

The Mosaics from the Roman *Villa* of Pisões (Beja, Portugal). The Decorative Programme and Its Significance in the Spatial Organization of the *Villa*

Pisões Roma Villasından Mozaikler (Beja, Portekiz). Dekoratif Program ve Villanın Mekânsal Organizasyonundaki Önemi

Maria de Jesus DURAN KREMER - Miguel SERRA*

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Abstract

Located in the Conventus Pacensis, about 7 km southwest of the Roman Pax Julia (today: Beja), this imposing Roman villa is a reference point in the study of the Roman settlements in the south of present-day Portugal. Within this group of constructions in Pisões only the pars urbana has in large part been uncovered: the existence of the wall of a dam, an aqueduct and some peripheral constructions has already been ascertained over the years.

It is here that one of the most relevant sets of mosaics with figurative, vegetal and geometric motifs for the study of Roman mosaics can be found and allow the identification of possible mosaic workshops in the current territory of Portugal. Apart from a very concise description by Fernando Nunes Ribeiro in 1972, these mosaics have not yet been studied in depth.

In the scope of this work the mosaics of this villa uncovered till today - most of them unpublished - are inventoried using a methodological approach of registration, study and publication, highlighting the interrelation of the pavement and the spatial planning.

Keywords: Roman mosaics, inventory, decorative programme, interaction decoration/architecture, mosaic workshop.


Öz


Conventus Pacensis 'te, Roma Dönemi Pax Julia 'nın (bugünkü: Beja) yaklaşık 7 km güneybatısında yer alan bu görkemli Roma villası, günümüz Portekizinin güneyindeki Roma yerleşimlerinin incelenmesinde bir referans noktasıdır. Pisões 'teki bu yapı grubu içinde yalnızca pars urbana büyük ölçüde ortaya çıkarılmıştır: bir baraj duvarının, bir su kemerinin ve bazı çevre yapılarının varlığı yıllar içinde tespit edilmiştir.

Roma mozaiklerinin incelenmesi için figüratif, bitkisel ve geometrik motiflere sahip en uygun mozaik gruplarından biri burada bulunmaktadır ve günümüzdeki Portekiz sınırları içinde olası mozaik atölyelerinin tanımlanmasına olanak tanımaktadır. 1972 'de Fernando Nunes Ribeiro 'nun çok kısa bir açıklaması dışında, bu mozaikler henüz derinlemesine çalışılmamıştır.

Bu çalışma kapsamında, bu villanın bugüne kadar ortaya çıkarılan - çoğu yayınlanmamış - mozaiklerinin envanteri, metodolojik bir kaydı, çalışma ve yayın yaklaşımı kullanılarak, mozaik döşemeler ve mekânsal planlama arasındaki karşılıklı ilişki irdelenmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Roma mozaikleri, envanter, dekoratif program, etkileşimli dekorasyon/mimari, mozaik atölyesi.

* Maria de Jesus S. Duran Kremer, Integrated Researcher at the Institute of Art History, School of Social Sciences and Humanities, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, Colégio Almada Negreiros, Campus de Campolide 1070-312 Lisboa, Portugal. PI and coordinator of the international project RoGeMoPorTur.  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4276-9988>. E-mail: mjesuskremer@hotmail.com

Miguel Serra, Culture and Heritage Division of Serpa City Council. Centre of Studies on Archaeology, Arts and Heritage Sciences - University of Coimbra, Portugal.  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1247-8621>. E-mail: miguel.antonio.serra@gmail.com

Introduction

To speak of the Roman mosaics of Pisões means, for scholars of Roman mosaic that have been following - even if from afar - the fate of this beautiful Roman *villa* since the 80's of the last century, to remember more or less happy moments, according to the state of conservation of the mosaic pavements, of the paintings still visible on the walls of several rooms, and finally the firm desire to make available to the scientific community the documentation gathered along the years.

A firm desire common to both authors of this article: the first, considered by his peers as “one of the greatest authorities on the knowledge of the site”¹, participated from very early on in the work of prospection and individualization of the structures; the second, for having the *villa* of Pisões, with its mosaics, been determinant to define from the very first moment her field of work and research par excellence.

In the present article we will try, therefore, to present as complete a vision as possible of the Roman *villa* of Pisões and its mosaics, as it presents itself today, without, however, pretending to substitute an in-depth study of its architecture and decoration.

In doing so, we will use as base the plan of the *villa* published for the first time by Fernando Nunes Ribeiro (1972), to which we introduce small alterations that correspond to precisions registered during the works carried out along the years. This is because all the works carried out since the 1970s have followed this plan and the numbering of the rooms provided for in it: a reorganisation of this numbering, although more coherent with the analysis made by the authors in their study, would make the reading of it and the comparison with the works already published extremely difficult.

Location

The Roman *villa* of Pisões is located in Herdade de Almocreva, a rural area integrated in the União of Freguesias of Santiago Maior and São João Batista, belonging to the municipality of Beja (Portugal) (Fig. 1). It is an archaeological site currently managed by the University of Évora, owner of the land where most of the *villa* remains are located, namely the *pars urbana*². Previous publications indicate that it belongs to the Herdade da Algramassa, a property integrated in the Herdade de Almocreva (Ribeiro 1972: 15).

It is located at a distance of about 7 km as the crow flies from the city of Beja, the former *Colonia Pax Ivliia* - seat of the *Conventvs Pacensis* - and a little over 3 km from the village of Penedo Gordo, the nearest locality. The *villa*, which is open to the public, can be accessed via the N18 and IP8 roads, from which there are several rural paths, some with signs indicating the archaeological site.

The *pars urbana*, the main excavated and visitable area (Fig. 2), develops along a gentle slope in a northwest-southeast direction, with elevations between 181 and 175 m, bordered to the southeast by the Ribeira da Chaminé (stream), and in the remaining directions by flat agricultural land (Figs. 2-3).

1 Professor Bento Caldeira (University of Évora), 2 November 2021, to whom we thank for all the support given in the preparation of this article.

