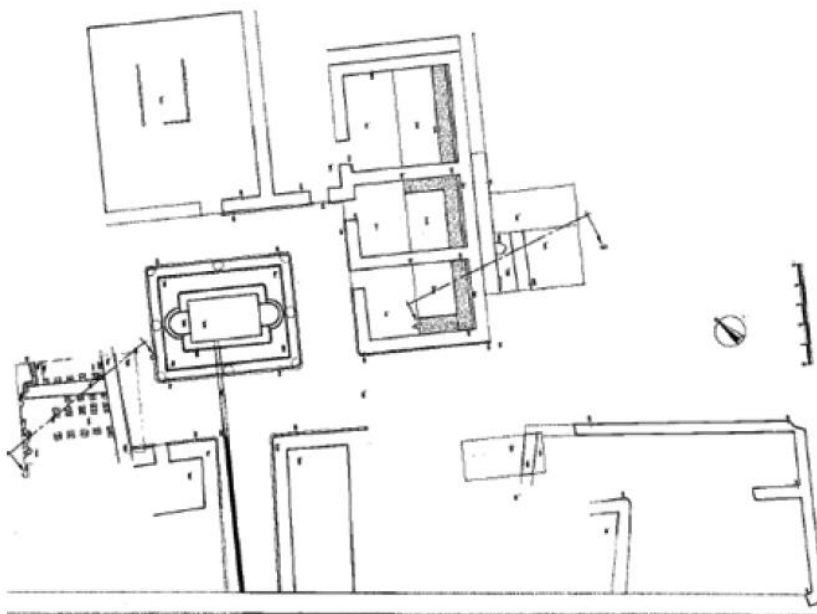
108 Perseus and Andromeda statuette, Museo Histórico de Almedinilla (photo by author).



109 Mithras Tauroktonos statue, Casa del Mitra. Museo Arqueológico de Córdoba (courtesy of the museum).



110 Plan of Casa del Mitra after the 1972 excavations (after Blanco, Garcia and Bendala 1972, fig. 2).

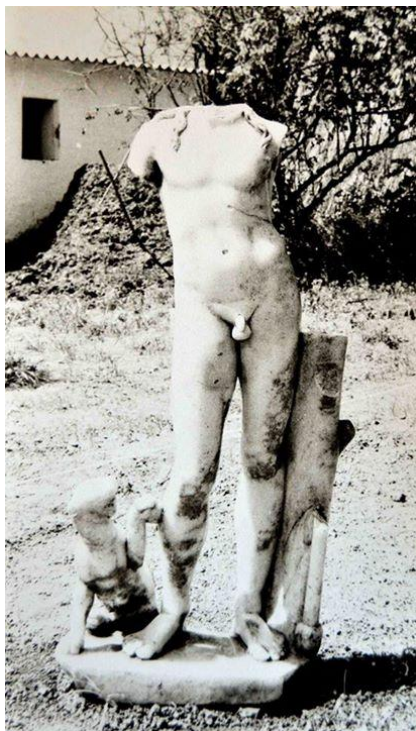


111 Plan of Casa del Mitra after the 1980s excavations. Most extant structures are dated to Phase II (after Jimenez Salvador and Martin Bueno 1982, fig. 3).





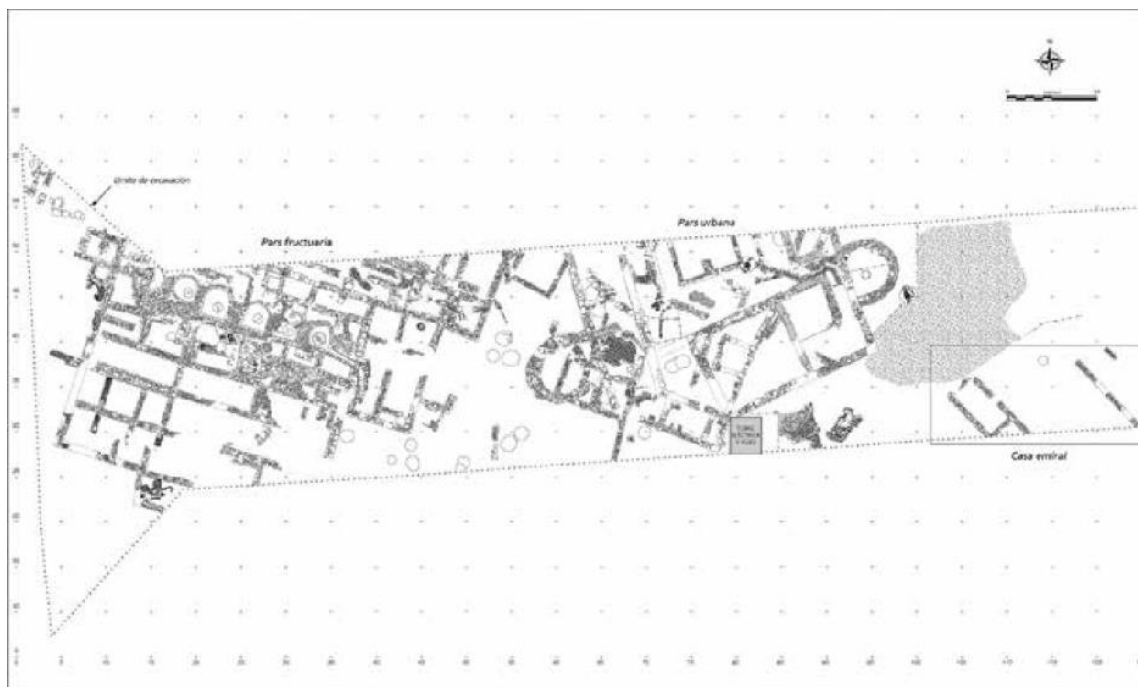
112 Reconstruction of Casa del Mitra's central peristyle, with the figurative mosaic *in situ* (after Moreno Alciade 2011, Pl. 1).



113 Dionysius statue found in the southeastern end of the peristyle pool at Casa del Mitra, presumably fallen from the niche (after Blanco, Garcia and Bendala 1972, Pl. 1).



114 Statuary finds *in situ* in the central tank of the peristyle, Cortijo de los Robles (after López Marcos and Buzón Alarcón 2013-14, fig. 21).



115 Plan of the site of Cortijo de los Robles (after López Marcos and Buzón Alarcón 2013-14, fig. 3).



116 Aerial view of the excavated site, Cortijo de los Robles (after López Marcos and Buzón Alarcón 2013-14, fig. 4).



117 Plan of the excavated *pars urbana* of Cortijo de los Robles (after López Marcos and Buzón Alarcón 2013-14, fig. 19).



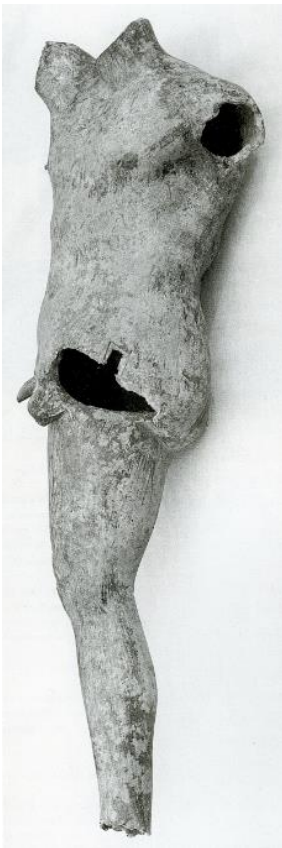
118 The central tank in the peristyle of the *pars urbana* (after López Marcos and Buzón Alarcón 2013-14, fig. 20).



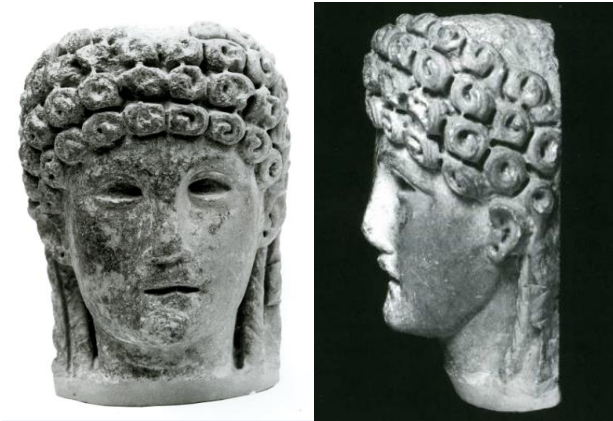
119 Hypnos bronze statue of El Ruedo (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, no. 12).



120 Details of the Hypnos statue (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, no. 12).



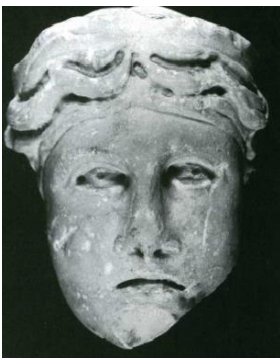
121 Details of the Hypnos statue (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, no. 12).



122 Archaizing Bacchus herm, El Ruedo, Museo Histórico de Almedinilla (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, no. 6).



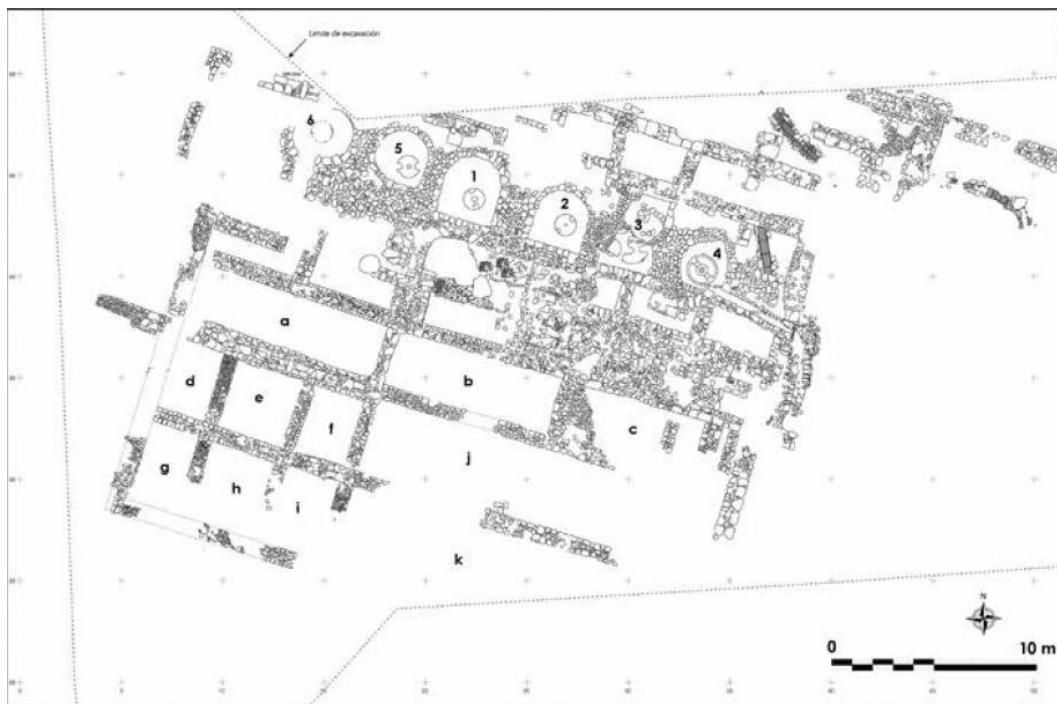
123 Satyr herm, El Ruedo, Museo Histórico de Almedinilla (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, no. 7).



124 Herm head of a Bacchic figure (?), MAN-Madrid (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, no. 8).



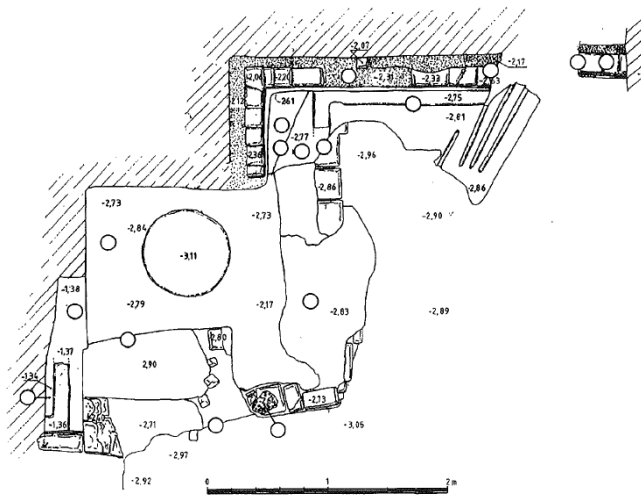
125 Fragment of a probable Pan and Satyr group, El Ruedo, Museo Histórico de Almedinilla (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, no. 5).



126 Plan of the *pars rustica* of Cortijo de los Robles (Phase II) (after López Marcos and Buzón Alarcón 2013-14, fig. 14).



127 Aerial view of the excavated *pars rustica* of Cortijo de los Robles (Phase II), looking west (after López Marcos and Buzón Alarcón 2013-14, fig. 14).



128 Oil production facilities (confirmed by faunal analysis) excavated at El Ruedo, 20 meters from the *pars urbana*. Documentation of pool for decantation, dated contemporaneously with Phase III of the *pars urbana* (after Lara and Camacho 2000, Pl. 3).





129 Ceramic Kiln V of El Ruedo. Ceramic fragments associated with the kiln suggest a date in the 4<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> century (photo by author).



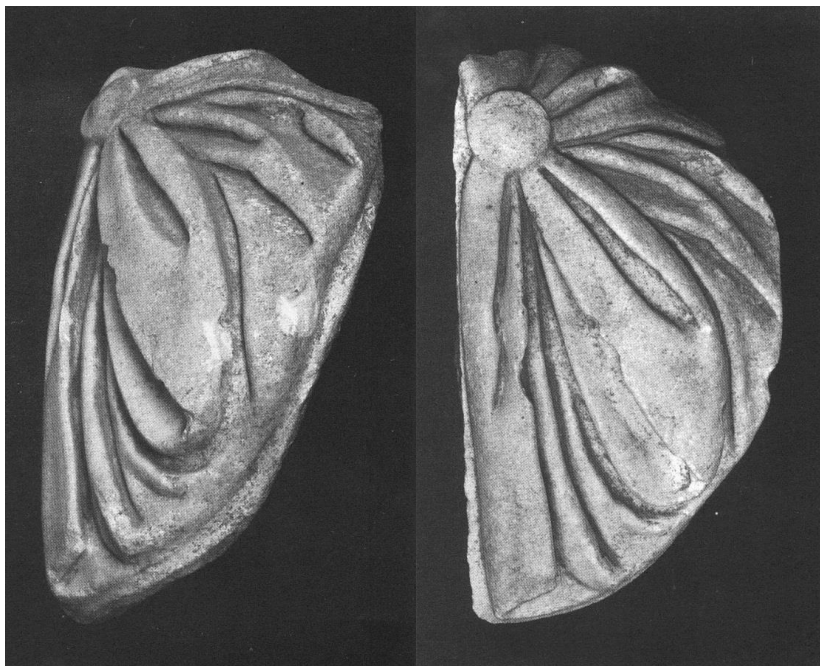
130 Female portrait (late 1<sup>st</sup>/early 2<sup>nd</sup> century) found at Cortijo de los Robles, Museo Provincial de Jaén (after López Marcos and Baena del Alcázar 2007).



131 Juvenile male portrait (mid-to-late 1<sup>st</sup> century), found at El Ruedo, Museo Histórico de Almedinilla (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, no. 2).



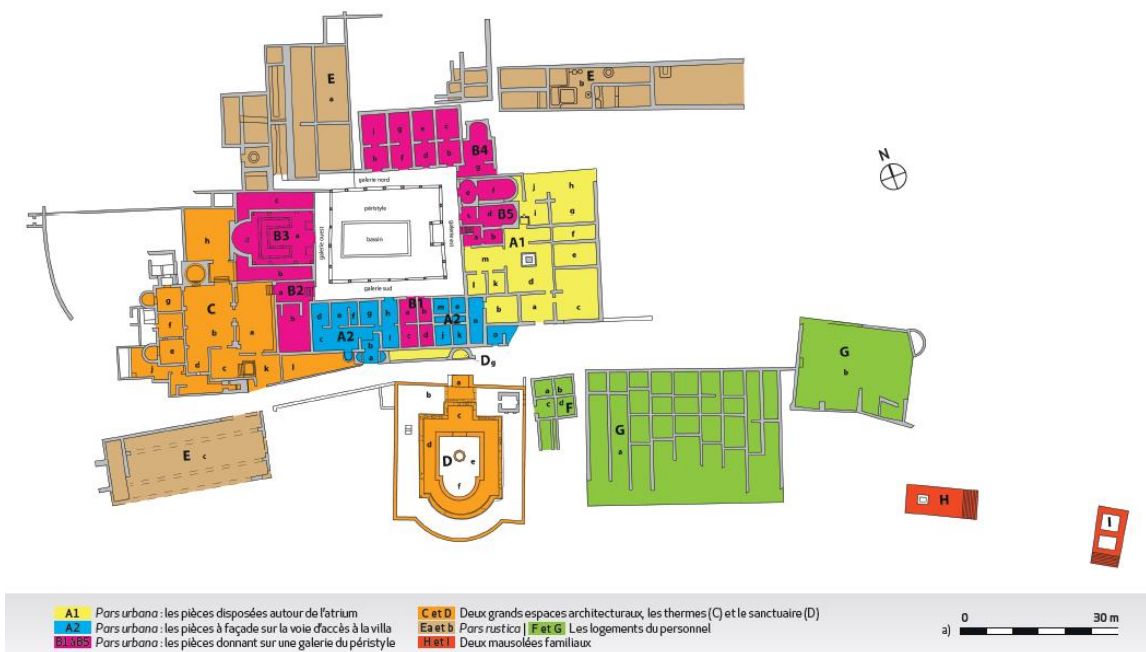
132 Domitian portrait, recut from a Nero portrait, MAN Madrid (photo by author).



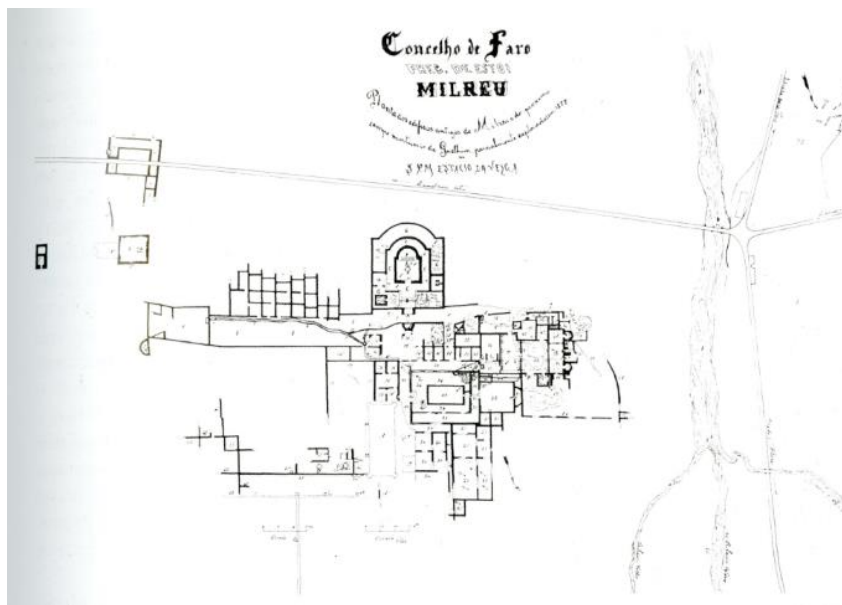
133 *Paludamentum* fragment, loosely dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> century, El Ruedo, Museo Histórico de Almedinilla (after Vaquerizo Gil and Noguera Celdrán 1997, no. 3).



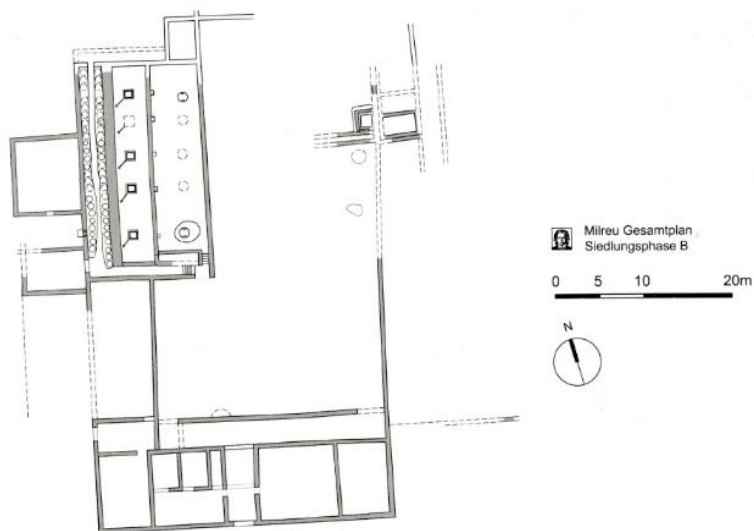
134 Map of Roman Lusitania, and the villa of Milreu in the Algarve (after Teichner 2008, Pl. 2).