2 Collaboration agreement between the University of Évora, Beja Municipality and the Regional Directorate for Culture of Alentejo: https://cms.cmbeja.pt/upload_files/client_id_1/Viver/Municipio/Cmara_Municipalbeja.pt/upload_files/client_id_1/website_id_1/Viver/Municipio/Camara_Municipal/Atas/2019/Ata_n_09_2019-05-08.pdf (policopied document).

Figure 1
Lusitania @ Carlos Sanchez
(Casa de Velazquez).

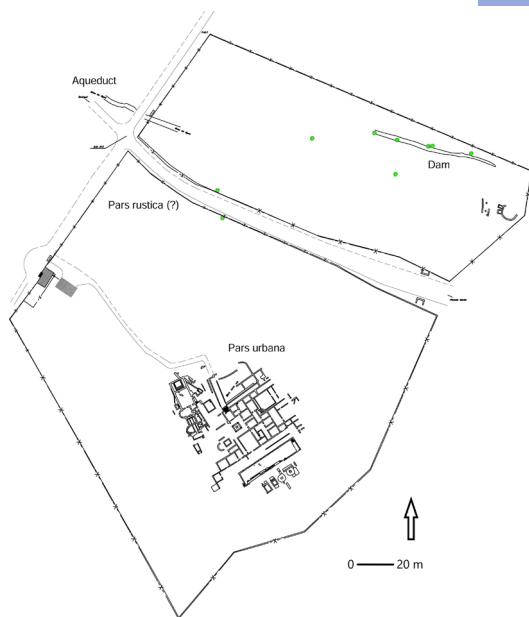


Figure 2
General plan of the *Villa* (adapted from Serra 2007) @ Serra.



Figure 3
Aerial view of Pisões @ Arrow4d -
Consultores de Engenharia e Geofísica.

The surrounding area is occupied by recently established intensive or super-intensive almond groves and olive groves, whereas traditionally this land was used for cereal crops.

History of Investigation

The discovery of Pisões is reported in 1967 in the pages of the *Diário de Notícias*, where, in a short interview with Fernando Nunes Ribeiro, who was to be the author of the archaeological works that followed, the *villa*'s appearance is mentioned as the result of agricultural works (AAVV 1967: 115). In the monographic work published later (Ribeiro 1972: 14), the author is more detailed, indicating that the clearing of the land to prepare it for cultivation uncovered a fragment of mosaic in February 1967, and shortly afterwards work began to evaluate the remains.

The area where the *pars urbana* of the Roman *villa* of Pisões was discovered was not exactly unknown to Fernando Nunes Ribeiro, as a few 150 m to the

northeast was the wall of a Roman dam, identified and published by Abel Viana years before (Viana 1947: 20), clearly related to the water supply to Pisões (Quintela et al. 1986: 85), as well as an underground canal located in a nearby area (Viana 1947: 20). Fernando Nunes Ribeiro also mentions the appearance of many Roman ceramics in an area 200 m south of the dam site, which he prospected with Abel Viana in 1962 (Costa 1988: 98), and which corresponds to the location of the *villa* of Pisões. He regrets that it was not possible to devote more attention to these finds at the time (Ribeiro 1972: 13).

Shortly after these events, in 1964, new Roman remains appeared in the same area, this time three press weights, which the researcher asked the owner, José Fernandes, to keep in the agricultural premises of the Herdade de Almocreva, where other architectural elements would be collected on later occasions (Ribeiro 1972: 14). With the excavation works in 1967 a new phase of the investigation of Pisões begins, which ran continuously until 1973 (Pereira et al. 2013: 304).

The first works focused on carrying out several diagnostic soundings to evaluate the site's potential and were financially supported by the landowner, Carolina Fernandes, and a private. The start of the excavations took place at the same time as the site was being classified as a Property of Public Interest in 1970³, and the work attracted the attention of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, which subsidised the intervention (Ribeiro 1972: 14).

In 1968, 1969 and 1971 archaeological excavations continued, which brought a large part of the *pars urbana* to view, contemplating actions of conservation and restoration of various structures, with particular attention given to the mosaic pavements, with some even being removed from the site (Ribeiro 1972: 14) and resulting in the publication of a small descriptive work of the *villa* (Ribeiro 1972), and which remains to date as the most complete on the site (Pereira et al. 2013: 305). From this phase there are also two publications concerning a first study dedicated to mosaics (Sardica 1971-75) and a *terra sigillata* dish (Soares 1971-75).

Works were also carried out in 1972 and 1973, whose results were not published, and then there was a halt in excavations until 1977 (Pereira et al. 2013: 305).

In 1978 new excavations were carried out, close to the thermal area and to the South of the great *natatio* (Parreira 1979: 27) and they would continue in 1979, still under the direction of Fernando Nunes Ribeiro together with other collaborators, allowing, among other results, to document the area of the *villa*'s necropolis (Pereira et al. 2013: 305).

Between 1980 and 1984 some short-term campaigns were carried out, already without the presence of Fernando Nunes Ribeiro and directed by various other researchers, with only the results of 1980 being published (Sardica - Soares 1984).

The stop in the excavation works leads to a phase of interventions of structure consolidation and during this period some more publications are published, including a more complete analysis of the mosaics that focuses its execution in a time span between the beginning of the 2nd century AD and the beginning of the 4th century AD. (Costa 1988). The period of stagnation in the fieldwork led to the abandonment of the site, as referred to during the 1st Meeting of Archaeology of the Beja Region, in January 1986 (Monteiro - Sardica 1986), and the theft of a large part of the estate that was stored in an agricultural warehouse was even regretted (Mestre - Toucinho 1986: 217).

3 Decreto n.º 251/70, Diário do Governo, 1ª série, n.º 129, de 3 de Junho de 1970.

Between 1985 and 1992 maintenance, protection, conservation and restoration of structures were carried out, as well as the delimitation of the area to be fenced and the preparation of a visiting circuit, within the project for the Safeguarding and Recovery of the Roman *Villa* of Pisões. Many of the restoration works of this period focused on the mosaics, either by sealing and protecting them to avoid damage or by occasional consolidations, since most of the mosaics were subjected to removal and replacement of the support by another in cement during the interventions of the 1960s and early 1970s (Beloto 2010: 194).