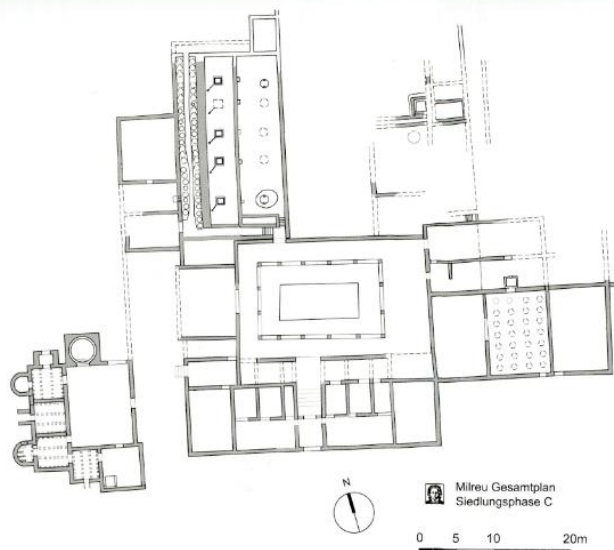
135 Plan of the villa Milreu in the late antique period, c. 350 CE (courtesy of Rui Parreira).



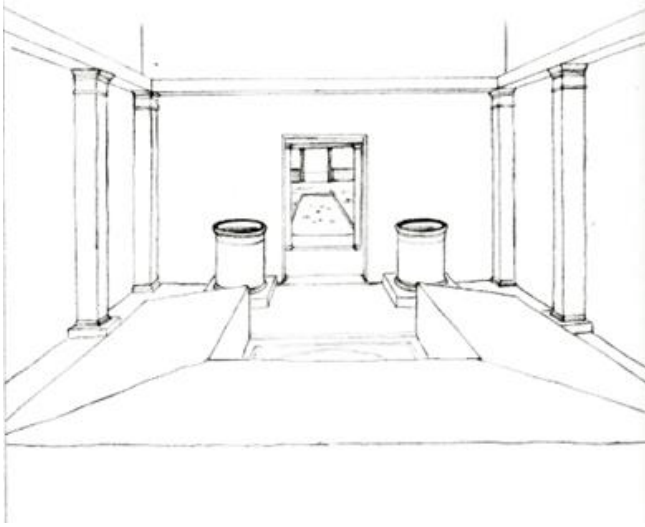
136 Estácio da Veiga's plan of the structures at Milreu uncovered in 1877 (after Teichner 2008, fig. 2).



137 Plan of the Milreu site in Phase B, *terminus post quem* second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE (after Teichner 2008, fig. 36).



138 Plan of the Milreu site in Phase C, *terminus post quem* second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE (after Teichner 2008, fig. 37).



139 Reconstruction of the triclinium (A64-65) in Phase F, looking east into the peristyle (after Teichner 2008, fig. 81).



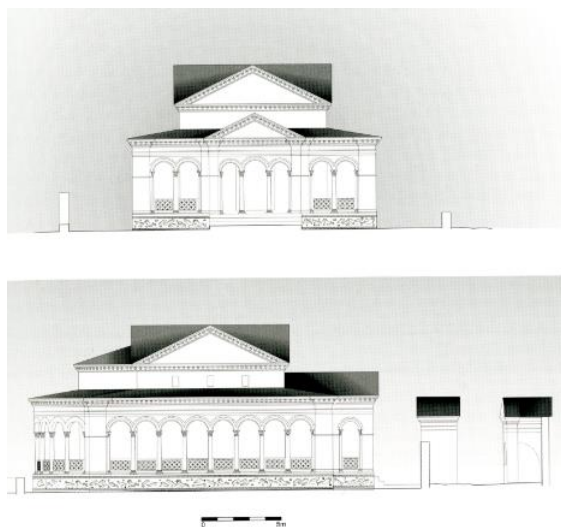
140 Marine mosaics dated to the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century in the eastern gallery of the peristyle in the *pars urbana* (photo by author).



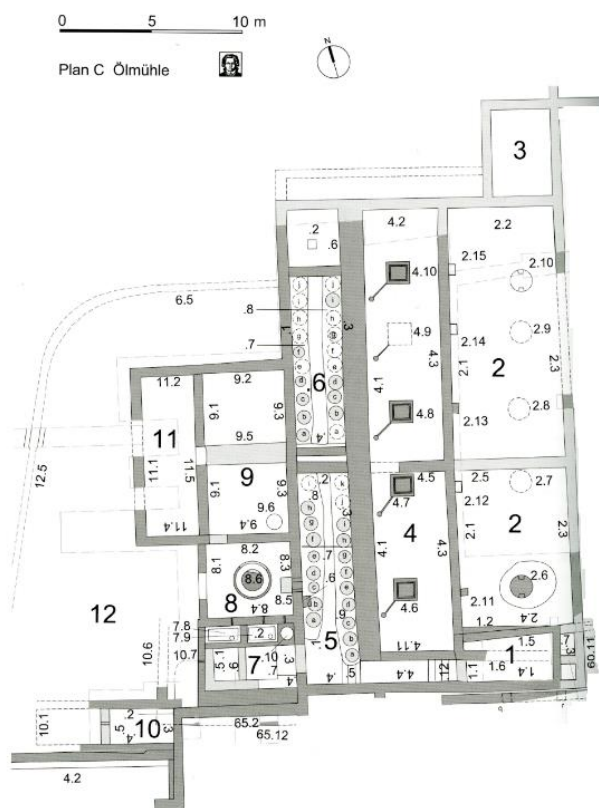
141 Marine mosaics on the walls of the *tepidarium* in the bath complex, also dated to the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century (photo by author).



142 Probable cult building at Milreu, built in the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE (photo by author)



143 Reconstruction of the cult building c. 350 CE (after Hauschild 1964).



144 The Oil Pressing Facilities at Milreu, Complex C (after Teichner 2008, fig. 98).





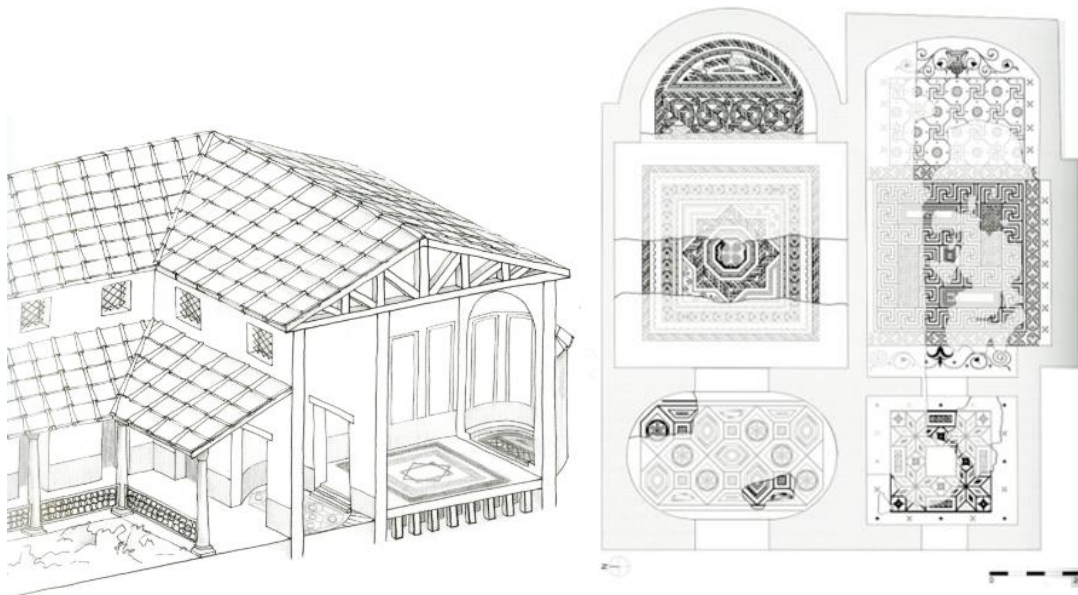
145 Image of the dolia found *in situ* in the storage cellar (C6) of the oil pressing complex C, looking north (after Teichner 2008, Pl. 43A).



146 Male Portrait in the guise of Bacchus, or idealizing head of Bacchus, dated to the late 1<sup>st</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> century (Inv. no. 994.4.1), MNA Lisbon (courtesy of the MNA).



147 Idealizing statuette of Dionysius, dated to the late 1<sup>st</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> century (Inv. no. 994.6.1), MNA Lisbon (courtesy of the MNA).



148 Geometric mosaics at Milreu (rooms A44-47), added c. 350 CE and reconstruction of the northwestern corner of the peristyle, wherein the apsidal halls are located (after Teichner 2008, figs. 66 and 67).



149 Marine mosaics along the temple podium at Milreu (photo by author).



150 Statuette of a small figure (Eros?) riding a dolphin, loosely dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century (Inv. no. 994.6.4), MNA Lisbon (courtesy of the MNA Lisbon).



151 Female portrait head, late 1<sup>st</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE (Inv. no. 994.6.3), MNA Lisbon (courtesy of the MNA Lisbon).



152 Fragment of a *paludamentum*, 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE (Inv. no. 994.56.2), MNA Lisbon (courtesy of the MNA Lisbon).



153 Fragment of a *paludamentum*, 2<sup>nd</sup> century (?) CE (Inv. no. 994.6.6), MNA Lisbon (courtesy of the MNA Lisbon).



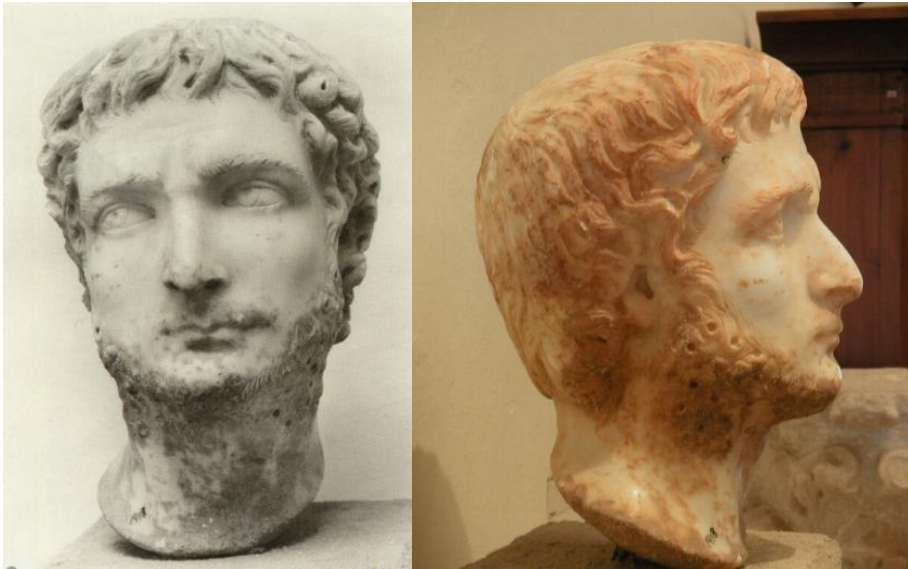
154 Fragment of a female portrait, 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE (Inv. no. 994.56.1), MNA Lisbon (courtesy of the MNA Lisbon).



155 Fragment of a female portrait, 1<sup>st</sup> century CE (Inv. no. 994.6.2), MNA Lisbon (courtesy of the MNA Lisbon).



156 Fragment of a female (?) portrait, 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE (Inv. no. 994.55.2), MNA Lisbon (courtesy of the MNA Lisbon).

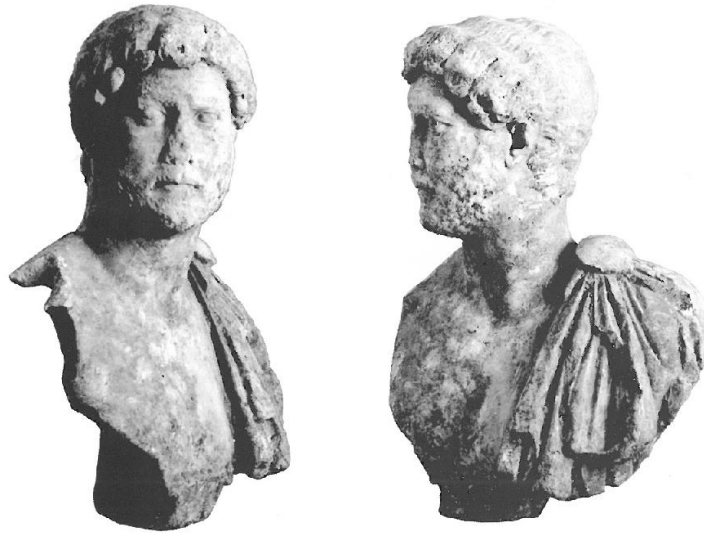


157 At left: portrait head of Gallienus, c. 260 CE (Inv. no. 1418), Museu Regional de Lagos (after Teichner 2008, Pl. 28C)

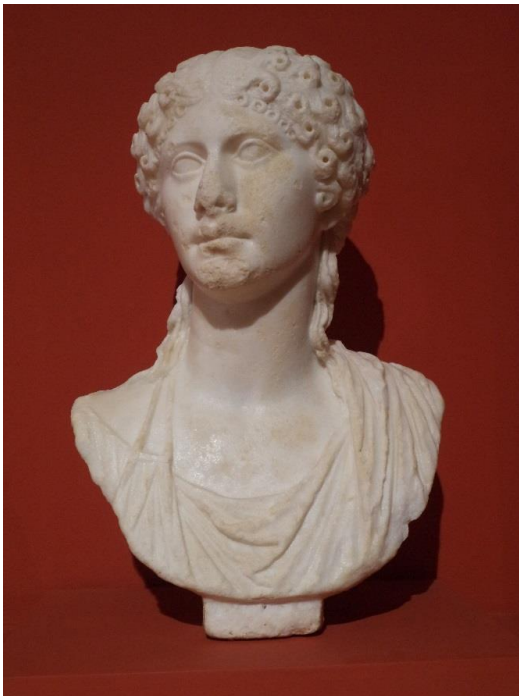
158 At right: profile view of the Gallienus portrait (Inv. no. 1418), Museu Regional de Lagos (photo by author).



159 Portrait of Hadrian, c. 121/122 CE, Museu Municipal de Faro (courtesy of Nuna Beja).



160 Portrait of Hadrian, Museu Municipal de Faro (after Gonçalves 2007, no. 15).



161 Portrait of Agrippina the Younger, c. 49-54 CE, Museu Municipal de Faro (photo by author).





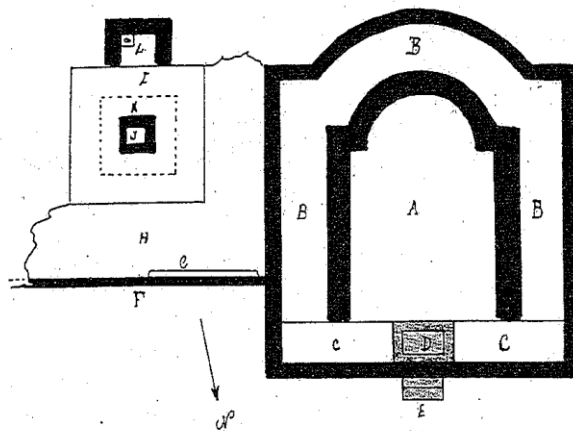
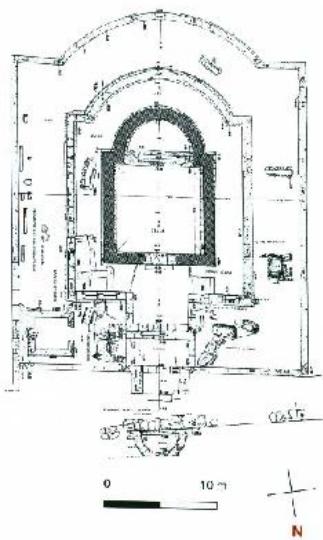
162 Portrait of Agrippina the Younger, Museu Municipal de Faro (after Hauschild 2002).



163 Fragment of a military boot and upper calf, (Inv. no. 994.6.5), loosely dated to the 2nd century CE, MNA Lisbon (courtesy of the MNA).

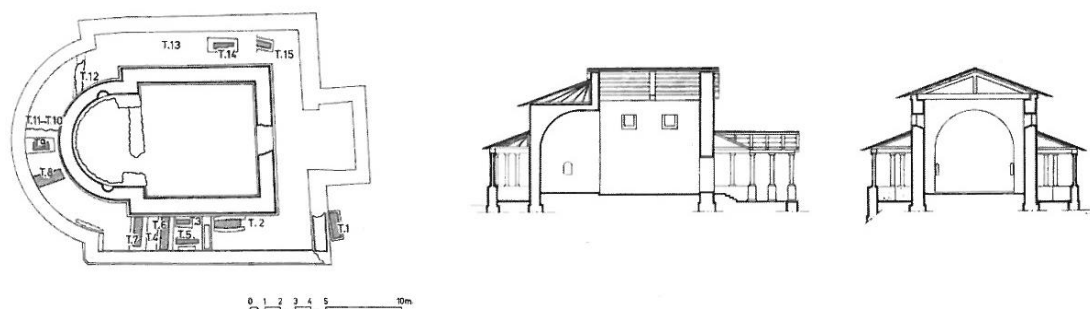


164 Fragment of a military boot and leg (Inv. no. 995.32.1), loosely dated to the 2nd century CE, MNA Lisbon (courtesy of the MNA).

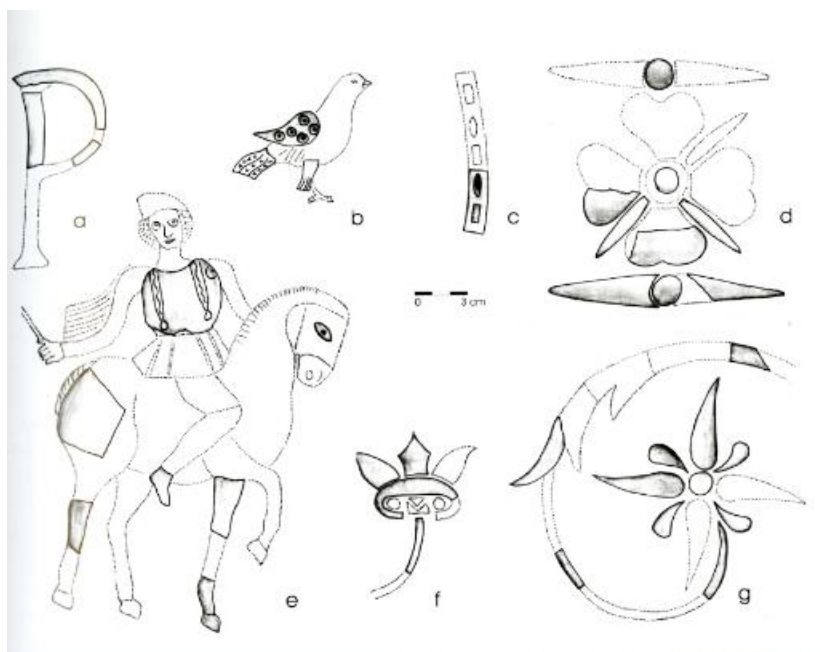


165 At left: plan of the *Umgangstempel* at Milreu, mid-4<sup>th</sup> century (after Chavarría Arnau 2007, fig. 122).

166 At right: plan of the *Umgangstempel* at Quinta do Marim (After Bowes 2006, fig. 3b).



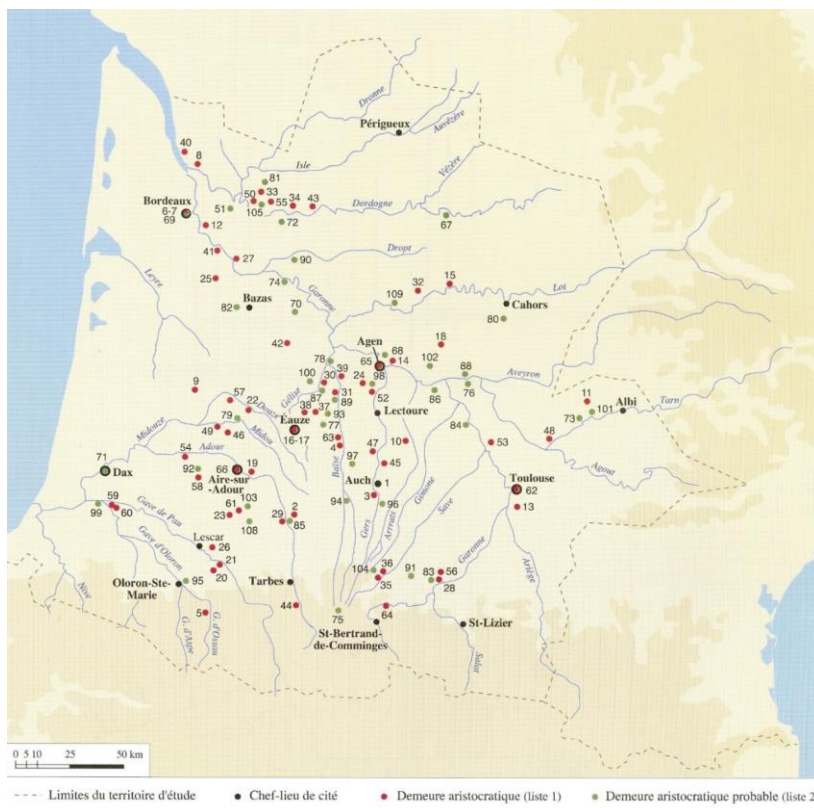
167 Plan of the *Umgangstempel* form at São Cucufate (After Alarcao, Etienne, Mayet 1990, Pl. LXXVIII).



168 Reconstructions of figural and vegetal *opus sectile* marble fragments (after Teichner 2008, fig. 136).



169 *Opus sectile* fragments of a hand (8.3 cm tall by 6.5 cm wide), and coiffure (4.7 cm long and 2.8 cm tall) found at Milreu (courtesy of the MNA Lisbon).



170 Map of Late-Roman Villas in Aquitaine, based on survey and excavation. Sites discussed in this chapter include Lamarque (no. 14), La Garenne-Nérac (no. 39), Séviac (no. 38), Montmaurin (no. 35), Chiragan (no. 28), Valentine (no. 64) (after Balmelle 2001, *Carte des Sites* fig. 327).



171 Map of Aquitania I, II, and III after Tetrarchic-era restructuring of the Roman provinces (Wikipedia Commons).



172 Male portrait (1<sup>st</sup> century) found in 19<sup>th</sup> century exploration of the villa of Lamarque (Musée de Villascopia, Castelculier) (after Fages 1995, fig. 132).



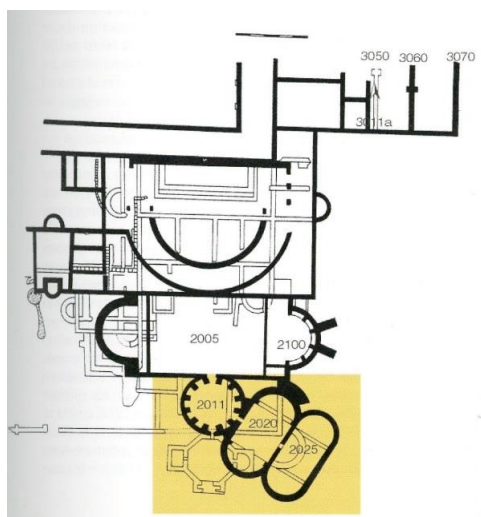
173 Headless draped male bust (3<sup>rd</sup> century), found at the villa of Lamarque (Musée de Villascopia, Castelculier) (after Fages 1995, fig. 134).



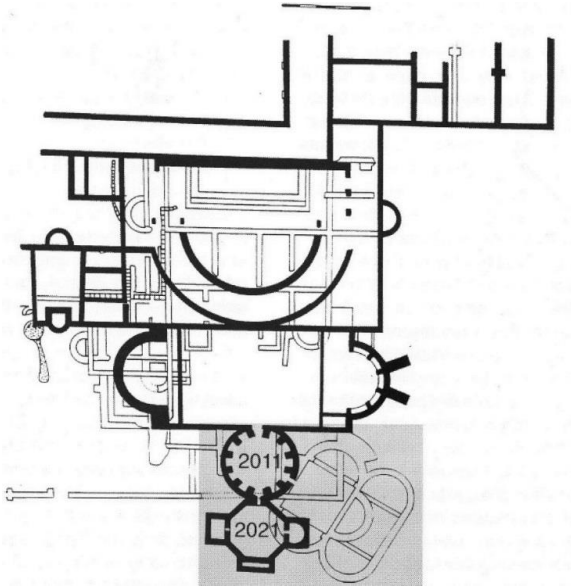
174 Late-mythological statuette of Minerva, found at the villa of Lamarque (Musée de Villascopia, Castelculier) (after Stirling 2005, fig. 30).



175 Schematic Plan of the Villa of Lamarque (Castelculier) in Late Antiquity (after Jacques 2006, fig. 4).



176 Plan of the baths at Lamarque in Phase V (after Jacques 2006, fig. 6).



177 Plan of the baths at Lamarque in Phase VII (after Jacques 2006, fig. 8).

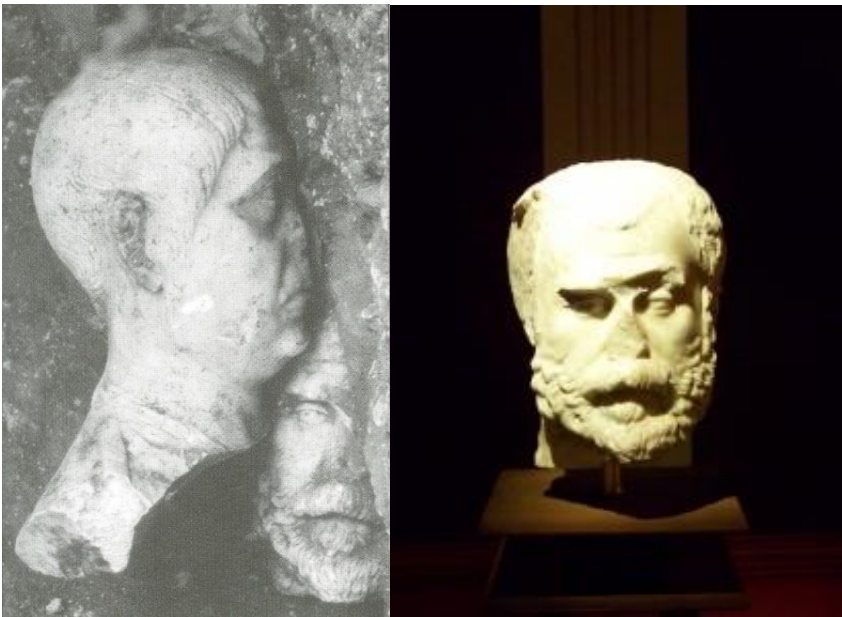


178 Late-mythological statuette of Minerva, with the late-Roman male portrait head, and 3<sup>rd</sup> century draped male bust in the background (courtesy of the Musée de Villascopia, Castelculier).



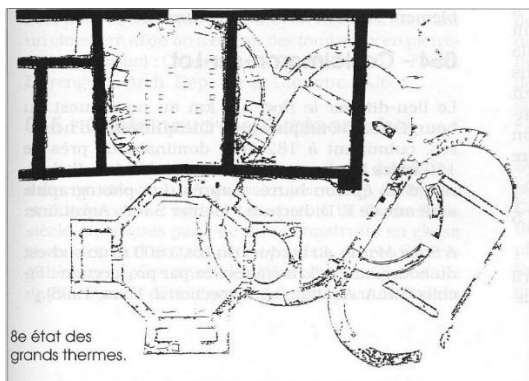


179 Head of Marcus Aurelius, Type IV 169-180 CE, Musée de Villascopia (photo by author).

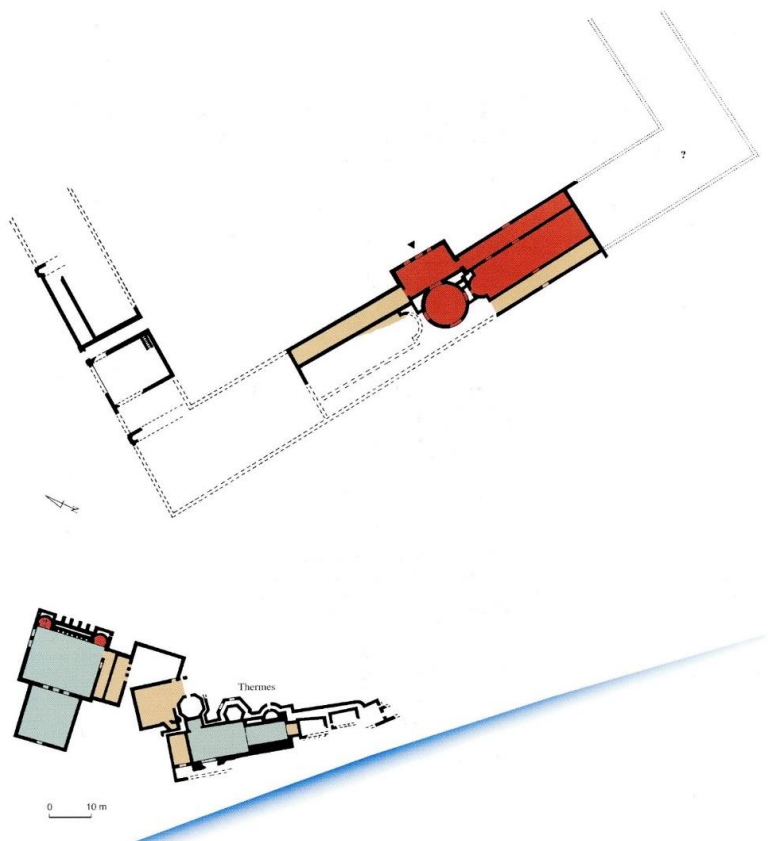


180 At left: two male portrait heads found in excavation at Lamarque near the monumental entrance to the villa (after Jacques 2006, fig. 30).

181 At right: male portrait head found in excavation at Lamarque, loosely dated to the late 3rd or early 4th century, Musée de Villascopia (courtesy of the Musée de Villascopia).



182 Plan of the baths in Phase VIII, Lamarque (after Fages 1995, fig. 137).



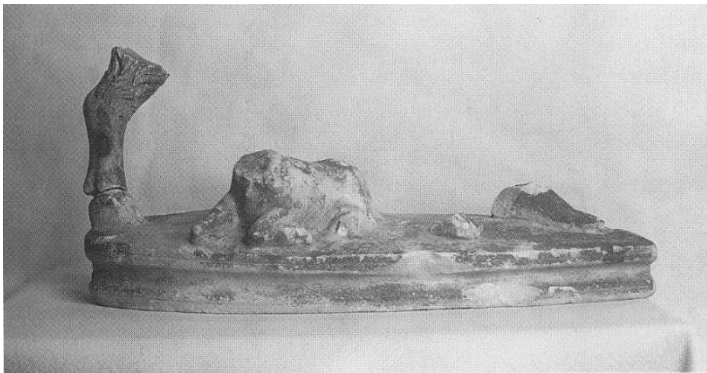
183 Plan of the villa La Garenne-Nérac and its bath complex, with geometric mosaic pavements indicated in beige, vegetal mosaics indicated in red, and marble pavements in aqua (after Balmelle 2001, fig. 347).



184 Drawing of a diademed female head found in Du Mège's excavations, La Garenne-Nérac (after Stirling 2005, fig. 31).



185 Portrait of Marcus Aurelius, Type IV (Inv. No. 47.1.346), associated with the villa La Garenne-Nérac, Musée de Nérac (photo by author).



186 Late-mythological statuette base with a hoofed leg (Pan ?) a tree trunk, and human feet, associated with the villa La Garenne-Nérac (after Stirling 2005, fig. 32).

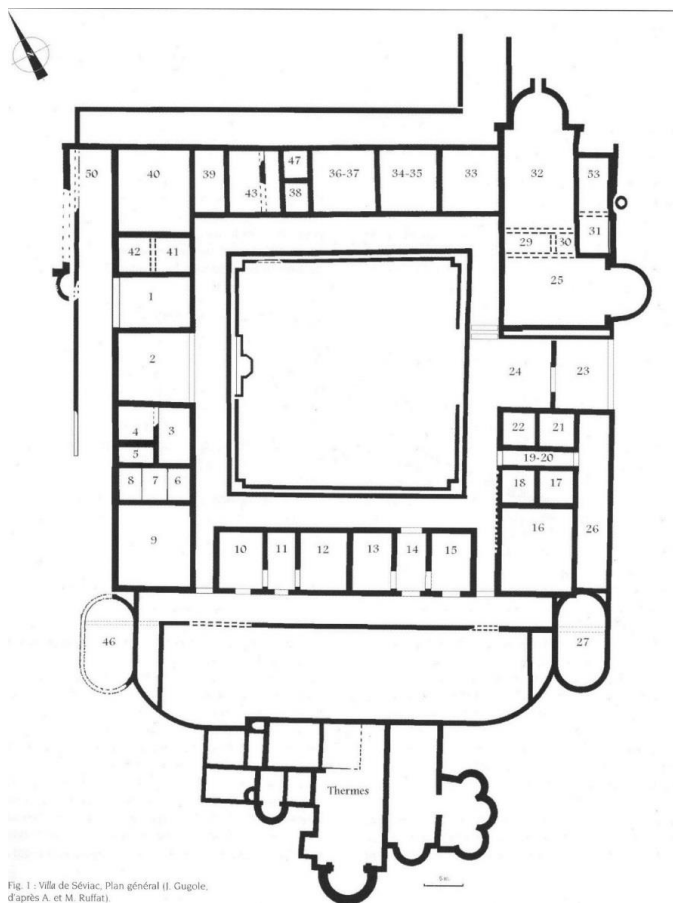


Fig. 1 : Villa de Séviac, Plan général (J. Gugole, d'après A. et M. Ruffat).

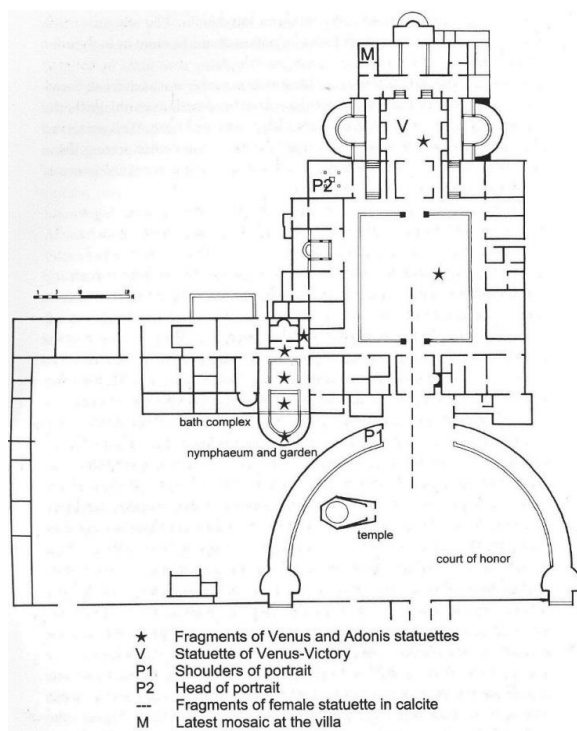
187 Plan of the late antique villa of Séviac (Montréal) at its extent (after Gugole 2006, fig. 1).



188 Mosaic of fruit and floral trees in the apse of room 25 (see above fig. 191), dated to the second quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century by Balmelle (after Balmelle 2001, fig. 226).



189 Male portrait head dated c. 400 CE, found beneath the mosaic in fig. 192, at the villa of Séviac (LSA 1666), Musée de Séviac (after Balmelle 2001, fig. 122a-b).



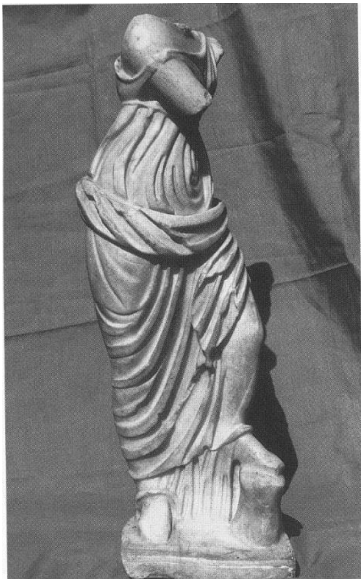
190 Plan of the villa of Montmaurin (Montmaurin) after Fouet (1969) with findspots of the statuary fragments recovered in Fouet's excavations (after Stirling 2005, fig. 11).



191 Early 2<sup>nd</sup> century juvenile male portrait bust found at the villa of Montmaurin (after Balmelle 2001, fig. 123).



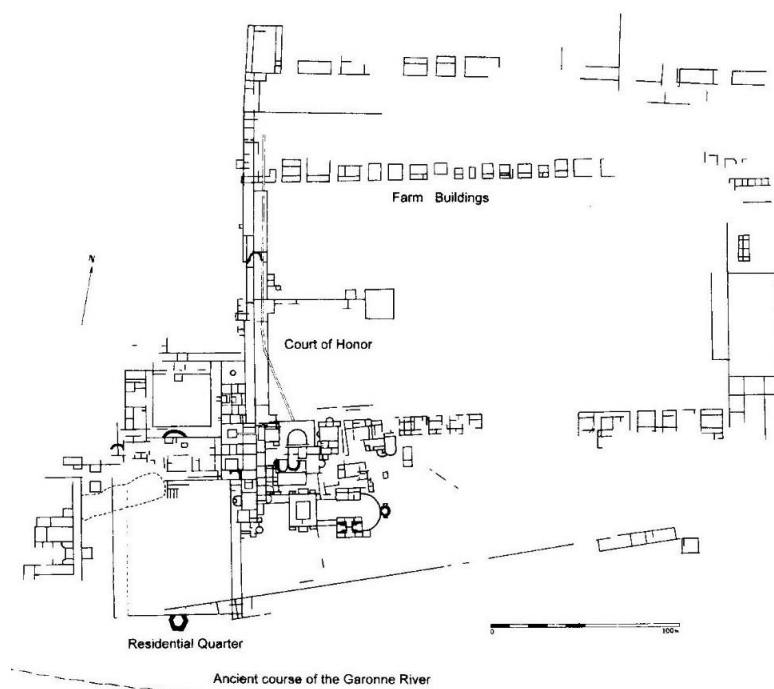
192 Bronze head of Helio-Serapis, recovered at the villa of Montmaurin (Musée de Montmaurin) (after Fouet 1969, Pl. 52).



193 Fragment of a Venus-Victory figure, recovered at Montmaurin (Musée de Montmaurin) (after Stirling 2005, fig. 12).



194 Fragments of Venus-Adonis group statuette(s), recovered at Montmaurin (Musée de Montmaurin) (after Stirling 2005, fig. 17).



195 Schematic plan of the villa of Chiragan after Joulin's excavations (18977-99) (after Stirling 2004, fig. 22).

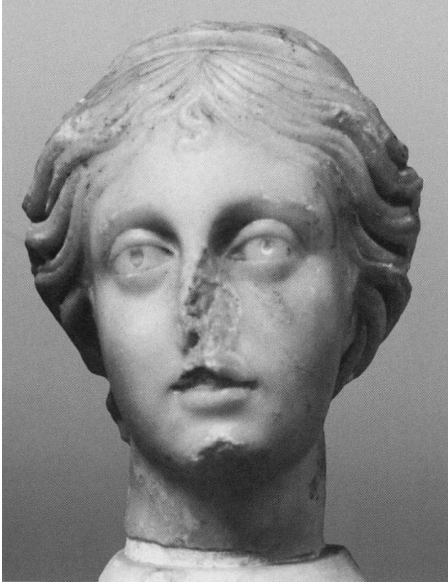




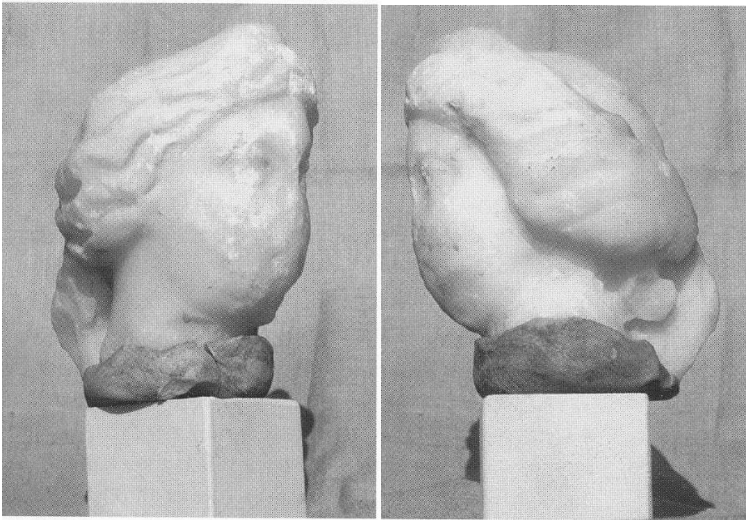
196 Late-mythological statuette of Dionysius (MSR Inv. no. 30348), found at the villa of Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond (MSR), Toulouse (photo by author).