In 1997, new archaeological excavations were carried out as part of the Itinerários Arqueológicos do Alentejo e Algarve project, with the aim of assessing the location of the Interpretation Centre, to support visitors, and some conservation and restoration work, which was not published. This equipment was to be built in an area distinct from that which was the object of the archaeological excavation and, in 2003, the archaeological monitoring of infrastructures to connect to the Interpretation Centre took place. This involved archaeological excavations in an area outside the *villa*'s fenced-off area, documenting the presence of structures possibly related to the *pars rustica* (Serra 2007: 505).

In recent years there have been no excavations in Pisões (Fig. 3), mainly developing archaeometric work, focused on mortar analysis (Borsoi et al. 2019) and the application of non-invasive analytical methods (Davies 2018; Caldeira et al. 2019).

Following the transfer of the management of the *villa* of Pisões from the Alentejo Regional Culture Directorate to the University of Évora, the Action Plan for the Roman *Villa* of Pisões was presented, aimed at developing the areas of research, enhancement and dissemination through the creation of an Experimental Field for Archaeosciences and Heritage Sciences at the University of Évora (AAVV 2016), and its full realisation is awaited for the desired affirmation of Pisões in the national archaeological panorama.

The Spatial Planning of the *Villa*

Despite the long history of work in Pisões, few scientific studies have been produced over the years, lacking above all a global and profound analysis⁴ of the structures and the spatial arrangement of this *villa*. An analysis so much more necessary, as the frequent works of consolidation of the structures, for not being documented in its almost totality, demand a global approach that allows the definition of the different phases of construction - and therefore also of occupation - of the *villa*⁵. On the other hand, the fact that the *pars urbana* has not been completely excavated, and that work has not even begun on the *pars rustica*, does not allow a reasoned appreciation of the spatial arrangement as a whole⁶. However, and in a methodological approach to the existing structures, we put forward a hypothesis to define the distribution and purpose of some spaces, in order to allow a first approach to the relationship floor/space to be decorated (Fig. 4).

4 As an example, we can mention some publications that have been made in more recent times, after the fieldwork in Pisões was finished and that have focused on different aspects, such as the mosaics (Duran Kremer 1998, Wrench 1998), the baths (Reis 2004; Couto 2007), the remains, namely the amphorae (Lagares Rivero et al. 2013), or brief reports on missing sculptural pieces (Borrela 2008), as well as the inclusion of epigraphic analysis in José d'Encarnação's unavoidable study on the *Conventus Pacensis* (Encarnação 1984).

5 We do not have any information about the wall reconstruction work carried out in parallel with the excavation of the *villa* by F. Nunes Ribeiro, so we will stick strictly to the structures as they are today.

6 In this work we follow the classification of J-G Gorges (1979), which we consider basic for the study of the Roman *villae* of the Iberian Peninsula. (Gorges 1979: 109-151).

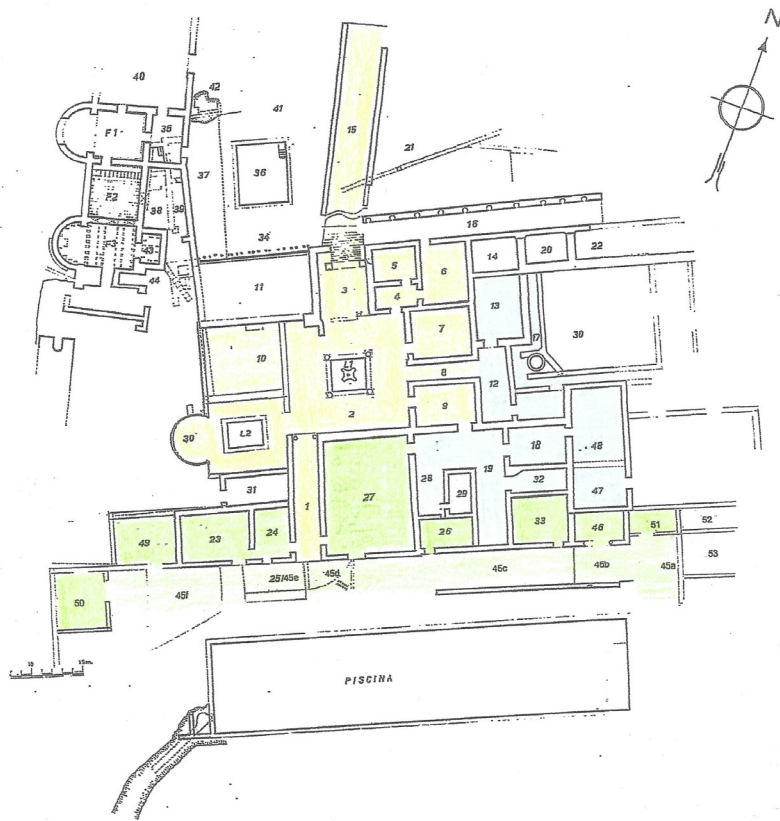


Figure 4
Updated plan of the *villa* (Ribeiro)
@ Duran Kremer.

The architectonic structures of the *pars urbana* of Pisões uncovered until today show us that we are dealing with a complex monumental *villa*, type G, (Gorges 1979: 131), considered as “the most representative of the luxurious and monumental character of the great aulic *villae*” (*ibid*). Built on a gently sloping terrain, it shows a frequent unevenness between the different rooms, overcome by the use of steps and spaces to reinforce the upper level of the terrain, when very steep⁷. At the same time, these reinforcements would give rise to interior green spaces, very characteristic of this type of *villa*. In fact, and as Gorges correctly underlines when characterising the *villa* type G and referring to Pisões, “dans les pays du” Sud-Ouest ou de la Méditerranée, la villa aulique s’ouvre plus largement sur ses jardins, tout en conservant le goût des perspectives intérieures. Près de Beja, la *villa* de Pisões étagée sur différents niveaux sa cour d’honneur avec bassin, son atrium d’entrée, ses thermes et ses parterres à galeries portiquées”⁸ (Gorges 1979 :132 pl.XLVIII).