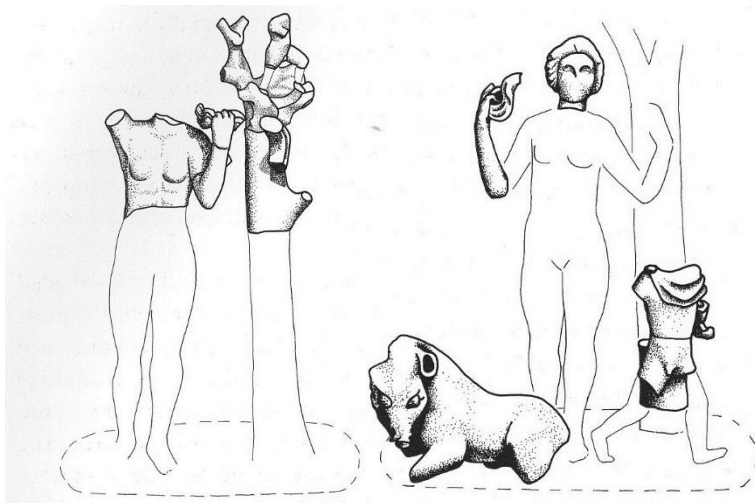
197 Late-mythological statuette of Ariadne (MSR Inv. no. 30350), found at the villa of Chiragan, MSR, Toulouse (photo by author).



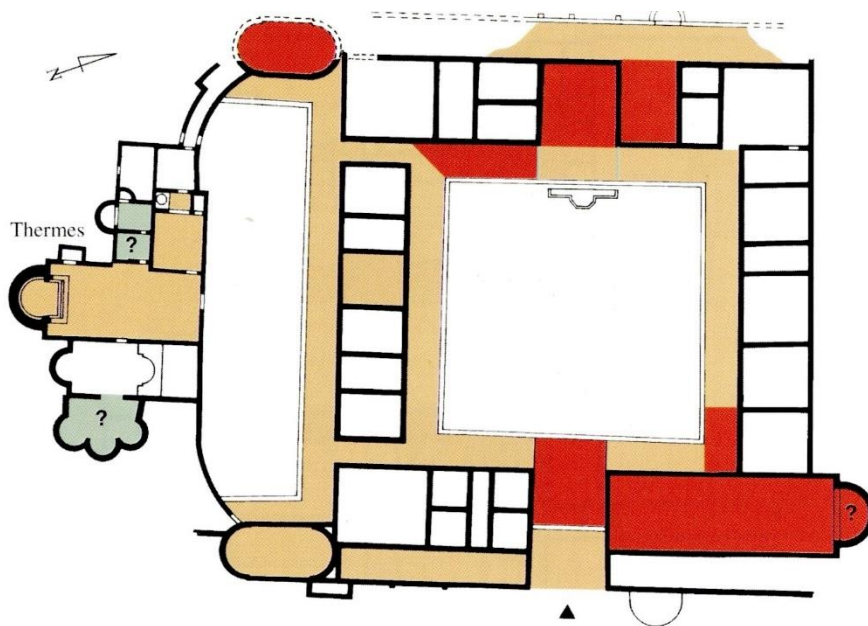
198 Head of a late-mythological female goddess (MSR Inv. no. 26), found at the villa of Chiragan (Bergmann 1999, Pl. 56.3).



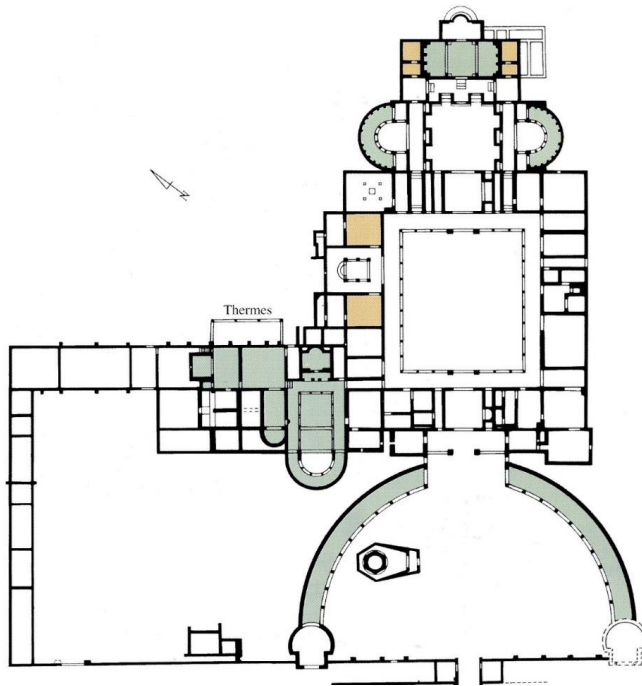
199 Diademed head of a late-mythological female goddess – Venus? – found at Montmaurin (after Stirling 2005, figs. 18-19).



200 Lea Stirling's reconstruction of the late antique Venus and Adonis groups at Montmaurin (after Stirling 2005, figs. 20-21).



201 Plan of the villa of Séviac and its bath complex, with geometric mosaic pavements indicated in beige, vegetal mosaics indicated in red, and marble pavements in aqua (after Balmelle 2001, fig. 331).



202 Plan of the villa of Montmaurin, with geometric mosaic pavements indicated in beige, and marble pavements in aqua (after Balmelle 2001, fig. 334)



203 Portrait fragment of a philosopher (?) bust (Inv. no. M48), Musée de Séviac, Montréal (after Stirling 2008, fig. 5).



204 Relief fragment of a herm and philosopher (Socrates?), found at the villa of Chiragan. MSR, Toulouse (photo by author).



205 Female portrait (Inv. no. Ra 82, 30319), dated to the late 4<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> century. MSR, Toulouse (courtesy of the MSR).



206 Detail of the female portrait (Inv. no. Ra 82, 30319), MSR, Toulouse (photo by author).



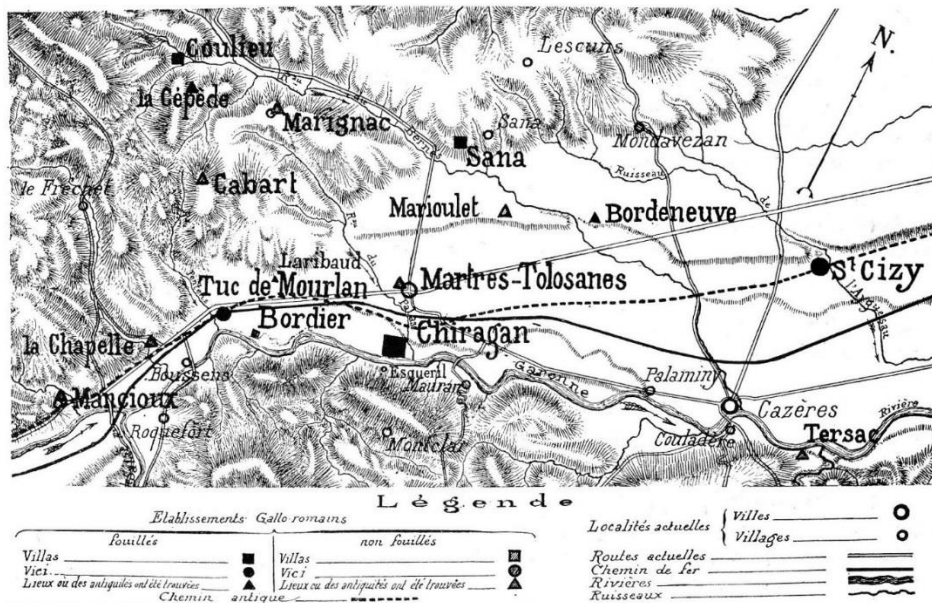
207 At left: early 2<sup>nd</sup> century juvenile male portrait (Inv. no. 73a, 30121) from Chiragan. MSR, Toulouse (after Balty and Cazes 2008, fig. 54).

208 At right: early 2<sup>nd</sup> century juvenile male portrait (Inv. no. Ra 73b, 30122) from Chiragan. MSR, Toulouse (after Balty and Cazes 2008, fig. 60).

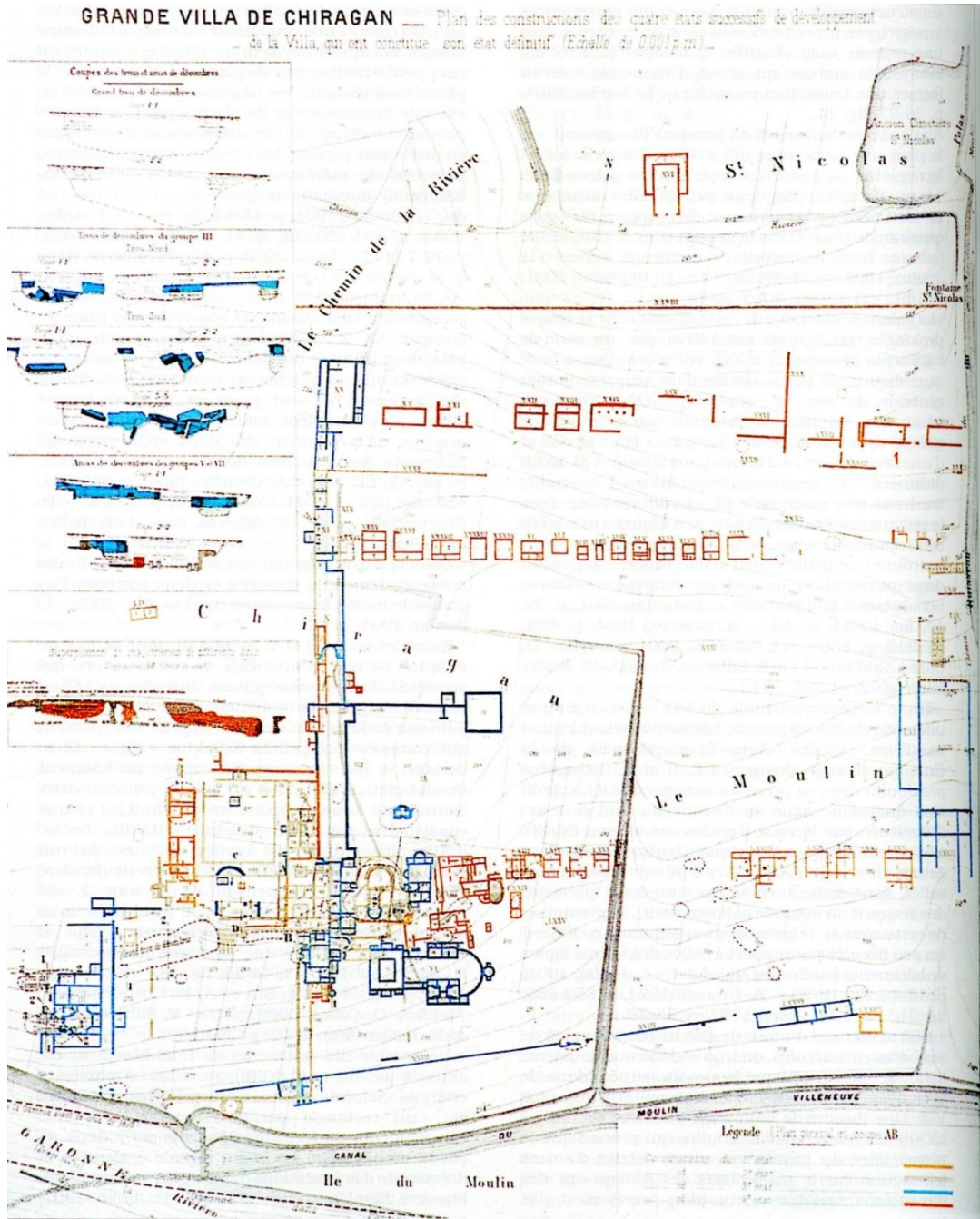
N° 2.

CARTE DE LA PLAINE DE MARTRES-TOLOSANES ET DES ÉTABLISSEMENTS GALLO-ROMAINS.

Échelle de  $\frac{1}{100000}$ .



209 Map of the plain of Martres-Tolosane (after Joulin 1901, no. 2, printed in Balmelle 2001, fig. 228).



210 Plan of the site of Chiragan after Joulin’s excavations (1897-99) (after Massendari 2006, fig. 86).





211 Shield medallion of Minerva (Inv. no. 34j, 30359, Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo by author).



212 Shield medallion of Cybele (Inv. no. 34i, 30358), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo by author).



213 At left: shield medallion of Attis (Inv. no. 34l, 30511), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo by author).

214 At right: shield medallion of Asclepius (Inv. no. 34m, 30542), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo by author).



215 Shield medallion of Hygeia (Inv. no. 34k, 30510), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo by author).



216 Fragmentary head of Vulcan (Inv. no. 34d, 30503) from a shield medallion at Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo by author).



217 Fragmentary head of a diademed female (Juno?) goddess (Inv. no. 34f, 30505), from a shield medallion at Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo by author).



218 Fragmentary head of a female (Venus? Diana?) goddess (Inv. no. 34h, 30507) from a shield medallion at Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo by author).



219 Fragmentary shield medallion of a draped male deity (Inv. no. Ra 34e, 30504), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo: MSR).



220 Fragmentary shield medallion of a draped male deity (Inv. no. Ra 34c, 30502), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo: MSR).



221 Fragmentary shield medallion of a draped male deity (Inv. no. Ra 34a, 30501), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo: MSR).



222 Fragmentary shield medallion of a draped deity (Inv. no. Ra 34g, 30506), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo: MSR).



223 Shield medallion of Pindar (Inv. no. 81-115), found at the Bishop's Palace in Aphrodisias. Aphrodisias Museum (courtesy of Flickr).



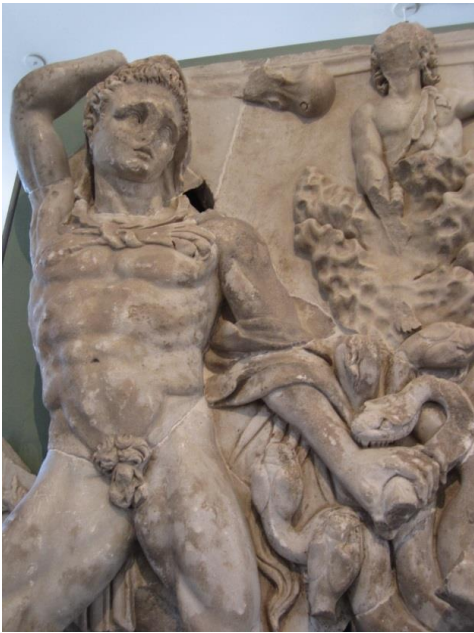
224 Reliefs of the Labors of Hercules from Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo by author).



225 Head of Hercules (Inv. no. Ra 28a, 30373), belonging to the relief of the first labor, Hercules and the Nemean Lion. Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo by author).



226 Relief of Hercules and the Hydra of Lerna (Inv. no. Ra 28b, 30373), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo by author).



227 Detail of Hercules and Iolas, relief of Hercules and the Hydra of Lerna (Inv. no. Ra 28b, 30373), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo by author).





228 Relief of Hercules and the Erymanthian boar (Inv. no. Ra 28d, 30375), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo by author).



229 Detail of the Hercules and the Erymanthian boar relief (Ra 28d, 30375), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo by author).



230 Detail of the Hercules and the Erymanthian boar relief (Inv. no. Ra 28d, 30375), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo by author).



231 Hercules and the Stymphalian Birds (Inv. no. Ra 28g, 30377), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo by author).



232 Hercules in the Augeian Stables (Inv. no. Ra 28j, 30376), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo by author).



233 Relief of Hercules and Hippolyta (Inv. no. Ra 28h, 30381), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo by author).

234 Relief of Hercules and Diomedes (Inv. no. Ra 28i, 30380), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo by author).



235 Relief of Hercules and the giant Geryon (Inv. no. Ra 281, 30382), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo by author).



236 Fragments of a portrait relief depicting a late antique official (right arm: Inv. no. Ra 97; portrait head: Inv. no. Ra 50, 30325; left hand: Inv. no. Ra 98), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo by author).



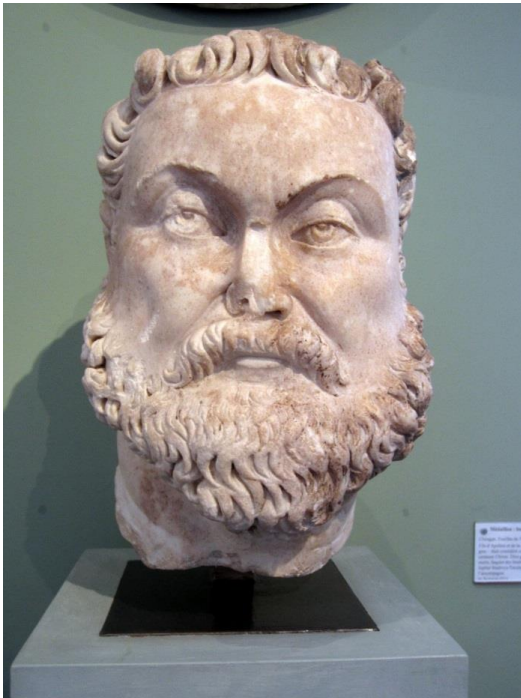
237 Fragmentary portrait relief head (Inv. no. Ra 50, 30325), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (after Balty and Cazes 2008, figs. 26, 27).



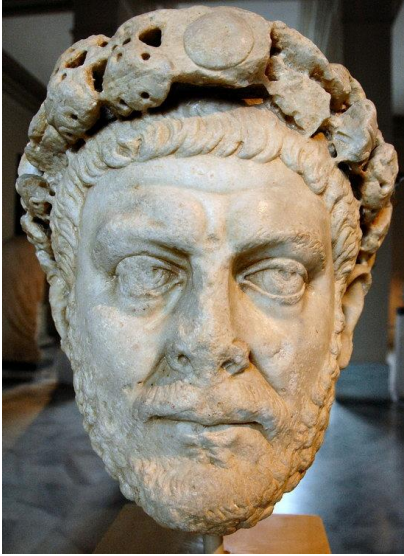
238 Fragment of a right arm wearing a pleated sleeve, raising a *mappa* (Inv. no. Ra 97); fragment of a left hand holding a cylindrical rod, with the toga draped over the wrist (Inv. no. Ra 98), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (after Balty and Cazes 2008, figs. 30, 33).



239 Reconstruction of the fragments as a consular relief (after Balty and Cazes 2008, fig. 43).



240 Male Portrait Head (late 4<sup>th</sup> century) (Inv. no. 34b, 30306), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo by author).



241 Portrait head of a Tetrarch (Diocletian?) (Inv. no. 4864), Nicomedia. Istanbul Museum (photo: Flickr).



242 Porphyry group statue of the Tetrarchs (LSA-4, LSA-439), S. Marco, Venice (after *Last Statues of Antiquity*).



243 Numismatic portraits of Maximian. At left: *aureus*, Rome (after Balty and Cazes 2008, fig. 16); at right: *aureus*, Trier (after Balty and Cazes 2008, fig. 17).

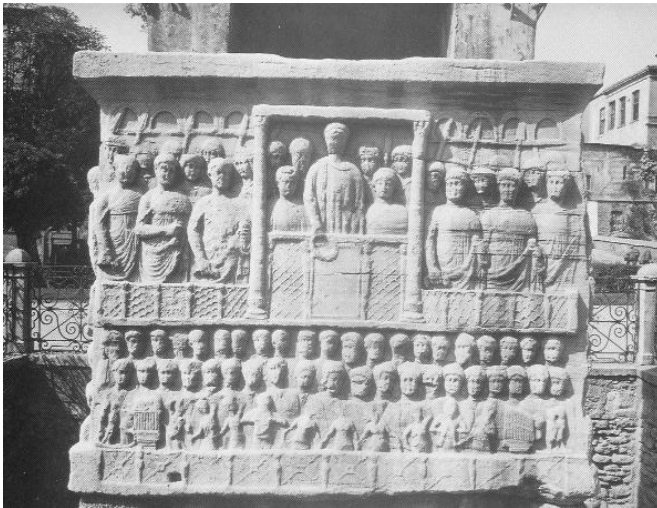


244 Late antique portrait statues of an older magistrate (Inv. no. 896; LSA 1068) and a younger magistrate (Inv. no. 895; LSA 1069), early 5<sup>th</sup> century, Rome. Capitoline Museums (photo: *Last Statues of Antiquity*).





245 Late antique togate statue of a proconsul (Inv. no. 1402; LSA 698), late 4<sup>th</sup> – early 6<sup>th</sup> century, Ephesus. Ephesus Museum (photo: *Last Statues of Antiquity*).



246 Southeastern face of the Theodosian obelisk base, Istanbul (after Kiilerich 1993, fig. 12b).



247 At Left, Consular Relief of Probus Anicius, consul in 406 (Aosta), depicting Honorius; at Right, Consular relief of lavius Felix (now lost), consul in 428, Rome (photos: public domain).



248 Portrait of Marcus Aurelius type IV (In. no. Ra 61b, 30108), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo by author).



249 Gallery of imperial portraits from Chiragan in the Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo by author).



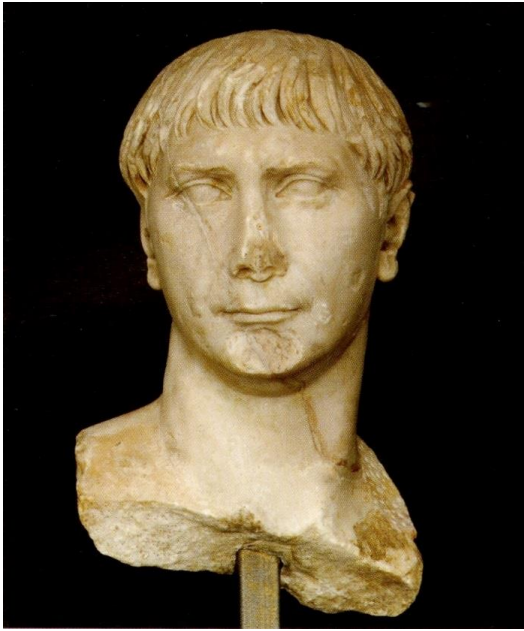
250 Portrait of young Marcus Aurelius (Inv. no. Ra 61a, 30107), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo by author).



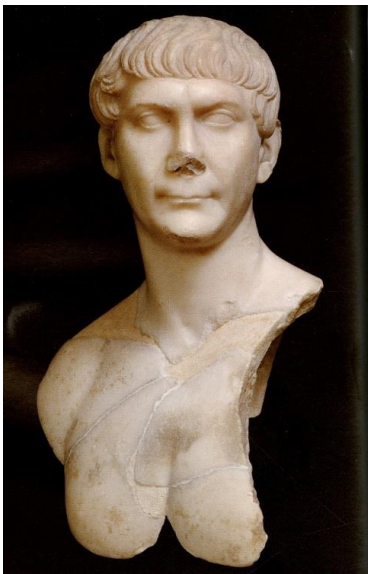
251 Portrait of Augustus, Prima Porta type (Inv. no. Ra 57, 30301), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo by author).



252 Portrait of Trajan, Antrittstypus or Bürgerkronentypus (Inv. no. Ra 58c, 30104), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (after Balty, Cazes and Rosso 2012, figs. 4, 7).



253 Portrait of Trajan, *Decennalia* type (Inv. no. Ra 58b, 30103), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (after Balty, Cazes and Rosso 2012, figs. 13).



254 Portrait of Trajan, *Opferbildtypus* (Inv. no. Ra 117, 30154), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (after Balty, Cazes, and Rosso 2012, fig. 28).



255 Portrait of Trajan, *Opferbildtypus* (Inv. no. Ra 58a, 30102), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (after Balty, Cazes, and Rosso 2012, figs. 42, 43).



256 At left: weary Hercules (Inv. no. 30342); at right: (Inv. no. Ra 48), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photos by author).



257 At left: statuette of Isis (Inv. no. Ra 39); at right: oversize statue of Isis (Inv. no. XX), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photos by author).



258 Portrait head of a young boy (Inv. no. Ra 93, 30150), 4<sup>th</sup> century, Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (photo by author).



259 Portrait head of a young woman (Inv. no. Ra 127, 30165 late 4<sup>th</sup> century), Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (after Balty and Cazes 2008, figs. 91, 92).



260 Female portrait (Inv. no. 38, 20208), 4<sup>th</sup> century, Chiragan. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (after Balty and Cazes 2008, figs. 74, 76).



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Acuña Castroviejo, F., R. Casal Garcia and S. González Soutelo. 2013. *Escultura Romana en Hispania VII: homenaje al prof. Dr. Alberto Balil*. La Coruña: Andavira.
- Adams, J. N. 2007. *The Regional Diversification of Latin 200 BC – 600 AD*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Alarcão, A. 1995. Mosaïques Romaines de Lusitanie. *Archeologia* 312: 54-59.
- de Alarcão, J. 1988. *Roman Portugal*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- de Alarcão, J., R. Etienne and J.-P. Bost. 1990. *Les villas romaines de São Cucufate (Portugal)*. Paris: Bocard.
- Alba Calzado, M. 2004. "Arquitectura doméstica," in X. Dupré Raventós, ed. 67-83.
- Alföldi-Rosenbaum, E. 1968. "Portrait Bust of a Young Lady of the Time of Justinian." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 1: 19-40.
- Allison, P. M. 2002. *The Archaeology of Household Activities*. London: Routledge.
- Almeida, M. J. and A. Carvalho. 1998. "Anforas da villa romana da quinta das Longas (S. Vicente e Ventosa, Elvas): resultados de 1990-1998." *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia* 1 (2): 137-164.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2004. "Vias e circulação de productos no SW do *conventus emeritensis*: o exemplo da Quinta das Longas (Elvas, Portugal)," in *Actas da V Mesa Redonda Internacional sobre Lusitania Romana: las comunicaciones (Cáceres, 7 a 9 de Novembro de 2002)*, J.G. Gorges, E. Cerrillo and T. Nogales Basarrate, eds. (Madrid: Ministério da Cultura). 369-389.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2005. "Villa Romana da Quinta das Longas (Elvas, Portugal): A Lixeira baixo Imperial." *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia* 8 (1): 299-368.
- Alonso de la Sierra, J. 1994. "Sigillatas africanas y otras cerámicas de mesa tardías de la villa romana de El Ruedo." *Anales de Arqueología Cordobesa* 5: 199-221.
- Alsop, J. 1982. *The Rare Art Traditions: The History of Art Collecting and Its Linked Phenomena Wherever These Have Appeared*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Alvarez Martinez, J. M. 1976. "La Villa romana de El Hinojal en Dehesa de las Tiendas, Montijo (Badajoz)." *Noticiario arqueológico hispánico* 4: 435-463.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1990. *Mosaicos romanos de Mérida: nuevos hallazgos*. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, Dirección General de Bellas Artes y Archivos.
- Alvarez Martinez, J. M., and T. Nogales Basarrate. 1992. "Algunas consideraciones sobre la decoracion de las villae del territorium emeritense : musivaria y escultura." *Studia Historia. Historia Antigua X-XI*: 273-295.
- Amiel, C., and F. Berthault. 1996. "Les amphores du Bas-Empire et de L'Antiquité tardive dans le Sud-Ouest de la France. Apport à l'étude du commerce à grande distance pendant l'Antiquité." *Aquitania* 14: 255-263.
- Angeli, L. 1984. *Piazza Armerina: the imperial villa of Casale: Morgantium*. Bologna: La Fotometalgrafica Emiliana.

- d'Annoville, C.M. 2015. "Rome and Imagery in Late Antiquity: Perception and Use of Statues," in *Pagans and Christians in Late Antique Rome: Conflict, Competition, and Coexistence in the Fourth Century*, M. R. Salzman, M. Sághy, and R. L. Testa, R.L., eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). 343–357.
- Appadurai, A, ed. 1986. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Aragon-Launet, P. 1959. "Fouilles de Séviac." *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique, historique Littéraire et scientifique du Gers* 60: 85-92.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1962. "Fouilles de Séviac (1961) sur l'emplacement villa gallo-romaine." *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique, historique littéraire et scientifique du Gers* 62: 322-28.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1971. "Séviac 1970." *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique, historique littéraire et Scientifique du Gers* 72: 228-236.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1977. "Montréal-du-Gers, villa gallo-romaine de Séviac fouilles 74, 75, 76." *Bulletin de la société archéologique, historique littéraire et scientifique du Gers* 78: 319-337.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and C. Balmelle. 1987-88. "Les structures ornementales en Acanthe dans les mosaïques de la villa de Séviac, près de Montréal (Gers)." *Gallia* 45: 189-208.
- Arce, J. 1993. "Mercados Rurales (*nundinae*) en la Hispania tardorromana," in *Homenatge a Miquel Tarradell*, M. Tarradell and J.Padró i Parcerisa, eds. (Barcelona: Curial Edicions Catalanes). 867-871.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1986. "El octógono de Valdetorres de Jama (Madrid)." *Historia* 16 (124): 103-109.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1997. "El edificio octogonal de Valdetorres de Jarama (Madrid)," in *Congreso Internacional La Hispania de Teodosio*, R. Teja and C. Pérez, eds. (Burgos: Junta de Castilla y León). 321-338.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1997. "Otium et negotium: the great estates, 4<sup>th</sup> – 7<sup>th</sup> century," in *The Transformation of the Roman World, AD 400-900*, L. Webster and M. Brown, eds. (Berkeley: University of Berkeley Press). 19-32.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. 2002. *Centcelles: el monument tardorromano: iconografía y arquitectura*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2006. "Villae en el paisaje rural de Hispania Romana," in A. Chavarría Arnau, J. Arce, and G.P Brogiolo, eds. 1-15.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2007. "Emperadores, Palacios y Villae." *Antiquité Tardive* 5: 293-302.
- Arce, J., L. Caballero, and M. A. Elvira. 1978. *Valdetorres del Jarama, Madrid: Informe preliminar de las excavaciones arqueológicas : primera campaña*. Madrid: Diputación Provincial, Servicios de extension cultural y divulgación.
- Arce, J., and G. Ripoll. 2000 "The transofrmation and end of Roman villae in the West (4<sup>th</sup> – 7<sup>th</sup> c.). Problems and perspectives," in *Towns and their Territories Between Late Antiuqity and the Early Middle Ages*, G. P. Brogiolo, N. Gauthier, and N. Christie, eds. (Leiden: Brill). 63-114.

- Arce, J., A. Chavarría Arnau and G. Ripoll. 2007. "The Urban Domus in Late Antique Hispania: Examples from Emerita, Barcino and Complutum," in *Housing in Late Antiquity - Volume 3. From Palaces to Shops*, L. Lavan, L. Özgenel, A. Sarantis, eds. (Leiden: Brill). 305-336.
- Aurenhammer, M. 1983. "Römische Porträts aus Ephesos." *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 54: 105-46
- Baldini Lippolis, I. 2001. *La domus tardoantica: forme e rappresentazioni dello spazio domestico nelle città del Mediterraneo*. Imola: University Press Bologna.
- Balil, A. 1978-88. *Esculturas romanas de la península ibérica*. Vol. I-VII. Valladolid: Dep. de Prehistoria y Arqueología.
- Balmelle, C. 1983. "Une nouvelle mosaïque d'Océan dans le Sud-Ouest de la Gaule". *III Colloquio Internazionale Sul Mosaico Antico, Ravenna, 1983*. 2: 393-400.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2001. *Les demeures aristocratiques d'Aquitaine: société et culture de l'antiquité tardive dans le sud-ouest de la Gaule*. Bordeaux: Ausonius.
- Balty, J. C., and D. Cazes. 2005. *Les portraits romains. 1, 1, Époque Julio-Claudienne*. Toulouse: Musée Saint-Raymond, Musée des Antiques de Toulouse.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and \_\_\_\_\_. 2008. *Les portraits romains. 5, 5, La Tétrarchie*. Toulouse: Musée Saint-Raymond, Musée des Antiques de Toulouse.
- \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, E. Rosso and P. Capus. 2012. *Les portraits romains. 2, 2. Le siècle des Antonins*. Toulouse: Musée Saint-Raymond, musée des Antiques de Toulouse.
- Banaji, J. 2007. *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity: Gold, Labour, and Aristocratic Dominance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Baquedano, E. 1982. "Excavaciones en Valdetorres del Jarama." *Revista de Arqueología* 22: 56-63.
- Baratte, F. 2001. "Culture et images dans le domaine privé à la fin de l'antiquité: Du rêve à la réalité?" *Antiquité tardive* 9: 275-283.
- Baratte, F., and N. Chaisemartin. 2015. "North Africa," in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Sculpture*, E. Friedland, M. Grunow Sobocinski, and E. Gazda, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press). 504-21.
- Bartman, E. 1988. "Decor et Duplicatio: Pendants in Roman Sculptural Display." *AJA* 92 (2): 211-25.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1991. "Sculptural Collecting and Display in the Private Realm," in E. Gazda, ed. 71-88.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1992. *Ancient Sculptural Copies in Miniature*. Leiden: Brill.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2001. "Hair and the Artifice of Roman Female Adornment." *AJA* 105: 1-26.
- Bassett, S. 1991. "The Antiquities in the Hippodrome of Constantinople." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45: 87-96.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1996. "Historiae custos: Sculpture and Tradition in the Baths of Zeuxippos." *AJA* 100 (3): 491-506.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2000. "'Excellent Offerings': The Lausos Collection in Constantinople." *The Art Bulletin* 82 (1): 6-25.

- \_\_\_\_\_. 2004. *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2014. "Collecting and the creation of history," in M. Wellington Gahtan and D. Pegazzano, eds. 146-155.
- Baudrillard, J. 1994. "The System of Collecting," in J. Elsner and R. Cardinal, eds. 7-24.
- Bauer, F. A. and C. Witschel, eds. 2007. *Statuen in der Spätantike*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Beagan, M. 2009. "Art collections on the Bay of Naples," in C. Mattusch, ed. 71-83.
- Beard, M. 2007. *The Roman Triumph*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Becatti, G. 1948. *Casa ostiense del tardo impero*. Rome: Libreria dello stato.
- Becker, J. A., and N. Terrenato, eds. 2011. *Roman republican villas: architecture, context, and ideology*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- de la Bédoyère, G. 1993. *English Heritage book of Roman villas and the countryside*. London: B.T. Batsford.
- Berenfeld, M. 2009. "The Triconch House and the Predecessors of the Bishop's Palace at Aphrodisias." *AJA* 113 (2): 203-229.
- Berenson, B. 1954. *The Arch of Constantine or the Decline of Form*. London: Chapman & Hall.
- Berges, M. 1969-70. "Informe sobre 'Els Munts'." *Butlletí arqueològic* 69-70: 140-150.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1970. "Las ruinas de 'Els Munts' (Altafulla, Atarragona)." *Información Arqueológica* 3: 81-87.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1977. "Nuevo Informe sobre 'Els Munts'." *Estudis Altafullencs* 1: 27-47.
- Bergmann, B. 1995. "Visualizing Pliny's Villas." *JRA* 8: 406-420.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2002. "Art and Nature in the villa at Oplontis." *JRA* 15: 87-120.
- Bergmann, M. 1977. *Studien zum römischen Porträt des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* Bonn: R. Habelt.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1978. *Marc Aurel*. Frankfurt am Main: Liebieghaus.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1995. *Un ensemble de sculptures de la villa romaine de Chiragan : oeuvre de sculpteurs d'Asie Mineure, en marbre de Saint-Béat?* in *Les marbres blancs des Pyrénées: approches scientifiques et historiques*, A. Alvarez Pérez, R. Sablayrolles, J. Cabanot and J-L. Schenk, eds. (Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges: Musée archéologique départemental de Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges). 197-206.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1999. *Chiragan, Aphrodisias und Konstantinopel. Zur mythologischen Skulptur der Spätantike*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2007. "Die kaiserzeitlichen Porträts der Villa von Chiragan: Spätantike Sammlung oder gewachsenes Ensemble?" in F. A. Bauer and C. Witschel, eds. 323-40.
- Bergmann, M., and M. Kouvac. 2016. "Portrait styles," in R. R. R. Smith and B. Ward-Perkins, eds. 280-94.
- Berry, J. 1997. "Household artefacts: towards a re-interpretation of domestic space," in R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill, eds. 183-195.

- Bianchi Bandinelli, R. 2000. *Roma: l'arte romana nel centro del potere*. Milano: Rizzoli.
- Bieber, M. 1977. *Ancient Copies: Contributions to the History of Greek and Roman Art*. New York: New York University Press.
- Birk, S., T. M. Kristensen and B. Poulsen. 2014. *Using images in late antiquity*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Blanco, A. 1955. "Un Retrato de Domiciano." *AEsp* 28: 280-86.
- Blanco, A., J. Garcia and M. Bendala. 1972. "Excavaciones en Cabra (Cordoba). La Casa del Mitra (primera campaña)." *Habis* 3: 297-320.
- Bloch, H. 1963. "The pagan revival in the West at the end of the fourth century," in *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, A. Momigliano, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press). 193-218.
- Boin, D. 2013. *Ostia in Late Antiquity*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bodel, J. 1997. "Monumental Villas and Villa Monuments." *JRA* 10: 5-35.
- Borg, B. 2015. *A Companion to Roman Art*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.
- Boshung, D. 1993. *Die Bildnisse des Augustus*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.
- Boudon de Saint-Amans, J.-F. 1859. *Essai sur les antiquités du département de Lot-et-Garonne*. Agen: Imprimerie de Prosper Noubel.
- Bourdieu, P. 1997. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bounia, A. 2004. The Nature of Classical collecting: Collectors and Collections, 100 BCE – 100 CE. London: Ashgate.
- Bowden, W., L. Lavan and C. Machado, eds. 2003. *Recent Research on the Late-antique countryside*. Leiden: Brill.
- Bowden, W., A. Gutteridge and C. Machado, eds. 2006. *Social and political life in late Antiquity*. Leiden: Brill.
- Bowes, K. 2006. "Building sacred landscapes: villas and cult," in A. Chavarría Arnau, J. Arce, and G.P Brogiolo, eds. 73-95.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2008. *Private Worship, Public Values, and Religious Change in Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2010. *Houses and Society in the Later Roman Empire*. London: Duckworth.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2013. "Villas, Taxes and Trade in Fourth Century Hispania," in L. Lavan, ed. 191–226.
- Bowes, K., and M. Kulikowski. 2005. *Hispania in late antiquity: current perspectives*. Boston: Brill.
- Bowman, A. K. 2005. "Diocletian and the first tetrarchy, 284-305 AD," in A. K. Bowman, P. Garnsey and A. Cameron, eds. 67-89.
- Bowman, A. K., P. Garnsey and A. Cameron. 2005. *The Cambridge ancient history. The imperial crisis and recovery, A.D. 193-324. Vol. 12*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Braemer, F. 1982. "L'ornementation des établissements ruraux de l'Aquitaine méridionale pendant le haut-empire et la basse antiquité," in *Actes du 104<sup>e</sup>*

- congrès national des sociétés savantes, archéologie et l'histoire de l'art, Bordeaux 1979: l'Aquitaine, études archéologiques* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale). 109-24.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1984. "Le commerce des matériaux d'architecture et de sculpture de part et d'autre de la chaîne des Pyrénées dans les provinces de Tarraconaise, de Narbonnaise et d'Aquitaine," in *106<sup>e</sup> Congrès national des Sociétés savantes, Perpignan, 1981, Archéologie* (Paris : Bibliothèque nationale). 57-72.
- Brendel, O. 1979. *Prolegomena to the Study of Roman Art*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Brody, L. R., and G. L. Hoffman, eds. 2014. *Roman in the Provinces: Art on the Periphery of Empire*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- de Bruyn, G., and C. Machado. 2016. "North Africa," in R. R. R. Smith and B. Ward-Perkins, eds. 56-68.
- Brinkerhoff, D. M. 1970. *A Collection of Sculpture in classical and early Christian Antioch*. New York: New York University Press.
- Brown, P. 1967. *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1993. *The Making of Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2012. *Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350-550 AD*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Bullo, S., and F. Ghedini, eds. 2003. *L'edilizia residenziale nelle città della Tunisia romana, vol. 2*. Rome: Antenor-Quaderni.
- Callegarin, L. 2006. "La circulation monétaire dans les villae d'Aquitaine : l'exemple de la villa de Lalouquette (Pyrénées-Atlantiques)," in F. Réchin, ed. 237-286.
- Cameron, A., B. Ward-Perkins and M. Whitby, eds. 2000. *The Cambridge ancient history. Empire and successors, A.D. 425-600. Vol. 14*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cánovas, Á, 2000. "La decoración pictórica de la villa de El Ruedo (Almedinilla, Córdoba)." *Antiquitas* 11-12: 279-288.
- Canto, A. 1977-78. "Avances sobre la explotación del Marmol en la España romana." *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 50-51: 165-87.
- Cameron, Al. 2013. "The Origin, Context, and Function of Consular Diptychs." *JRS* 103: 173-207.
- Cameron, Av. 2005. "The Reign of Constantine, AD 306-337," in A. K. Bowman, P. Garnsey, and A. Cameron, eds. 89-109.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2011. *The Last Pagans of Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cameron, A., and P. Garnsey, eds. 1998. *The Cambridge Ancient History. Late Empire, A.D. 337-425. Vol. 13*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Capdevila, R. y J. Massó. 1976-77. "Trabajos de salvamento de la villa romana de 'Els Antigons' (Reus)." *Butlletí arqueològic* 133-140: 312-313.