In a first analysis of the spatial arrangement of the *villa*, the existing structures point to a definition of four distinct sectors⁹. The first, constituted by the access corridor, with its monumental staircase, the vestibule that opens for the peristyle, and the distribution of what can be considered as more representative rooms from this one (spaces 15, 3, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 30), would have probably corresponded

7 This would be the case in space 22, where we can still see today the reinforcements of the wall that supports the portico 16.

8 “In the countries of the south-west or the Mediterranean, the *aulic* villa opens up more widely onto its gardens, while retaining the taste for interior perspectives. Near Beja, the *villa* of Pisões has a courtyard of honour with a pool, an entrance atrium, thermal baths and flowerbeds with porticoed galleries on different levels” (translation by de author). Alarcão (1988: 114) raises the hypothesis that the Roman *villa* of Pisões is “a step in the creation of another architectural model”, which is followed by Couto 2007: XXVII.

9 The present analysis is based, as said before, on the structures as they are at the moment, without identifying possible construction phases, modifications or enlargement of the initial plan.

to the area destined to the social life of the landowner¹⁰. The second, turned to the South, gathers structures that point specifically to an area of leisure, next to the *natatio*¹¹ (spaces 46, 33, 26, 27,24, 23, 49, 45, 25). The third would correspond probably to the sector reserved for family life (13, 12, 17, 18, 19, 28, 29, 32, 48, 47), where the space 28/19 would correspond to the access of this sector to the gallery and to the south *natatio* of the *villa*¹². The fourth would be constituted by the baths built in a northwest-southwest axis.

This almost tight definition of the different living sectors in the *villa* is clearly present in the choice of the accesses from one sector to the other: the indirect access to the south sector from the peristyle is only possible through corridor 2 and, from there, through rooms 24 and/or 27¹³ from where the gallery and, from there, all the rooms of this sector can be accessed.

This special arrangement broadly respects the Vitruvian principles of axiality (corridor 15 - room 3 - peristyle 2 - corridor 1), symmetry (portico 16 - south gallery¹⁴; rooms 7+9 - 10+30) and the orthogonality of the main rooms, attributing to the peristyle “in the architectural organization of the villa or the urban house, the function of domestic space planning and circulation between the different “sectors” as foreseen in the Vitruvian norm of separation of the common and private parts of the building, adapting the house to the function and the status of the owner” (Duran Kremer 2021: 141).

The aspect of the interior perspectives is also respected in the southern part of the *villa*: thus, to the south of the peristyle, a space probably for leisure is introduced (rooms 28, 29, 19) as well as a prioritization of the accesses to the rooms further to the east of the central body.

The Mosaics: Catalogue

“The decoration of the floor of a room obeyed, yesterday as today, a prior choice of all the decoration, in order to achieve a harmonious and coherent global effect. Decorating a floor with mosaic required, *a priori*, an initial choice between a merely geometric, figurative or mixed decoration, with or without plant or animal elements to fill the spaces created. Whatever the choice, the floor was treated as a uniform surface, which had to be decorated according to the iconography chosen by the owner. In the case of a non-figurative composition a predefined geometric scheme is generally used, which may provide for the use of different compositions: if it is a surface composition, a single geometric scheme is used for the entire surface to be decorated; if different priority areas are individualized within the same flooring, different schemes may be used. The choice made, linked to the argumentative syntax of the flooring, often allows it to be situated in time and in the musive environment in which it is set” (Duran Kremer 2008: 61).

10 About farming see Alarcão 1974:104-118; Gorges 1979:40 (“Thus, many great estates in Lusitania were created or flourished during the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Around Pax Julia, there are the villas of Monte do Meio, Fonte de Frades, Quintos, Pisões with important rustic outbuildings or, further north, Beringel”, translation by the author).

11 On *natatio* see Couto 2007: XLI -XLIII

12 Couto 2007: XXXII

13 It is possible that there was a connection between space 26 and 19/28: the lack of data on the construction of the walls outlined in some plans reduces this possibility to a mere hypothesis to be considered.

14 Considered by some authors as a south-facing portico (Alarcão 1974:112; IPPAR: Guia) we think we are dealing with a “gallery” that, although constituting the south façade of the *villa*, is accessible from the outside but at the same time allows access to the rooms that constitute the façade and, indirectly, to the central body of the house (Gorges 1979:122).

An almost impossible task, when - as in the case of Pisões - not all pavements are accessible and some are deeply degraded if not destroyed by the action of time and Man. Therefore, the present Catalogue is mainly the result of a collection and analysis of publications and information collected by the authors - published or not - about the pavements in question, without, therefore, pretending to be exhaustive. The lack of stratigraphic data in relation to the pavements surveyed and consolidated in the 1970s or later, together with the non-identification of structures corresponding to possible phases of construction of the *villa*, do not allow for a dating of the different pavements based on archaeological evidence. Thus, the advanced dating should be considered as a working hypothesis, based on merely stylistic criteria¹⁵.

In the same way, the almost impossibility, in some cases, of definitively confirming the correct location of certain mosaic fragments (documented by photographs from the 1980s) is underlined in the corresponding sheet: However, whenever possible, an attempt is made to identify them on the basis of the data at our disposal¹⁶.

Catalogue

Mosaic Room 15 (Fig. 5)



Figure 5
Room 15 @ Serra / Duran Kremer.

Architectural context: North entrance/ corridor of the *villa*; Present location: *in situ*

Dimensions: 18.20 x 3.20 m

Chromaticism: polychrome (white, black, red and yellow in different shades)

15 Costa 1988: 118 considers a chronology for the mosaics of Pisões between the 2nd and 4th century, which is followed by Couto 2007: CXXXV. The merely stylistic criteria, however, have to be combined with other factors: it is common knowledge that motifs and styles could continue over time, depending on the geographical area where the mosaic was placed, the mosaic workshop that executed it and, last but not least, the iconographic programme chosen by the commissioner of the work and his economic power.