- Carmona Berenguer, S. 1990. "La necrópolis tardorromana de 'El Ruedo' (Almedinilla, Córdoba)." *Anales de Arqueología Cordobesa* 1: 155-172
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1997. El mundo funerario romano rural tardoantiguo y de época visigoda en Andalucía. La necrópolis de El Ruedo (Almedinilla, Córdoba). Thesis. University of Córdoba.
- Carrasco, M. and M. A. Elvira. 1994. "Marfiles coptos en Valdetorres de Jarama (Madrid)." *AEspA* 67: 201-208.
- Carrete, J. M., S. Keay, and M. Millet. 1995. *A roman provincial capital and its hinterland. The survey of the territory of Tarragona, Spain, 1985-1990*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Carrillo Díaz, J. R. 1990. "Técnicas constructivas en la villa romana de El Ruedo (Almedinilla, Córdoba)." *Anales de Arqueología Cordobesa* 1: 81-107.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2011-12. "La Producción de aceite en el interior de la Bética: La subbética cordobesa," in *Anales de Prehistoria y Arqueología* 27-28: 349-379.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2012. "Evidencias del comercio en época romana en la Subbética Cordobesa." *Romula* 11: 59-94.
- Carvalho, A. 1994. "A Villa Romana da Quinta das Longas (S. Vicente e Ventosa, Elvas): As Prospecções de 1990." *Actas das V Jornadas Arqueológicas* 2: 239-251.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2001. "Lagares de vinho e seus componentes nas villae romanas do território português," in *Actas de Congresso O Vinho, A História e a Cultura Popular* (Lisboa, 24 e 25 de Junho de 1994), Lisboa: Associação para o Desenvolvimento do Instituto Superior de Agronomia : 39-72.
- Carvalho, A., and M. J. de Almeida. 2003. "A água e o mármore na villa baixo-imperial da Quinta das Longas. S. Vicente e Ventosa, Elvas." *Elvas. Caia. Revista Internacional de Cultura e Ciencia* 1: 113-126.
- Castanyer i Masoliver, P., J. Tremolada i Trilla, and B. Agustí. 1999. *La villa romana de Vilauba: un exemple de l'ocupació i explotació romana del territori a la comarca del Pla de l'Estany*. Banyoles: Ajuntament de Banyoles
- Cazes, D. 1999. *Le Musée Saint-Raymond: Musée des Antiques de Toulouse*. Paris: Somogy éditions d'art: Musée Saint-Raymond.
- Chaisemartin, N., and E. Örgen. 1984. *Les documents sculptés de Silahataraga*. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations.
- Chavarría Arnau, A. 2001. "Villae y necrópolis en Hispania durante la antigüedad tardía." *Antiquité tardive* 10: 44-57.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2005. "Villas in Hispania during the Fourth and Fifth Century," in K. Bowes and M. Kulikowski, eds. 519-552.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2007. *El Final de las "villae" en "Hispania" (siglos IV-VIII)*. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Chavarría Arnau, A., J. Arce, and G.P. Brogiolo, eds. 2006. *Villas tardoantiguas en el Mediterráneo occidental*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones

- Científicas, Instituto de Historia, Departamento de Historia Antigua y Arqueología.
- Chavarría Arnau, A., and T. Lewitt. 2004. "Archaeological Research on the Late Antique Countryside: A Bibliographic Essay," in W. Bowden, L. Lavan and C. Machado, eds. 3-51.
- Christie, N, ed. 2004. *Landscapes of change: rural evolutions in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Cisneros Cunchillos, M. 1997. "Mármoles de importación y mármoles de sustitución su utilización en algunas ciudades hispanas." *Veleia* 14: 195-204.
- Clarke, G. 1982. *The Roman Villa at Woodchester*. Hertford: Stephen Austin & Sons.
- Clarke, J. R. 1991. *The Houses of Roman Italy, 100 B.C.-A.D. 250: Ritual, Space, and Decoration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2003. *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representation and Non-Elite Viewers in Italy, 100 B.C.-A.D. 315*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Coates-Stephens, R. 2007. "The Reuse of Ancient Statuary in Late Antique Rome and the End of the Statue Habit," in F. A. Bauer and C. Witschel, eds. 171-187.
- Colombi, E. 1996. "Rusticitas e vita in villa nella Gallia Tardoantica: tra realtà e letteratura." *Athenaeum* 84: 405-431.
- Conant, J. 2012. *Staying Roman: Conquest and Identity in Africa and the Mediterranean, 439-700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Conkey, M. W., and C. A. Hastorf, eds. 1990. *The Uses of Style in Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cool, H. M., and M. J. Baxter. 2002. "Exploring Romano-British Finds Assemblages." *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 21 (4): 365-380.
- Corsi, C., and F. Vermeulen, eds. 2010. *Changing landscapes, the impact of Roman towns in the Western Mediterranean: proceedings of the international colloquium, Castelo de Vide, Marvão, 15th-17th May, 2008*. Bologna: Ante quem.
- Coupry, J. 1963. "Circonscriptions des antiquités historiques." *Gallia* 21: 505-536.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1987-88. "Castelculier, Lot-et-Garonne, Aquitaine." *Gallia Informations* 1-2: 139-42.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1991. "Castelculier, Lot-et-Garonne, Aquitaine." *Gallia Informations* 5: 89-91.
- Couret, J.-M. 1903. "Histoire de Montmaurin et suite des recherches archéologiques dans la haute vallée de la Save." *Revue Comminges* 18: 40-55, 79-94, 129-148, 201-217.
- Cunliffe, B. W. and M. G. Fulford. 1982. *Great Britain*. Vol 1, 2, *Bath and the Rest of Wessex*. Corpus signorum imperii Romani, Great Britain 1.2. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cuno, J. 2008. *Who Owns Antiquity?: Museums and the Battle over Our Ancient Heritage*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Curran 1994. "Moving Statues in Late-antique Rome" Problems of Perspective" *Art History* 17: 46-58.



- D'Ambra E. 2013. "Mode and model in the flavian female portrait." *AJA* 117 (4): 511-525.
- Daltrop, G., U. Hausmann and M. Wegner. 1966. *Die Flavier: Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Julia Titi, Domitilla, Domitia*. Berlin: Mann.
- Davies, P. J. E. 2000. *Death and the Emperor: Roman Imperial Funerary Monuments, from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- De Nuccio, M., and L. Ungaro, eds. 2002. *I marmi colorati della Roma imperiale*. Venezia: Marsilio.
- Derks, T. 1998. *Gods, temples, and ritual practices: the transformation of religious ideas and values in Roman Gaul*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Deschamps-Lequime, S. 2005. "L'encrier de Vaison-la-Romaine et la patine volontaire des bronzes antiques," in *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 84 (1): 5-30.
- Díaz-Andreu, M. 2010. "Archaeology and Nationalism in Spain," in *Contemporary archaeology in theory: the new pragmatism*, R. Preucel and S. Mrozowski, eds. (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell). 432-444.
- Dossey, L. 2010. *Peasant and Empire in Christian North Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Dresken-Weiland, J. 1991. *Reliefierte Tischplatten aus theodosianischer Zeit*. Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana.
- Drinkwater, J. F. 1987. *The Gallic empire: separatism and continuity in the North-Western provinces of the Roman Empire, A.D. 260-274*. Wiesbaden: F. Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden.
- Drinkwater, J., and H. Elton, eds. 1992. *Fifth-Century Gaul: A Crisis of Identity?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Du Mège, A. 1828. *Notice des monuments antiques et des objets de sculpture modern conservés dans le musée de Toulouse*. Toulouse: s. l.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1830. "Recherches sur Calagurris des Convenae." *Mém. Acad. Sciences Toulouse* 1: 346-441.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1832-33. "Rapport sur les Antiquités découvertes à Nérac ; Explication du plan des ruines antiques de Nérac et des planches ; Dissertation sur quelques monuments découverts à Nérac." *Mémoire Société Archeologie du Midi de la France* 1: 171-349.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1835. *Description du Musée des Antiques de Toulouse*. Toulouse: s. l.
- Dunbabin, K. M. D. 1978. *The mosaics of Roman North Africa: studies in iconography and patronage*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1999. *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dupré Raventós, X., ed. 2004. *Las capitales provinciales de Hispania*. Vol. 2, Mérida. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Dwyer, E. 1982. *Pompeian Domestic Sculpture: A Study of Five Pompeian Houses and*

- their Contents*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Eliav, Y. Z., E. A. Friedland and S. Herbert, eds. 2008. *The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Near East: Reflections on Culture, Ideology, and Power*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Ellis, S. 1988. "The End of the Roman House." *AJA* 92 (4): 565-76.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1991. "Power, Architecture, and Décor: How the Late Roman Aristocrat appeared to His Guests," in E. Gazda, ed. 117-34.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2000. *Roman Housing*. London: Duckworth.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2007. "Late Antique Housing and the Uses of Residential Buildings: an Overview," in L. Lavan and L. Özegenel, eds. 1-25.
- Elsner, J. 1995. *Art and the Roman viewer: the transformation of art from the Pagan world to Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2000. "From the culture of *spolia* to the cult of relics: the Arch of Constantine and the genesis of late antique forms." *PBSR* 68: 149-194.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2014. "Afterword. Framing Knowledge: Collecting Objects, Collecting Text," in M. Wellington Gahtan and D. Pegazzano, eds. 156-162.
- Elsner, J., and R. Cardinal. 1994. *The Cultures of Collecting*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Elvira, M. A., and C. Puerta. 1989. "El conjunto escultórico de Valdetorres de Jarama" *Goya* 208: 194-199.
- Erim, K. T. and C. Roueché. 1982. "Sculptors from Aphrodisias: Some New Inscriptions." *BSR* 50: 102-115.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and \_\_\_\_\_, eds. 1990. *Aphrodisias Papers 1: Recent work on architecture and sculpture*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Erim, K. T. and R. R. R. Smith, eds. 1991. *Aphrodisias Papers 2: The theatre, a sculptor's workshop, philosophers, and coin types*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Esperandieu, E. 1907-66. *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale.
- Estacio da Veiga, S. P. M. 1880. *A tabula de bronze de Aljustrel*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1886. *Antiguidades monumentaes do Algarve: tempos prehistoricos*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional.
- Estácio da Veiga Affonso dos Santos, M. L. 1972. *Subsidios do Arqueologia romana do Algarve*, II. Braga: Livr. ed. Pax.
- Evans, J. and M. Millett. 1992. "Residuality Revisited." *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 11:225-40.
- Fabre, J.-M., and R. Sablayrolles. 2002. "Carrières de marbre des Pyrénées centrales. Le point sur la recherche." *Gallia* 59: 61-81.
- Fages, B. 1995. *Le Lot-et-Garonne*. Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres.
- Faugère-Dubourg, A. 1873. "Villa gallo-romaine de Bapteste, commune de Moncrabeau

- (lot-et-Garonne)." *Le Bulletin monumental* 39 : 412-17.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1874. "Rapport à Monsieur le Directeur de la Société française d'Archéologie sur l'état des fouilles de la villa Bapteste au 12 novembre." *Le Bulletin monumental* 40: 262-73.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1875. "Mémoire sur les fouilles de Bapteste." *Congrès archéologique de France* 41: 38-56.
- Fejfer, J. 2002. "Ancestral Aspects of the Roman Honorary Statue," in *Images of Ancestors*, J. M. Højte, ed. (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press). 247-56.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2008. *Roman Portraits in Context*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Fernandes, M. A., and J. L. de Matos. 1995. *Inventário do Museu Nacional de Arqueologia: coleção de escultura romana*. Lisboa: Instituto português de museus.
- Fernández, D. 2010. *Economy and society in Atlantic Iberia during Late Antiquity (300-600)*. Thesis (Ph.D.). Princeton University.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2013. "City and Countryside in Late Antique Iberia." *Antiquité Tardive* 21: 233-41.
- Fernández Castro, M.C. 1982. *Villas romanas en España*. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, Dirección General de Bellas Artes, Archivos y Bibliotecas.
- Fernández Ochoa, C., V. García-Entero and F. Gil Sendino. 2008. *Las "villae" tardorromanas en el occidente del Imperio: arquitectura y función*. Gijón: Ediciones Trea.
- Filges, A. 1999. "Marmorstatuetten aus Kleinasien: Zu Ikonographie, Funktion und Produktion antoninischer, severischer und späterer Idealplastik." *IstMitt* 49: 377-430.
- Finley, M. 1999. *The Ancient Economy*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Fittschen, K. 1984. "Eine Büste des Kaisers Hadrian aus Milreu in Portugal : zum Problem von Bildnisklitterungen." *MM* 23: 197-207.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1993a. "Bildnis einer Frau trajanischer Zeit aus Milreu." *MM* 34: 202-209.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1993b. "Bildnis des Kaisers Gallien aus Milreu, Zum Problem der Bildnistypologie." *MM* 34: 210-227.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1999. *Prinzenbildnisse antoninischer Zeit*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Fittschen, K., P. Zanker, and G. Fittschen-Badura. 1985. *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom. Kaiser- und Prinzenbildnisse Bd. 1*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, and P. Cain. 2010. *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom. Bd. 2*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Florescu, F. B. 1961. *Monumentul de la Adamklissi, Tropaeum Traiani*. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne.
- Flower, H. 1996. *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture*. Oxford:

- Oxford University Press.
- Fouet, G. 1969. *La Villa gallo-romaine de Montmaurin, Haute-Garonne*. Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1961. "Céramiques estampées du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle dans la Villa de Montmaurin (Haute Garonne)." *Celticum* 1: 271-285.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1978. "La villa gallo-romaine de Valentine (Haute-Garonne), aperçu préliminaire." *Revue de Comminges* 91: 145-157.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1980. "Une église du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle à Valentine," in *Actes du 35<sup>e</sup> Congrès de la Fédération des Sociétés académiques et savantes Languedoc-Pyrénées-Gascogne, Saint-Gaudens et sa région*, *Revue de Comminges* 93: 495-508.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1990. "L'épithaphe de *Nymfius* à Valentine." *Revue de Comminges* 103: 305-317.
- Friedland, E. and M. Grunow Sobocinski, eds. 2015. *The Oxford handbook of Roman sculpture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fuchs, W. 1963. *Der Schiffsfund von Mahdia*. Tübingen: W. Wasmuth.
- Gaggadis-Robin, V. 2005. *Les sarcophages païens du Musée de l'Arles antique*. Arles: Musée de l'Arles et de la Provence antiques.
- Garcia, M., J. M. Macias, and I. Teixell. 1999. "La necròpolis tardoantiga de la villa dels Munts (Altafulla, Tarragonès)," in M.L. Ramos i Martínez and C. Puigferrat i Oliva, eds. 278.
- Garcia y Bellido, A. 1967. *Les religions orientales dans l'Espagne romaine*. Leiden: Brill.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1971. "Un Nuevo Mithras Tauroktonos" *AEspA* 44: 142-45.
- García Moreno, L. A., and S. Rascón Marqués, eds. 1999. *Complutum y las ciudades hispanas en la antigüedad tardía*. Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá.
- Gazda, E. 1981. "A Marble Group of Ganymede and the Eagle from the Age of Augustine," in *Excavations at Carthage Conducted by the University of Michigan*, Vol. 6, ed. J. Humphrey (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press): 125-178.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. 1991. *Roman Art in the Private Sphere*. University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1995. "Roman Sculpture and the Ethos of Emulation: Reconsidering Repetition." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 97: 121-56.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2002. *The Ancient Art of Emulation: Studies in Artistic Originality and Tradition from the Present to Classical Antiquity*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Gehn, U., and B. Ward-Perkins. 2016. "Danube provinces and north Balkans," in R. R. R. Smith and B. Ward-Perkins, eds. 80-86.
- Gell, Alfred. 1998. *Art and Agency: an anthropological theory*. New York: Clarendon Press.
- Ghedini, F. 2007. "Late Antique *domus* of Africa Proconsularis," in L. Lavan, L. Özegenel and A. Saranis, eds. 337-366.

- Gleason, K. 1994. "Porticus Pompeiana: a new perspective on the first public park of ancient Rome." *Journal of garden history* 14 (1): 13-27.
- Gonçalves, J. L. 2007. *Escultura romana em Portugal: uma arte do quotidiano*. Mérida: Museo Nacional de Arte Romano.
- Gorges, J.-G. 1979. *Les villas hispano-romaines: inventaire et problématique archéologiques*. Paris: Université de Bordeaux III; Diffusion E. de Boccard.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. 1994. *Les Campagnes de Lusitanie Romaine: Occupation Du Sol et Habitats : Table Ronde Internationale (Salamanque, 29 et 30 Janvier 1993)*. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2000. "Voies romaines, propriétés et propriétaires à l'ouest de Mérida: problèmes d'occupation du sol en moyenne vallée du Guadiana sous l'Haut-Empire," in J.G. Gorges and T. Nogales Basarrate, eds: 101-153.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2008. "L'architecture des villae romaines tardives: La création et le développement du modèle tétrarchique," in C. Fernández Ochoa, V. García-Entero and F. Gil Sendino, eds. 27-48.
- Gorges, J.-G., and F. G. Rodríguez Martín, eds. 1999. *Economie et territoire en Lusitanie romaine*. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez.
- Gorges, J.-G., and T. Nogales Basarrate, eds. 2000. *Sociedad y cultura en Lusitania romana: IV mesa redonda internacional*. Mérida: Editora regional de Extremadura.
- Gosden, Chris. 2005. "What Do Objects Want?" *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 12 (3): 193-211.
- Graen, D. 2005. "Two Roman mausoleums at Quinta de Marim (Olhão): preliminary results of the excavations in 2002 and 2003." *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia* 8 (1): 257-278.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2006. "O sítio da Quinta de Marim (Olhão), na época tardo-romana e o problema da localização da *Statio Sacra*." *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia* 9 (2): 53-82.
- Graen, D., T. Kleinschmidt, T. Schierl, and N. Zimmermann. 2008. "The site of Quinta de Marim (Olhão): results and perspectives of investigation." *XELB* 8: 247-265.
- Grey, C. 2011. *Constructing communities in the late Roman countryside*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grijp, P. van der. 2006. *Passion and Profit: Towards an Anthropology of Collecting*. Berlin: LIT.
- Gruen, E. 1992. *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. 2005. *Cultural borrowings and ethnic appropriations in antiquity*. Stuttgart: F. Steiner.
- Guardia Pons, M. 1992. *Los mosaicos de la Antigüedad tardía en Hispania. Estudios de Iconografía*. Barcelona: PPU.
- Gugole, J. 2006. "La villa gallo-romaine de Séviac à Montréal-du-Gers (Gers), architecture de la partie résidentielle," in F. Réchin, ed. 49-66.

- Hales, S. 2003. *The Roman House and Social Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hallett, C. 1995. "Review article: Emulation versus Replication: redefining Roman copying," *JRA* 16: 419-35.
- Hannestad, N. 1988. *Roman Art and Imperial Policy*. Århus: Aarhus University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1994. *Tradition in late antique sculpture: conservation, modernization, production*. (*Acta Jutlandica* 69). Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2007. "Late antique mythological sculpture – in search of a chronology," in F. A. Bauer and C. Witschel, eds. 273-305.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2012. "Mythological marble sculpture of late antiquity and the question of workshops," in T. M. Kristensen and B. Poulsen, eds. 75-112.
- Haselberger, L., D. G. Romano, E. A. Dumser and D. Borbonus. 2002. *Mapping Augustan Rome*. Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology.
- Haskell, Francis, and Nicholas Penny. 1981. *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500-1900*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Hauschild, Th. 1964. *Der Kultbau neben dem römischen Ruinenkomplex bei Estoi in der Provincia Lusitania*. Thesis. Berlin Technical University.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1969. "Das Mausoleum bei Las Vegas de Pueblanueva." *MM* 10: 296-316.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1971. "Dois bustos romanos de Milreu (Estoi)." *Anaís do município de Faro* 3: 243-249.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1984. "A villa romana de Milreu, Estói (Algarve)." *Arqueologia* 9 (9): 94-104.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1988. "O edifício de culto do complexo de ruínas romanas perto de Estói, na província da Lusitânia," in *Arqueologia e História (In Memoriam Prof. Doutor D. Fernando de Almedia)*, Lisbon: Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses: 123-150.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2002. *Milreu: ruínas. Roteiros da arqueologia portuguesa* 9. Lisbon. Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico
- Hayes, Evan. 1996. "Rural Settlement in the 'Conventus Astigitanus' (Baetica) under the Flavians." *Phoenix* 50 (3/4): 283-303.
- Heather, P. 1994. "New Men for New Constantines," in *New Constantines*, P. Magdalino, ed. (Aldershot: Ashgate). 11-33.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1996. *The Goths*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1997. "Senators and senates," in A. Cameron and P. Garnsey. 184-210.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2000. "State, Lordship and Community in the West (c.AD 400-600)," in A. Cameron, B. Ward-Perkins and M. Whitby, eds. 437-468.
- Hekster, O. 2005. "Propagating Power: Hercules as an Example for Second-Century Emperors," in *Herakles and Hercules: Exploring a Graeco-Roman Divinity*, L. Rawlings and H. Bowden, eds. (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales). 205-221.
- Heleno, M. 1962. "A villa lusitano-romana de Torre de Palma (Monforte)." *O Arqueólogo português* 2 (4): 313-318.

- Henig, M. 1990. *Architecture and architectural sculpture in the Roman Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hernández Vera, J. A., and Núñez Marcén, J. 1998. "Nuevos datos para el conocimiento del foro de Caesaraugusta." *Empúries* 51: 93-104.
- Hidalgo Prieto, R. 1990. "Esquemas decorativos pictóricos de la villa romana de El Ruedo (Almedinilla, Córdoba)." *Anales de Arqueología Cordobesa* 1: 109-124.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1991. "Mosaicos con decoración geométrica y vegetal de la villa romana de El Ruedo (Almedinilla, Córdoba)." *Anales de Arqueología Cordobesa* 2: 325-362.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1996. *Espacio público y espacio privado en el conjunto palatino de Cercadilla (Córdoba): El aula central y las termas*. Seville: Consejería de Cultura.
- Hodder, I. 1990. "Style as Historical Quality," in M.W. Conkey and C. A. Hastorf, eds. 44-51.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2012. *Entangled: An Archaeology of the Relationships between Humans and Things*. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Hope, V. M. 2003. "Trophies and tombstones: commemorating the Roman soldier." *World Archaeology* 35 (1): 79-97.
- Humphrey, J. H. 1986. *Roman circuses: arenas for chariot racing*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Huskinson, J. 2010. "Habent sua fata: writing life histories of Roman sarcophagi," in *Life, death and representation: some new work on Roman sarcophagi*, J. Elsner and J. Huskinson, eds. (New York, De Gruyter). 55-82.
- İnan, J., and E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum. 1966. *Roman and early Byzantine portrait sculpture in Asia Minor*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Járrega Domínguez, R. 2010. "The Impact of the Organization of Territory in a Provincial Capital: the Colony of Tarraco and the *Ager Tarraconensis*," in C. Corsi and F. Vermeulen, eds. 1-20.
- Járrega Domínguez, R. and M. P. Monclús. 2014. *Ager Tarraconensis. Els Antigons, una villa senyorial del camp de Tarragona 4, 4*. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans.
- Jacques, Ph. 1987. "Grandfonds-Castelculier, Lot-et-Garonne. Fouilles de Sauvetage et Sondages réalisés en 1986." *Archéologie en Aquitaine* 6: 84-89.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1994. "Castelculier. Villa gallo-romaine." *Bilan scientifique de la région Aquitaine* 2: 88-89.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1998. "Castelculier. Lamarque." *Bilan scientifique de la région Aquitaine* 6: 100-103.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2006. "Nouvelles données sur l'habitat rural antique en Lot-et-Garonne," in F. Réchin, ed. 77-122.
- Jacques, Ph. and F. Stéphanus. 1994. "Castelculier. La villa de Grandfonds," in *Vingt ans d'archéologie en moyenne Garonne : Occupation du sol du 8<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. au 14<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.*, A. Reginato, Ph. Jacques, and F. Stéphanus, eds. (Agen: s.n.). 31-33.

- Jiménez, A., and I. Rodà. 2015. "Hispaniae and Narbonensis," in E. Friedland and M. Brunow Sobocinski, eds. 487-503.
- Jimenez Salvador, J. L. and M. Martin Bueno. 1982. *La casa del Mitra (Cabra, Cordoba)*. Cabra: Delegación de Cultura del Itmo. Ayto. de Cabra.
- Johns, C. 2003. "Art, Romanisation, and Competence," in S. Scott and J. Webster, eds. 9-23.
- Jones, A. E. 2009. *Social Mobility in Late Antique Gaul: Strategies and Opportunities for the Non-Elite*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jones, A. H. M. 1974. *The Roman Economy: studies in ancient economic and administrative history*. Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Jongste, P. F. B. 1992. *The twelve labours of Hercules on Roman sarcophagi*. Roma: Erma di Bretschneider.
- Joulin, L. 1901. *Les établissements gallo-romains de la plaine de Martres-Tolosanes*. Paris: Impr. nationale, librairie C. Klincksieck.
- Kaster, Robert A. 1997. *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Keay, S. J. 1988. *Roman Spain*. London: British Museum Publications.
- Kiilerich, B. 1993. *Late Fourth Century Classicism in the Plastic Arts*. Odense: Odense University Press.
- Kiilerich, B. and H. Torp. 1994. "Mythological sculpture in the fourth century A.D.: the Esquiline group and the Silaharaga statues." *IstMitt* 44: 307-315.
- Kleiner, D. E. E. 1992. *Roman sculpture*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Klößner, A. 2010. "Die 'Casa del Mitra' bei Igabrum und ihre Skulpturenausstattung," in Las Áreas Suburbanas en la ciudad histórica: topografía, usos, función, D. Vaquerizo Gil, ed. (Córdoba: Universidad [s.n.]). 106-25.
- Kolb, F. 1987. *Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie : Improvisation oder Experiment in der Organisation monarchischer Herrschaft?* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Koppel, E. 1992. "El escudo de la villa de 'Els Munts' (Tarragona)." *MM* 33: 133-144.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1993. "La escultura del entorno de Tarraco: las *Villae*," in T. Nogales Basarrate, ed. 221-238.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1995 "La decoración escultórica de las *villae* romanas de *Hispania*," in J.M. Noguera Celdrán, ed. 27-48.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2000. "Informe preliminar sobre la decoración escultórica de la villa romana de 'Els Munts' Altafulla, Tarragona." *MM* 41: 380-394.
- Koppel, E., and I. Rodà. 1996. "Escultura decorativa en la zona nororiental de Conventus Tarraconensis," in J. Massó and P. Sada, eds. 135-181.
- Kopytoff, I. 1986. "The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process," in A. Appaduari, ed. 64-91.
- Koortbojian, M. 1995. *Myth, meaning, and memory on Roman sarcophagi*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kousser, R. M. 2008. *Hellenistic and Roman Ideal Sculpture: The Allure of the Classical*.



- Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kristensen, T. M., and B. Poulsen, eds. 2012. *Ateliers and Artisans in Roman Art and Archaeology*. Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology.
- Kulikowski, M. 2004. *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2015. "Regional Dynasties and Imperial Court," in J. Wienand, ed. 135-148.
- Kuttner, A. 1997. "Republican Rome Looks at Pergamon." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 97: 157-178.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1999. "Culture and History at Pompey's Museum." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 129: 343-73.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2014. "Hellenistic Court Collecting from Alexandros to the Attalids," in M.W. Gahtan and D. Pegazzano, eds. 45-53.
- Labrousse, M. 1949. "Sur une statuette de Vénus d'inspiration classique trouvée à Montmaurin (Haute Garonne)," in *Mélanges offerts à M. le Professeur Magnien* (Toulouse: É. Privat). 39-46. de Lacerda, A. 1942-53. *História da Arte em Portugal*. Porto: Portucalense Editora.
- Lafon, X. 1981. "A propos des "villae" républicaines: quelques notes sur les programmes décoratifs et les commanditaires." *Publications de l'Ecole française de Rome* 55 (1): 151-72.
- Lancha, J. 2001. "La mosaïque du triomphe indien de Bacchus de la villa de Fuente Alamo (Puente Genil, Espagne)," in *Colloque International pour l'Etude de la Mosaïque Antique et Médiévale*, A. Pauner and S. Schmidt, eds. (Lausanne: Cahiers d'arch'elogie romande). 161-176.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2003. "Mythologie classique et mosaïques tardives d'Hispanie (IV e S.)." *Antiquité tardive* 11: 97-214.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2004. *Mosaicos marinhos no Algarve romano: Faro e Milreu* [S.l.]: Missão Luso Francesa "Mosaicos do sul de Portugal."
- Lancha, J., and P. Andre. 1992-93. "La campagne de la region d'Evora à l'epoque imperiale: mise a jour des recherches recentes," in *Actas de la Mesa Redonda Internacional El Medio Rural en Lusitania Romana, Formas de Habitat y Ocupacion del Suelo*, J.-G. Gorges, ed. (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca). 189-202.
- Lancha, J., P. André, and F. Abraços. 2000. *A villa de Torre de Palma*. Lisbon: Instituto Português de Museus.
- Lancha, J., and C. Oliviera, J. 2013. *Corpus dos Mosaicos Romanos de Portugal / Corpus des mosaïques Romaines du Portugal. II: Conventus Pacensis. 2: Algarve Este*. Faro: Universidade do Algarve.
- Landwehr, C. 1993. *Die römischen Skulpturen von Caesarea Mauretaniae*, Vol. 1. Archäologische Forschungen 18. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

- Lapart, J. 1994. "Premières fouilles et premières découvertes sur le site de Séviac à la fin du XIX s. et au début du XXs." *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique, Historique, Littéraire et Scientifique du Gers* 95: 13-34.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and C. Petit. 1993. *Le Gers*. Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Ministère de la culture.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and J.-L. Paillet. 1991. "Ensemble paléochrétien et mérovingien du site de Séviac A Montréal-du-Gers," in *Gallo-romains, Wisigoths, et Francs en Aquitaine, Septimanie, et Espagne : Actes VIIIe Journées internationales d'archéologie Mérovingienne (Toulouse, 1985)*, P. Périn, ed. (Rouen: Association française d'Archéologie mérovingienne). 171-180.
- Lara, J. M., and C. Camacho. 2000. "Sobre alfares, silos y almazaras en la villa romana de El Ruedo (Almedinilla, Córdoba)." *Antiquitas* 11-12: 233-266.
- Laurence, R., and A. Wallace-Hadrill, eds. 1997. *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and beyond*. Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology.
- Lavan, L. 2009. "Political Talismans? Residual "Pagan" Statues in the Late Antique Public Sphere," in L. Lavan and M. Mulryan, eds. 439-477.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. 2015. *Local Economies?: Production and Exchange of Inland Regions in Late Antiquities*.
- \_\_\_\_\_, L. Özgenel, and A. C. Sarantis, eds. 2007. *Housing in Late Antiquity: From Palaces to Shops*. Leiden: Brill.
- \_\_\_\_\_, E. Swift and T. Putzeys, eds. 2007. *Objects in Context, Objects in Use: Material Spatiality in Late Antiquity*. Leiden: Brill.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and M. Mulryan, eds. 2009. *The Archaeology of Late Antique 'Paganism'*. Leiden: Brill.
- Lazzeretti, A. 2014. "Verres, Cciero and Other collectors in Late Republication Rome," in M.W. Gahtan and D. Pegazzano, eds. 91-101
- Lauzun, Ph. 1911. "Ruines gallo-romaines de Séviac, près de Montréal." *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Gers* 12: 272-275
- Lebègue, A. 1891a. "Martres-Tolosane." *Revue des Pyrénées* 3: 576-616.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1891b. "Notice sur les fouilles de Martres." *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques. Antiquité, archéologie classique* 7: 396-423.
- Leday, A. 1980. *La Campagne à l'époque romaine dans le centre de la Gaule: villas, vici et sanctuaires dans la cité des Bituriges Cubi*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
- Leiva, F. 1998. "Producción de aceite en Fuente-Tójar (Córdoba) en época romana." *Crónica de Córdoba y sus pueblos* 5: 187-216.
- Lenaghan, J. 2016. "Re-use in fourth-century portrait statues," in R. R. R. Smith and B. Ward Perkins, eds. 267-279.

- Lepelley, C. 1994. "Le musée des statues divines. La volonté de sauvegarder le patrimoine artistique païen à l'époque théodosienne." *Cahiers Archeologiques* 42: 5-15.
- Leveau, P., P. Sillières, and J.-P. Vallat. 1993. *Campagnes de la Méditerranée romaine Occident*. Paris: Hachette.
- Lewitt, T. 2003. "'Vanishing villas' what happened to elite rural habitation in the West in the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> c.?" *JRA* 16: 260-274.
- Liverani, P. 2014. "The Culture of Collecting in Roma: Between Politics and Administration," in M. W. Gahtan and D. Pegazzano, eds. 72-77.
- Lizop, R. 1931. *Histoire de deux cités gallo-romaines: les Convenae et les Consoranni*. Toulouse: E. Privat.
- L'Orange, H. P. 1965. *Art forms and civic life in the late Roman Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Lopez Palomo, L.A. 1985. "Excavaciones de urgencia en la villa romana de Fuente Alamo (Puente Genil, Cordoba), 1985." *Anuario Arqueologico Andaluz*, Vol III, Sevilla: 105-115.
- López Marcos, A., and L. Baena del Alcázar. 2008. "Un retrato femenino flavio en la villa romana del Cortijo de los Robles (Jaén)." *mus-A* 8: 161-164.
- López Marcos, A. and M. Buzón Alarcón. 2013-14. "La Villa Romana de Cortijo de los Robles (Jaén)." *Romula* 12-13: 379-414.
- Lozas, M. L. 1993. "La escultura de fuentes en Hispania: ejemplos de la *Baetica*," in T. Nogales, ed. 97-110.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1996. "Esculturas romanas en bronce del Sur de la provincia de Cordoba," in J. Massó and P. Sada, eds. 79-94.
- Lyster Franco, M. 1943. *As ruínas romanas do Milreu e os últimos trabalhos nelas realizados*. Lisbon: Bertrand.
- MacCormack, S. 1981. *Art and ceremony in late antiquity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Machado, C. 2006. "Building the Past: Monuments and Memory in the Forum Romanum," in W. Bowden, A. Gutteridge and C. Machado, eds. 157-192.
- Machado, C., and J. Lenaghan. 2016. "Rome," in R. R. R. Smith and B. Ward-Perkins, eds. 121-135.
- Maloney, S., and J. Hale. 1996. "The villa of Torre de Palma (Alto Alentejo)." *JRA* 9: 275-94.
- Manchi, C. 1984. "La villa gallo-romaine de Bapteste." *Bulletín de la Société Archéologique et Historique de l'Albret* 16: 3-34.
- Mantas, V. G. 1983. "A cidade luso-romana de Ossonoba," in *Actas del I Coloquio de Historia Antigua de Andalucía; Córdoba, 1988*, J. F. Rodríguez Neila, ed. (Córdoba: Publicaciones del Monte di Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba). 515-537.
- Marvin, M. 2008. *The Language of the Muses: The Dialogue between Roman and Greek*

- Sculpture*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum.
- Massendari, J. 2006. *La Haute-Garonne (hormis le Comminges et Toulouse) 31/1*. Paris: Académie des inscriptions et Belles-Lettres: Ministère de l'Éducation nationale: Ministère de la Recherche.
- Massó, J., and P. Sada, eds. 1996. *Actas de la II Reunión sobre escultura romana en Hispania*. Tarragona: Museu Nacional Arqueològic de Tarragona.
- Mastrodonato, V. 2000. "Una residenza imperial nel suburbia di Roma: la villa di Luci Vero in località Aquatraversa." *Archeologia Classica* 51: 200-235.
- Mattingly, D. J. 2011. *Imperialism, power, and identity: experiencing the Roman empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Mattusch, C., ed. 2009. *Pompeii and the Roman villa. Art and culture around the Bay of Naples*. Washington: National Gallery of Art.
- Maurin, L., J.-P. Bost, J.-M. Roddaz, eds. 1992. *Les racines de l'Aquitaine: vingt siècles d'histoire d'une région: vers 1000 avant J.-C.-vers 1000 après J.-C.* Talence: Centre Charles Higounet.
- Meates, G. W. 1979. *The Roman Villa at Lullingstone, Kent. Vol. 1, Vol. 1*. Maidstone: Kent Archaeological Society; distributed by Phillimore.
- Meischner, J. 2001. *Bildnisse der Spätantike: 193-500 ; Problemfelder ; die Privatporträts*. Berlin: Edition BNB.
- Melchior, E. 2007a. "La romanización de la Subbética cordobesa: ciudades, élites y vida municipal", in *Almedinilla. Arqueología, Historia y Heráldica*, J. Aranda et al, eds. (Córdoba: Diputación de Córdoba). 45-53.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2007b. "Sobre las posesiones rústicas de las élites municipales de la Bética y la vinculación de sus propietarios con determinadas comunidades cívicas." *Les Mélanges de l'Ecole française du Rome* 119 (2): 435-443.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2008-2009. "El Baetis y la organización viaria del Sur Peninsular: la interconexión de las redes de transporte fluvial y terrestre en la Bética romana" *Anas* 21-22: 163-191.
- Métivier, R. 1913. "Fouilles des ruines gallo-romaines de Séviac, près de Montréal-du-Gers." *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Gers* 14: 146-149.
- Miles, M. 2008. *Art as Plunder: The Ancient Origins of Debate about Cultural Property*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2014. "Collecting the Past, Creating the Future: Art Displays in the Hellenistic Mediterranean," in M.W. Gahtan and D. Pegazzano, eds. 33-44.
- Millett, M. 1990. *The romanization of Britain: an essay in archaeological interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mingarro Martin, F., et al 1987. "Petrología arqueología de esculturas procedentes de la villa romana de Valdetorres de Jarama (Madrid)." *Revista de materiales y procesos geológicos* 5: 45-70.
- Molteson, M. 1990. "The Aphrodisian sculptures in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek," in C. Roueché, K. T. Erim and R. R. R. Smith, eds. 133-145.

- Molteson, M., and J. Fejfer. 2002. *Imperial Rome II, statues: catalogue*, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.
- Monturet, R., and H. Rivière. 1986. *Les thermes sud de la villa gallo-romaine de Séviac*. Paris: Editions du CNRS.
- Moon, W. G., ed. 1995. *Polykleitos, the Doryphoros, and tradition*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Moreno Alcaide, M. 2011. "La villa del Mitra (Cabra). Puesta al día de las investigaciones." *Antiquitas* 23: 177-187.
- Mulvin, L. 2002. *Late Roman Villas in the Danube-Balkan Region*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Muñiz, I. 2000. "Nuevos datos sobre la necrópolis tardoantigua y de época visigoda de El Ruedo, Almedinilla-Córdoba (Avance): ¿Haciendo hablar a los muertos?" *Antiquitas* 11-12: 111-174.
- Munro, B. 2012. "Recycling, Demand for Materials, and Landownership at Villas in Italy and the Western Provinces in Late Antiquity." *JRA* 25: 351-70.
- Muntasser, N. K. 2003. *The Late Antique Domus in Ostia: Patterns of Diversity and Transformation*. Thesis (Ph.D.) Austin: University of Texas.
- Muthmann, F. 1951. *Statuenstützen und dekoratives Beiwerk an griechischen und römischen Bildwerken: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der römischen Kopistentätigkeit*. Heidelberg: C. Winter.
- Neudecker, R. 1988. *Die Skulpturenausstattung römischer Villen in Italien*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Nogales Basarrate, T., ed. 1993. *Actas de la I Reunión Sobre Escultura Romana en Hispania*. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1997. *El retrato privado en Augusta Emerita*. Badajoz: Diputación Provincial de Badajoz, Consejería de Cultura y Patrimonio de la Junta de Extremadura.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2004. "La escultura," in X. Dupré Raventós, ed. 113-129.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2014. "Late antique sculpture in Augusta Emerita and its territory (Hispania): *officinae*, patterns, and circuits," in S. Birk, T. Kristensen, B. Poulsen and P. Liverani, eds. 116-131.
- Nogales Basarrate, T. and M. L. Creus Luque. 1999. "Escultura de villae en el territorio emeritense. Nuevas aportaciones," in J.-G. Gorges and F. G. Rodriguez Martin, eds. 499-523.
- Nogales Bassarrate, T., A. Carvalho and M. J. Almeida. 2002. "O Grupo Escultórico da Villa Romana da Quinta das Longas (São Vicente e Ventosa, Elvas)," in *Religiões da Lusitânia: Loquuntur Saxa*, J. Cardim Ribeiro, ed. (Lisbon: Museu Nacional de Arqueologia). 297-301.
- \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, and \_\_\_\_\_. 2004. "El programa decorativo de la Quinta das Longas (Elvas, Portugal): un modelo excepcional de las *villae* de la Lusitania," in T. Nogales Basarrate and L. J. Gonçalves, eds. 103-156.