16 Special thanks are due to Carlos Beloto, who very early on made his personal files available to us for the Inventory of the locations of Roman mosaics in Portugal (Duran Kremer 1999: 176-189, with 189 entries), and which we took as a complement to the information given by Ribeiro (1972: 17-40). We have also used photographic material and information collected by us since the 1980's, as well as during the authors' study visits to Pisões in September and November 2021.

Technique of setting: *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm

Material: limestone and ceramics

Support: reinforced concrete; Conservation status: incomplete

For the decoration of the floor of room 15, a single geometric system of ordering of the space to be decorated was used, placed in all over pattern, in two variants of the octagonal system, thus giving rise to three panels: Panel A, next to the North entrance, placed orthogonally (Oktogonsystem II, Salies 1974: 10; Décor I: pl.169 a), Panel B, between Panel A and Panel C (Oktogonsystem I b, Salies 1974: 10), placed diagonally; Panel C, following Panel B, repeats the geometric system of Panel A.

Panel 15A (Fig. 6)

Figure 6
Room 15, Panel A @ Serra / Duran Kremer.



Dimensions: 5 x 3.20 m (Caldeira et al. 2019: 6 fig. 4)

The geometric system of ordering of the space to be decorated is used as the determining element of its decorative grammar: secant octagons, forming in the centre of each octagon a square, bordered on all sides by hexagons of unequal sides. The octagons are outlined on a white background by a row of black *tesserae*, the panel is bordered to the outside by an outline simple guilloche on a coloured ground (Décor I: pl. 70 d). This is followed by a row of black *tesserae* and a wider band of white *tesserae*, without any additional decoration, which ends the composition close to the wall: this delimitation of the composition follows uninterruptedly the three panels decorating room 15.

In the squares formed in the centre of the octagons are inserted smaller squares, decorated with alternating geometric motifs (poised squares and chessboard pattern) in alternating colours of red/yellow or black/yellow.

The hexagons are filled by a smaller hexagon outlined by a row of black *tesserae*, in the centre of which a new hexagon is inserted, outlined by a black or red serrated simple filet, in some cases even without this line. The interior is filled with *tesserae* that follow the movement of the serrated filet. In the centre we can, in some cases, see a serrated simple filet.

At the point of connection to panel B, the composition is finished by a simple row of black *tesserae*.

The lateral finishing of the composition shows that there was no adaptation of the geometric system to the surface to be decorated: while to the south and east the composition ends laterally in triangles filled with smaller triangles in alternating colours, to the north and west the basic motifs are extended until the guilloche framing the composition¹⁷.

Panel 15B (Fig.7)



Figure 7
Room 15, Panel B @ Duran Kremer.

Dimensions: 5.5 x 3.20 m (Caldeira et al. 2019: 6 fig. 4)

Situated between panels A and C, panel B presents an all-over pattern decoration structured on the basic system of octagons (whose sides, in panel B, are not equal) that alternate with small squares formed by aligning the octagons diagonally.

The composition is delimited, as we said above, by a row of black *tesserae*, a outlined simple guilloche on a coloured ground and a band of white *tesserae*.

The decorative syntax of this panel is very carefully established in order to create movement and underline the polychromy of a relatively simple composition. Thus, always on a white background, the geometric shape is repeated inside by a row of black *tesserae*, forming a second regular octagon with a flower made up of 4 lotus calyxes in tinged red and yellow, and 4 lanceolate leaves in shades of black (Correia 2005: 40 fig. 4, fig. 8).

Panel 15C (Fig. 8)

Dimensions: 5 x 3.20 m (Caldeira et al. 2019: 6 fig. 4)

Panel C repeats the decorative grammar of panel A. Much destroyed, it seems to present an execution in the filling of the hexagons and squares qualitatively not as perfect as in panel A.

Floor/space relationship to be decorated: Access corridor to the *villa*, fills the entire surface to be decorated in all over pattern in a composition by differentiated carpets in alternation (in analogy to Duran Kremer 2021: 157).

¹⁷ Type of finishing of geometric compositions that is found with a certain frequency in Roman mosaics (Duran Kremer 2019: 37-46).

Figure 8
Room 15, Panel C @ Serra / Duran Kremer.



Dating: The octagonal system as an element of spatial arrangement of a space to be decorated appears very early, in its simplest form, in the black and white style. Often used as an all over pattern, placed both orthogonally and diagonally, it gradually evolves into a system that accommodates a decorative syntax of progressively richer chromaticism and motif richness. Very frequent in African pavements, it is also found in Gaul, in Germania and in the Iberian Peninsula¹⁸.

It is precisely in a pavement from Mérida - Mosaic No. 2. Solar de la antigua Ermita de la Piedad (Alvarez Martinez 1990: 34-37 fig. 2 pl. 6-7) that we find the closest parallel to panel B from Pisões¹⁹, as far as the filling of the octagons with a flower with lotus calyxes (also here in red, ochre and black) is concerned. However, the filling of the remaining octagons and the squares formed by them resorts to more complex motifs that absorb more of the composition's white background. Dated by the author in the 4th century AD, it is clearly later than the mosaic in Panel B.

For panels A and C we find in Écija (Blázquez Martinez - López Monteagudo 2017: 55 fig. 28) a term of comparison: here too the geometric figures are filled inwardly by the repetition of the same figures, alternately in red or ochre. Although the chronology of this mosaic has not been established, we think that this is also a mosaic chronologically posterior to the two panels: the filling is more absorbing of the interior space, introducing a very strong chromaticism in the composition.

In the *cubiculum* (mosaic 5, A-27) of the House of the Waterfountains (Casa dos Repuxos) in *Conimbriga* we find the pavement whose decorative syntax presents the dialogue space/decoration that is closer to that of the panels A and C (Oleiro 1992: 91-93 pl. 33), despite the use of more varied filling motives. Bairrão Oleiro dated it in the last quarter of the 2nd century, first of the 3rd century, bringing it closer to the chronology proposed by us: first half of the 3rd century.