- Nogales Basarrate, T., and L. J. Gonçalves, eds. 2004. *Actas de la IV Reunión sobre Escultura Romana en Hispania*. Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Cultura.
- Noguera Celdrán, J. M., ed. 1995. *Poblamiento rural romano en el sureste de Hispania: (actas de las Jornadas celebradas en Jumilla del 8 al 11 de noviembre de 1993)*. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia.
- Olesti, O. 1997. "El origen de las *villae* romanas en Catalunya". *AEspA* 45-47: 157-165.
- Oliveira, C., A. Carvalho and M. J. Almeida. 2011. "La Villa da Quinta das Longas (Elvas, Portugal): Les mosaïques du Bas-Empire," in *Xº Colóquio Internacional da Associação Internacional para o Estudo do Mosaico Antigo (AIEMA)*. (Coimbra: Instituto Português de Museus/Museu Monográfico de Conimbriga). 903-911.
- Paris, P., and A. Engel. 1906. "Fouilles et recherches à Almedinilla (Province Cordoba)." *Revue Archeologique* 8: 49-92.
- Peña, Y. 2005-2006. "Producción de vino y aceite en los asentamientos Rurales de Hispania durante la Antigüedad Tardía (s. IV-VII d.C.)." *Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología* 31-32: 103-116.
- Pereira Boto, J. M. 1895. "Cabeça de uma Estátua Luso-Romana de Milreu (Estoi)." *O Arqueólogo português* 1: 136-138.
- Pérez Olmedo, E. 1996. *Revestimientos de opus sectile en la Península Ibérica*. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid. Secretariado de Publicaciones E I.
- Perry, E. 2005. *The Aesthetics of Emulation in the Visual Arts of Ancient Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pessoa, M. 1991. "Villa romaine de Rabaçal, Penela (Coimbra-Portugal): Realités et perspectives." *Conimbriga* 30: 109-119.
- Petersen, L. H. 2006. *The Freedman in Roman Art and Art History*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Pinheiro e Rosa, J. A. 1969. "O Passado, o Presente e o Future das Ruínas de Milreu." *Anaís do município de Faro* 1: 65-96.
- Pires, A. Th. 1901. "Catálogo del Museo Arqueológico de Elvas." *O Archeologo Português* 6 (8-12): 217-224.
- Pollini, J. 2002. *Gallo-Roman Bronzes and the Process of Romanization: The Cobannus Hoard*. Leiden; Boston: Brill.
- Pollitt, J. J. 1986. *Art in the Hellenistic age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Poulsen, B. 2014. "City Personifications in Late Antiquity," in S. Birk, T. M. Kristensen, and B. Poulsen, eds. 209-226.
- Prusac, M. 2011. *From Face to Face: recurving of Roman portraits and the late-antique portrait arts*. Leiden: Brill.
- Puerta, C., M. A. Elvira and T. Artigas. 1994. "La colección de esculturas halladas en Valdetorres de Jarama." *AEspA* 67: 179-200.
- Quaresma, A. 1966. "Vetigios da cultura romana encontrados nas ruínas do Milreu." *Diário de notícias*, Aug. 2.

- Quesada Sanz, F., J. F. Murillo Redondo and D. Vaquerizo Gil. 1992. "Excavación arqueológica con sondeos estratigráficos en Cerro de Las Cabezas (Fuente Tojar, Córdoba). Campaña de 1991. Avance a su estudio," *Anales de arqueología cordobesa* 3: 171-197.
- Rachou, H. 1912. *Catalogue des collections de sculpture et d'épigraphie du Musée de Toulouse*. Toulouse: E. Privat.
- Ramos i Martínez, M.-L., and C. Puigferrat i Oliva. 1998. *Del romà al romànic: història, art i cultura de la Tarraconense mediterrània entre els segles IV i X*. Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana.
- Rascón Marqués, S. 1995. *La Ciudad Hispanorromana de Complutum*. Madrid : Comunidad de Madrid, Consejería de Educación y Cultura.
- Rautman, M. 2004. "Valley and Village in Late Roman Cyprus," in W. Bowden, L. Lavan and C. Machado, eds. 189-218.
- Rebello, B. 1881. "Cabeça de mulher encontrada nas termas de Ossonoba." *O Occidente* 4: 190.
- Réchin, F., ed. 2006. *Nouveaux regards sur les villae d'Aquitaine: bâtiments de vie et d'exploitation, domaines et postérités médiévales : actes de la table ronde de Pau, 24-25 novembre 2000*. Pau: Publications de l'Université de Pau.
- Remolà, J. A. 2002 "Centcelles y las villae de Tarraco durante la Antigüedad tardía," in J. Arce, ed. 97-112.
- Renfrew, C., and J. F. Cherry. 1986. *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rees, R. 1993. "A Re-Examination of Tetrarchic Iconography." *Greece & Rome* 40 (2) 181-200.
- Ribeiro, J. C., ed. 2002. *Religiões da Lusitânia: loquuntur saxa*. Lisboa: MC, Ministério da Cultura.
- Ridgway, B.S. 1984. *Roman copies of Greek sculpture: the problem of the originals*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1995. "Review Article: The wreck off Mahdia, Tunisia and the art-market in the early 1st c. B.C." *JRA* 8: 340-347.
- Rigoir, J. 1968. "Les sigillées paléochrétiennes grises et orangées." *Gallia* 26 177-244.
- Roberts, M. 1989. *The Jeweled Style: Poetry and Poetics in Late Antiquity*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Roda, S. 1985. "Fuga nel private e nostalgia del potere nel I secolo d. C.: nuovi accenti di un'antica ideologia," in *Le trasformazioni della cultura nella Tardoantichità, Atti del Convegno di Catania (27 sett.-2 ott. 1982)*: 95-110.
- Rodriguez Olivia, P. 1993. "Ciclos escultóricos en la casa y en la ciudad de la Bética," in T. Nogales, ed. 23-61.
- Roueché, C. 1984. "Acclamations in the later Roman empire: new evidence from Aphrodisias." *JRS* 74: 181-199.
- Roschach, E. 1865. *Musée de Toulouse. Catalogue des antiquités et objets d'art*.

- Toulouse: Musée de Toulouse.
- Rose, C. B. 1997. *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rossiter, J. 2007. "Domus and Villa: Late antique housing in Carthage and its territory," in L. Lavan, L. Özegenel and A. Saranis, eds. 367-392.
- Rosso, E. 2006. *L'image de l'empereur en Gaule romaine: portraits et inscriptions*. Paris: Éd. du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques.
- Russell, A. 2016. *The Politics of Public Space in Republican Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rutledge, S. H. 2012. *Ancient Rome as a Museum: Power, Identity, and the Culture of Collecting*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sablayrolles, R., and A. Beyrie. 2006. *Le Comminges (Haute-Garonne)*. Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres: Ministère de l'éducation nationale, de l'enseignement supérieur et de la recherche.
- Samazeuilh, J.F. 1865. "Mémoire sur les fouilles de Nérac." *Revue d'Aquitaine* 9: 263-78, 345-56, 435-55.
- de los Santos Gallego, S. 1946. "Hallazgos romanos en 'Casilla de la Lampara' (Montilla, Cordoba)." *Cuadernos de Historia Primitiva* 1: 103-105.
- Schade, K. 2003. *Frauen in der Spätantike: Status und Repräsentation ; eine Untersuchung zur römischen und frühbyzantinischen Bildniskunst*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Scott, S. 2000. *Art and Society in Fourth-Century Britain: Villa Mosaics in Context*. Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2004. "Elites, Exhibitionism and the Society of the Late Roman Villa," in N. Christie, ed. 39-66.
- Scott, S. and J. Webster, eds. 2003. *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- de Serpa Pinto, R. 1934. "Inventário dos Mosaicos Romanos em Portugal." *Anuario del Cuerpo Facultativo de Archiveros, Bibliotecarios y Arqueólogos* 1: 161-179.
- Serrano Peña, J. L. 2004. "Consideraciones sobre la producción de aceite en el alto Guadalquivir." *Archivo español de Arqueología* 77: 159-176.
- Serrano Peña, J. L., and J. Cano. 2009. "Intervención Arqueológica Preventiva en la Urbanización UE 4 de la Zona Arqueológica de Marroquíes Bajos (Jaén)." *Anuario Arqueológico Andaluz* 2004 1: 2076-2084.
- Sfamini, C. 2006. *Ville residenziali nell'Italia tardoantica*. Bari: Edipuglia.
- Shaw, B.D. 1981. "Rural markets in North Africa and the political economy of the Roman Empire." *Antiquités Africaines* 17: 37-83.
- Shaya, J. 2014. "Greek Temple Treasures and the Invention of Collecting," in M. W. Gahtan and D. Pegazzano, eds. 24-32.
- Sheridan, J. J. 1966. "The Altar of Victory – Paganism's Last Battle." *L'Antiquité classique* 35: 186-206.



- Sidarius, A., and F. Teichner. 1997. "Termas romanas no *Gharb Al-Ândalus*. As inscrições árabes de Milreu (Estói)." *Arqueologia Medieval* 5: 177-189.
- Sivan, H. 1989. "Town, Country, and Province in Late Roman Gaul: The Example of *CIL* XIII.128." *ZPE* 79: 103-113.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1993. *Ausonius of Bordeaux: Genesis of a Gallic Aristocracy*. London: Routledge.
- Sion, H. 1994. *La Gironde*. Paris: Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme.
- Smith, R. R. R. 1987. "The Imperial Reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias." *JRS* 77: 88-138.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1990. "Late Roman Philosopher Portraits from Aphrodisias." *JRS* 80: 127-155.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1997. "The Public Image of Licinius I: Portrait Sculpture and Imperial Ideology in the Early Fourth Century." *JRS* 87: 170-202.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1999. "Late Antique Portraits in a Public Context: Honorific Statuary at Aphrodisias in Caria, A.D. 300-600." *JRS* 89: 155-189.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2002. "The Statue Monument of Oecumenius: A New Portrait of a Late Antique Governor from Aphrodisias." *JRS* 92: 134-156.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2016. "Three statues and a portrait head: four new finds of public statuary," in *Aphrodisias Papers V*, R. R. R. Smith, J. Lenaghan, A. Sokolicek and K. Welch, eds. (Ann Arbor: Journal of Roman Archaeology). 292-302.
- Smith, R. R. R., and J. Lenaghan. 2006. *Roman portrait statuary from Aphrodisias*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Smith, R. R. R., and K. T. Erim. 1991. *Aphrodisias papers. the theatre, a sculptor's workshop, philosophers, and coin-types*. Ann Arbor: Journal of Roman Archaeology.
- Smith, R. R. R. and B. Ward-Perkins. 2016. *The Last Statues of Antiquity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- de Souza, V. 1990. *Corpus signorum imperii Romani. Corpus der Skulpturen der römischen Welt. Portugal*. Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra Instituto de Arqueologia.
- Squarciapino, M. 1943. *La Scuola Di Afrodisia*. Rome: Governatorato di Roma
- von Stackelberg, K. T. 2009. *The Roman garden: space, sense, and society*. London: Routledge.
- Stéphanus, F. 1986. "Castelculier Grandfonds, Fouilles, sauvetages et sondages en Lot-en Garonne." *Archéologie en Aquitaine* 5: 72-5.
- Stephens, J. 2008. "Ancient Roman hairdressing: on (hair)pins and needles." *JRA* 21: 111-132.
- Stertz, S. A. 1977. "Marcus Aurelius as Ideal Emperor in Late-Antique Greek Thought." *Classical World* 70: 433-439.
- Stewart, P. 2003. *Statues in Roman society: representation and response*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- \_\_\_\_\_. 2007. "Continuity and Tradition in Late Antique Perceptions of Portrait Statuary," in F. A. Bauer and C. Witschel, eds. 27-42.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2010. "Geographies of Provincialism in Roman Sculpture." *RIHA Journal* 0005 (accessed 27 July 2016).
- Stirling, L. 1996. "Gods Heroes and Ancestors: Sculptural Decoration in Late-antique Aquitania." *Aquitania* 14: 209-230.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1997. "Late-antique Goddesses and Other Statuary at the Villa of La Garenne-de-Nérac." *Echos du Monde Classique* 41: 149-176.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2005. *The Learned Collector: mythological statuettes and classical taste in late antique Gaul*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2007. "Statuary Collecting and Display in the Late Antique Villas of Gaul and Spain: A Comparative Study," in F. A. Bauer and C. Witschel, eds. 307-21.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2008. "Pagan Statuettes in Late Antique Corinth: Sculpture from the Panayia Domus." *Hesperia* 77(1): 89-161.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2014a. "The opportunistic collector: sources of statuary décor and the nature of late antique collecting," in M. Wellington Gahtan and D. Pegazzano, eds. 137-145.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2014b. "Collections, Canons, and Context: the Afterlife of Greek Masterpieces in Late Antiquity," in S. Birk, T. M. Kristensen, and B. Poulsen, eds. 97-111
- Strong, D. E. 1973. "Roman museums," in *Archaeological Theory and Practice*, ed. D. E. Strong and W. F. Grimes, eds (London: Seminar Press): 247-64.
- Strong, D. E., and J. M. C. Toynbee. 1976. *Roman art*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Sutherland, C. H. V., and R. A. G. Carson. 1967. *The Roman Imperial coinage*. London: Spink.
- Swift, E. 2006. "Constructing Roman Identities in Late Antiquity: Material Culture on the Western Frontier," in W. Bowden, A. Gutteridge, and C Machado, eds. 95-111.
- Taelman, D. et al 2013. "Roman Marble from Lusitania: petrographic and geochemical characterisation." *Journal of Archaeological Science* 40 (5): 2227-2236.
- Tarrats Bou, F. 1996. "Tárraco, topografía urbana y arqueología de los vertederos," in *La eliminación de residuos en la ciudad romana. Actas de la reunión*, X. Dupré and J. M. Remolà Vallverdú, eds. (Roma: Erma di Bretschneider).129-137.
- Tarrats Bou, F., J. M. Macias I Solé, E. Ramon Sariñena and J. A. Remolà Vallverdú. 1998. "Excavacions a l'àrea residencial de la villa romana dels Munts (Altafulla, Tarragonès)." *Empúries* 51: 197-225.
- \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_. 2000. "Nuevas actuaciones en el área residencial de la villa romana de 'Els Munts' (Altafulla, Ager Tarraconensis)." *MM* 41: 358-379.
- Tarrats Bou, F., J. A. Remolà Vallverdú, and J. Sánchez Gil de Mantes. 2006. "La villa romana dels Munts (Altafulla, Tarragonès) i Tarraco." *Tribuna d'arqueologia* 2006: 213-28.

- Teichner, F. 1994. "Acera da vila romana de Milreu/Estói. Continuidade da ocupação na época árabe." *Arqueologia Medieval* 3: 89-100.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1997. "Die römischen Villen von Milreu (Algarve/Portugal) Ein Betrag zur Romanisierung der südlichen Provinz Lusitania." *MM* 38: 106-162
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2001. "Uma nova interpretação da área 21, a partir da planta elaborada por Sebastião Philippes Martins Estácio da Veiga, sobre a Villa romana de Milreu (Estoi, Algarve) – notícia preliminar." *O Arqueólogo português* 19: 188-198.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2008. *Entre tierra y mar = Zwischen Land und Meer - Architektur und Wirtschaftsweise ländlicher Siedlungsplätze im Süden der römischen Provinz Lusitanien (Portugal)*. Mérida: Museo Nacional de Arte Romano.
- Thébart, Y. 1987. "Vie privée et architecture domestique en Afrique romaine," in *Histoire de la vie privée I. De l'empire romain à l'an mil*, P. Veyne, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). 313-409.
- Torres Carro, M. 1978. "La escena de Ulises y las sirenas del mosaico de Santa Vitória (Portugal)." *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* (Universidad de Valladolid) 44: 89-102
- Trillmich, W. 1974. "Ein Bildnis der Agrippina Minor von Milreu/Portugal." *MM* 15: 184-202.
- Uhlenbrock, J. P., and K. Galinsky, eds. 1986. *Herakles: passage of the hero through 1000 years of classical art*. New Rochelle: A.D. Caratzas.
- Valenti, S. 1936. "Cicerone collezionista" *AeR* 3 (4): 262-70.
- Van Dam, R. 1985. *Leadership and community in late antique Gaul*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Varner, E. 2014. "Maxentius, Constantine, and Hadrian: Images and the Expropriation of Imperial Identity," in S. Birk, T. Myrup Kristensen and B. Poulsen, eds. 48-77.
- Vaquerizo Gil, D. 1990a. "El Ruedo. Una villa excepcional en Córdoba." *Revista de Arqueología* 107: 36-48
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1990b. "La decoración escultórica de la villa romana de 'El Ruedo' (Almedinilla, Córdoba)." *Anales de Arqueología Cordobesa* 1: 125-154
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1990c. "La villa romana de 'El Ruedo' (Almedinilla, Córdoba)." *Aespa* 63: 295-316.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1993. "El uso del marmol en la decoracion arquitectonica y escultorica de villae cordobesas," in J. M. Noguera Celdrán, ed. 81-106.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1994. "El Hypnos de Almedinilla (Córdoba). Aproximación formal e iconográfica." *MM* 35: 359-379.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2006. "La villa romana de El Ruedo (Almedinilla, Córdoba), paradigma de asentamiento rural en Baetica," in C. Fernández Ochoa, V. García-Entero and F. Gil Sendino, eds. 261-283.
- Vaquerizo Gil, D., and J. R. Carrillo Díaz-Pines. 1995. "The Roman villa of El Ruedo (Almedinilla, Córdoba)." *JRA* 8: 121-158.

- \_\_\_\_\_. 1997. *La villa Romana de El Ruedo (Almedinilla, Córdoba). Decoración, Escultórica e Interpretación*. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia.
- Vaquerizo Gil, D. and J. F. Murrillo and F. Quesada. 1994. "Ciudades romanas en la Subbética cordobesa." *La ciudad en el mundo romano. Actas del XIV CIAC, Tarragona II*: 418-419.
- Vergain, P. 2006. "Le devenir des *villae* tardives : pour une approche de la christianisation," in F. Réchin, ed. 379-399.
- Vermeule, C. C. 1977. *Greek Sculpture and Roman Taste: The Purpose and Setting of Graeco Roman Art in Italy and the Greek Imperial East*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Videbeck, C. 2015. "Private Collections of Sculpture in Late Antiquity: An Overview of the Form, Function and Tradition," in *Transmission of Culture in the Ancient World*, J. Fejfer, M. Moltesen, and A. Rathie, eds. (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, University of Copenhagen). 451-480.
- Visser, J. 2014. "Sidonius Apollinaris, *Ep.* II.2: The Man and His Villa." *Journal for Late Antique Religion and Culture* 8: 26-45.
- Wallace-Hadrill, A. 1994. *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Ward-Perkins, B. 2015. "The end of the statue habit, AD 284-620," in R. R. R. Smith and B. Ward-Perkins, eds. 295-308.
- Wegner, M. 1939. *Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.
- Webster, J. 2003. "Art as Resistance and Negotiation," in S. Scott and J. Webster, eds. 24-51.
- Wegner, M. 1939. *Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.
- Weiss, Roberto. 1969. *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity*. Oxford: B. Blackwell.
- Weisweiler, J. 2012. "From equality to asymmetry: honorific statues, imperial power, and senatorial identity in late-antique Rome." *JRA* 25: 319-350.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2015. "Domesticating the Senatorial Elite: Universal Monarchy and Transregional Aristocracy in the Fourth Century AD," in J. Weinand. 17-41.
- Wellington Gahtan, M. and D. Pegazzano. 2015. *Museum archetypes and collecting in the ancient world*. Leiden: Brill.
- Whittaker, C. R. and P. Garnsey. 1998. "Rural life in the later Roman Empire," in A. Cameron and P. Garnsey, eds. 277-311.
- Whittow, M. 2013. "How Much Trade was Local, Regional, and Inter-Regional? A Comparative Perspective on the Late Antique Economy," in L. Lavan, ed. 131-65.
- Wienand, J, ed. 2015. *Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Williams, J. 2012. "Approaches to Artefact Assemblages, Inventories, Imagery and Stratified Deposits," in *Field Methods and Post-Excavation Techniques in Late Antique Archaeology*, L. Lavan and M. Mulryan, eds. (Leiden: Brill): 413-440.

- Wilson, R. J. A. 1983. *Piazza Armerina*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Witschel, C. 2016. "Hispania, Gallia, and Raetia," in R. R. R. Smith and B. Ward-Perkins, eds. 69-79.
- Wood, S. E. 1986. *Roman portrait sculpture, 217-260 AD: the transformation of an artistic tradition*. Leiden: Brill.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1988. "Memoriae Agrippinae: Agrippina the Elder in Julio-Claudian Art and Propaganda." *AJA* 92 (3): 409-426.
- Woodward, A., P. Leach, and J. Bayley. 1993. *The Uley Shrines: Excavation of a Ritual Complex on West Hill, Uley, Gloucestershire - 1977-9*. London: English Heritage in association with British Museum Press.
- Woolf, G. 1998. *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*.
- Wrede, H. 1972. *Die spätantike Hermengalerie von Welschbillig; Untersuchung zur Kunsttradition im 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr. und zur allgemeinen Bedeutung des antiken Hermenmals*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Zanker, P. 1979. "Die Villa als Vorgild des späten pompejanischen Wohngeschmacks." *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 94: 460-523.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1988a. *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1998b. *Pompeii: public and private life*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.