¹⁸ The reference to a high number of parallels for the different mosaics of this *villa* will be presented in the Inventory of Roman Mosaics of Portugal, currently being elaborated. We will only refer here some examples chosen for the pavements that we consider more expressive.

¹⁹ The work of Mac Millan 1985 will not be discussed here: the publication presents some errors of figure/pavement attribution, a correction of which would go beyond the scope of this paper.

Mosaic Room 3 (Fig. 9)



Figure 9
Room 3 @ Duran Kremer.

Architectural context: room/vestibule; Current location: *in situ*

Dimensions: 6.70 x 4.35 m

Chromaticism: (polychrome white, black, red, yellow and ochre)

Technique of setting: *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm

Material: limestone and ceramics

Support: reinforced concrete; Conservation status: much destroyed, it was subject to numerous repairs both in antiquity and during the excavation.

This pavement presents a spatial arrangement in carpeting (composition of centered surface elementary 547, Blanchard et al. 1973: 100; variant Kreisystem Iib, Zentralkomposition, Salies 1974: 15), with an inscribed square and circle, whose geometric shapes are repeated towards the centre of the composition, with motifs filling the free spaces thus created, probably in symmetry. The pavement is currently in a very poor state of conservation, so we have based the description of it on photographs from the 1980s.

The decorative programme chosen for this room is based on a central carpet-like composition, framed externally by a frame of an outlined three-strand guilloche on a dark ground. This is followed by a concentric frame, in pseudo-guilloche, within which a square frame is again defined, in three-strand guilloche and, finally, a circular frame in tightly braided shaded simple guilloche on a dark ground. In the centre of this composition is a vase, too destroyed for its possible decoration to be identified. From what we can still see, the lines that define its foot and belly are in all comparable to the vase of room C 2 of the *villa* of Abicada (Duran Kremer 2007: 221) and of the *villa* of Boca do Rio (Lagos, Museum) (Fig. 10).

Between the central circle and the inner square are two small squares of black *tesserae* edged in red. Between this square and the outer circle, filling motifs were certainly inserted: the only one we can identify with any certainty consists of a pelt outlined by two rows of black *tesserae*, with the ends extended in a

Figure 10
Boca do Rio: Detail @ Duran Kremer.



wavy line and a red bud flower at the apex. The original fragments still existing next to the remaining sides of the square point to a symmetrical repetition of this motif.

The entire composition is externally bounded by a continuous line of two rows of black *tesserae* and, in the strip thus bounded between the composition and the wall by a single, monochrome square meander (Duran Kremer 2016: 138).

Floor/space relationship to be decorated: The composition chosen for the decoration of room 3 fills the entire surface in a well-defined space/function dialogue: access room to the peristyle introduces iconographic reference elements that will later, in one way or another, come to be seen developed in the rooms adjacent to the peristyle.

Dating: Despite occupying all the space to be decorated, the composition has managed to maintain its almost pictorial character. From a luminosity marked by the white background only cut out by the defining elements of the decorative grammar, we see an element of perspective introduced through the different geometric forms which end in an underlining of the central vase.

The multiple repairs carried out on this pavement make it difficult to establish a chronology. However, based on what we can still see of the original pavement, we place this mosaic in the first half of the 3rd century.

Mosaic Room 2²⁰ (Fig. 11)

Figure 11
Room 2 @ Duran Kremer.



Architectural context: peristyle; Present location: *in situ*

Dimensions: 11.15 x 10.90 m

Colouring: bichromatic (black and white)

Technique of setting: *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm

Material: limestone

Support: reinforced concrete; Conservation state: incomplete

For the decoration of the peristyle, an orthogonal system of secant octagons was chosen, forming in the centre of each octagon a square, bordered on all

²⁰ For a more detailed analysis see Duran Kremer 2021: 146-149

sides by hexagons of unequal sides (Oktogonsystem II: Salies 1974: 10; Décor I: pl.169 a), thus giving rise to an all over pattern composition (Duran Kremer 2021: 146-147). The geometric system constitutes, like the floor of room 15, the decoration itself: outlined in black on a white background it is delimited by a line of two black *tesserae*. The strip separating the composition from the walls and the central tank is filled with an undulating line with a poised serrated square in black with a white *tesserae* in the centre, in each undulation (Décor I variant 63b: 113).

Although, at first sight, the linear decorative grammar seems relatively simple, the filling of the squares with different motifs (pair of backed rows of quasi-tangent juxtaposed *peltae*, an outlined posed square with poised serrated square in the centre, quatrefoils, knots, quarter-circles in the inner corners forming a square with concave sides with serrated square in the centre) placed alternately so as to form motif diagonals, introduces an element of movement and complexity into the composition. A movement underlined by the crosselets of 5 poised *tesserae* inserted in the centre of each hexagon.

The placement of the pavement was careful: as far as we can see, the geometric scheme was adapted to the surface to be decorated. There is however a detail that we want to focus on: in the west wing of the peristyle, near the wall that limits the access stairs to room 3, there is still today a fragment of mosaic consolidated in situ, but showing small motivic differences with the rest of the floor. With the information we have we cannot tell if it is an ancient, modern restoration or simply a misplacement of the support plates.

Relationship floor/space to be decorated:

The decoration scheme chosen in all over pattern (Peristyle Decoration Schemes I, Duran Kremer 2021: 142) for the peristyle, linear but diversified in its decorative syntax, of a simple bichromy but which allows the identification of lines of movement within the composition adapts perfectly to a space conceived as an axis of ordering of the different surrounding spaces.

Dating: As noted earlier, this system appears very early on in *schwarz-weiss* pavements, mostly as a simple, linear all over pattern. In the peristyle of this *villa*, although maintaining the bichromy and the original linearity of the octagon, the composition expresses a complexity achieved not through recourse to polychromy but through the creation of diagonals of movement within it²¹. For this pavement we therefore propose a dating at the end of the 2nd century, first half of the 3rd century.

Mosaic Room 6 (Fig. 12)

Architectural context: room; Current Location: *in situ*

Dimensions: 6.00 x 4.15 m

Chromaticism: polychrome (black, white, red and ochre)

Technique of emplacement: *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm

Material: limestone and ceramics?

Support: reinforced concrete; Conservation status: incomplete; with restored areas from the Roman period.

21 An example of the use of this space management system in a relatively simple, though chronologically later, bichrome decorative discourse is found in the mosaic H of the Roman *villa* of Torres Novas (also known as *villa Cardilio*) (Duran Kremer 2008: 70).

Figure 12
Room 6 @ Duran Kremer.



The spatial arrangement of the floor to be decorated was based on the system of band cross braiding (Bandkreuzgeflecht II, Salies 1974: 2): In this system, the overlap square of the bands is greatly enlarged, so that a second field is created for larger decorative motifs²². The composition is divided into two carpets, of different size and decorative syntax.

The first, polychrome, situated at the entrance to the room, occupies more than two thirds of the floor (unfortunately we do not have the correct measurements for each of the carpets in the composition). The decorative syntax of this panel is characterised by the fact that to fill the space between the squares we use a diamond, in white *tesserae*, flanked by triangles alternately in blue and red *tesserae*. In the central area thus delimited is a regular octagon, in white *tesserae*, which is in turn always filled by a flower with four petals in red (outer part of the petals) and yellow (next to the chalice, in black). The alternating and staggered use of red and black to fill in the triangles flanking the lozenge connecting each two squares, in white *tesserae*, gives the observer an effect of movement and complexity of representation. The squares are filled with Solomon knots in red, yellow and white outlined in black.

In the centre of this composition we would have found an emblematic composition on a white background, of which nothing remains except for small fragments in the upper left and right corners, in which we can certainly identify the tip of a bird's wing (Fig. 13). It is bordered by a shaded simple guilloche on a black ground (variant of Décor I: pl 71c). The whole carpet is defined all around by a three-stranded guilloche on a black ground (Décor I: pl 72 d).

The second carpet located between this carpet and the wall, was also executed based on the ribbon cross bands system, in black and white on a white background. Here, the connection between the squares is made by a simple row of black *tesserae* in the middle of each of them, creating crosses of equal sides in the centre. Both the crosses and the squares are decorated with a simple jagged

²² It can be considered a variant of Bandkreuzgeflecht II and a modular system of four-pointed stars tangent to each other by one of the vertices (Vargas Vázquez 2016: 261), the square being wider so as to allow the insertion of a rhombus between them.



Figure 13
Room 6, detail @ Duran Kremer.

square or a crosselet, alternately and diagonally, thus creating lines of directional alternation for the observer. The whole composition of this room is bordered by a composition of corded leaves associated with scrolls.

Relationship floor/space to be decorated

This room, for the decoration of its floor, can be considered a *cubiculum*, whose access would be made by the room 4 from the peristyle. The stairs connecting to the porticoed gallery 16 seem to us to be posterior to the placement of the mosaic, superimposed on it - an interpretation supported by what can still be seen of the painting of the wall, covered at a certain height by the construction of the steps.

Dating: The pronounced polychromy and the complexity of its distribution among the geometric motifs created by the chosen decorative grammar place this mosaic in the late 3rd - first half of the 4th century.

Mosaic Room 16

Architectural context: porticoed gallery; Current location: *in situ*

Dimensions: 23.60 x 1.80 m

Chromaticism: bichromatic (black and white)

Technique of setting: *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm

Material: limestone

Support: original; Conservation state: very destroyed

The little information we have does not allow us any analysis of this mosaic: we only know its dimensions (Ribeiro 1972: 23; Beloto 1985: Bej.39), and that it is a bichrome mosaic - black and white - in very bad state already when it was found, and that it had been the object of cleaning and conservation works in March 1983 (Beloto 1985: Bej.39).

Mosaic Room 8

Architectural context: corridor; Current Location: *in situ*

Dimensions: 7.00 x 1.25 m

Chromaticism: bichromatic (black and white)

Laying technique: *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm

Material: limestone

Support: original; Conservation status: incomplete

The little information we have does not allow us any analysis of this mosaic: we only know its dimensions (Ribeiro 1972: 23; Beloto 1985: Bej.35), and that it is a bichromatic mosaic - black and white - in very bad state already when it was found, and that it had been the object of cleaning and conservation works in March 1983 (Beloto 1985: Bej.35).

Pavement Room 13 (Fig. 14)

Figure 14
Room 13 @ Serra / Duran Kremer.



Architectural context: room; Present location: *in situ*

Dimensions: 6.20 x 4.60 m

Chromaticism: difficult to define without a previous deep cleaning of the floor where the *scutulae* are encrusted. These are variable shades of white, light grey, dark grey.

Technique of setting: *opus scutulatum*; *scutulae* of different shapes and sizes

Material: marble

Support: original; Conservation status: much destroyed

This type of surface pavement decoration can be defined as a “soil made up of fragments of *scutulae* arranged in no particular order on a background of other material (*Signinum*, *Tesselatum*, *Fliglinum*, etc.) (Décor I 1985: 22). It is debatable whether this is a mosaic pavement: it is certainly a composition of a pavement surface, conceived and executed according to an original programme. Hence its inclusion in this Catalogue.

As far as we can recognise, we are dealing with a floor of *opus signinum* where *scutulae* of different sizes, shapes (triangular, square, rectangular) and of grey and white marbles were inlaid (Décor I: 159 pl.103 a).

The access to this room is made through the corridor 8 and room 12.

Floor/space relationship to be decorated: The surface composition covers the entire floor.

Dating: Without further information it is not possible to date this floor.

Mosaic Room 9 (Fig. 15)



Figure 15
Room 9 @ Duran Kremer.

This mosaic has been the subject of several studies already published (Duran Kremer 1998; Duran Kremer 2021: 148 - EA Room) so we will limit ourselves here to the essential descriptive aspects

Architectural context: room; Present location: *in situ*

Dimensions: 5.75 x 4.05 m

Chromaticism: polychrome (in black, grey, white, red, pink, yellow and ochre; blue, green and gold glass)

Technique of setting: *opus tessellatum*;

Size of the tesserae: 10 x 10 mm for the white background; smaller for the depictions of the seasons and, in part, the laurel wreath, and for filling in the central motif of the composition.

Material: limestone, ceramics and glass

Support: Reinforced concrete; Conservation status: incomplete

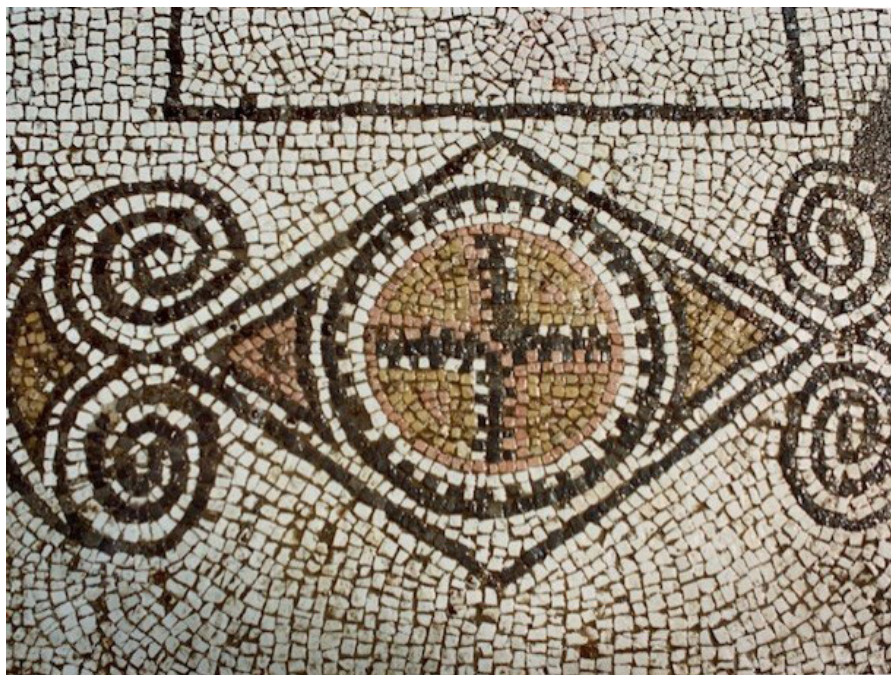
The spatial arrangement of the surface to be decorated defined four panels of distinct dimensions and decorative syntax.

Panel 9A (Fig.16)

Dimensions: 0.70 x 0.50 m (Sardica 1971, 75 - 65)

This panel, polychrome, is located at the entrance to room 9 from the peristyle, and the threshold is probably filled with white *tesserae*.

Figure 16
Room 9, Panel A @ Duran Kremer.



The chosen motive represents a rhombus with an inscribed circle and two *peltae* whose ends are coiled in tight scrolls. The *peltae*, the inscribed circle and the triangles formed by it within the rhombus are filled symmetrically in yellow and ochre. In the circle, the inner quarters of the circle are defined by a black jagged line, with the opposing teeth filled in white.

This motif is followed by a rectangle formed by a row of black *tesserae* on a white background: we have no information about a possible motif filling it.

Panel 9B (Fig. 15)

Dimensions: 1.28 x 2.38 m (Sardica 1971-75: 65)

Situated immediately after the previous panel, it shows a geometric decoration in orthogonal pattern of quasi-tangent alternative reversed *swastika-peltae* with a central polychrome knot on a white background (Decor I: 348 pl.223 b), the *peltae* outlined by a row of black *tesserae*. The vertical branch of the knot is alternative reversed.

The decorative system was not adapted to the dimensions of the surface to be decorated, so that the motifs chosen for the composition are “cut” in the southern border of the composition.

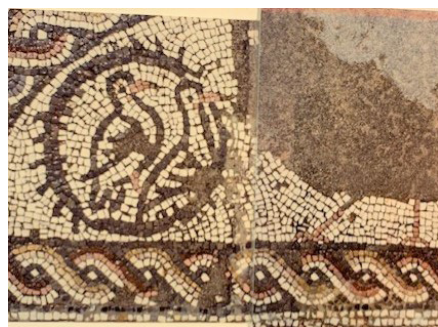
Panel 9C (Fig. 17)

Dimensions: 2.45 x 2.38 m

For the iconographic programme of this panel a section of Kreissystem Ia (Salies 1974: 14) was chosen, with a circle in the centre, half and quarter circles at the edge of the mosaic field, resulting in a central composition in what has been called a “compass drawing scheme”²³.

The entire composition and its circle and half-circles are defined by an asymmetrically shaded simple guilloche on a black ground (Décor I: 120 pl.

Figure 17
Room 9, detail Panel C @ Duran Kremer.



²³ A very recurrent scheme in *Hispania*, it was soon studied by Dimas Fernández Galiano (1980), becoming known as “esquema a compás”.

70j). The central circle (Fig. 15) is bordered by a crown of laurel leaves (Décor I: 141: pl. 89 c), interrupted on the direct axis of the room's entrance by the representation of a face, interpreted as a depiction of Medusa (Duran Kremer 1998: 449 fig. 4). In the centre is another circle, concentric, with an inscribed hexagon, whose diagonals form triangles filled with alternating colours. In the external space between this and the laurel wreath, strips and triangles. In the small semicircles thus built, one can also recognise *tesserae* of blue glass paste.

In the four lateral semi-circles are represented two birds flanking a vase with water (semi-circle in front of the entrance through the peristyle and under the representation of the face of Medusa), probably two birds pecking a bunch of grapes (on the south-facing side) (the mosaic, much destroyed, only allows us to identify one bird), a basket with rosebuds (to the East) and, finally, two birds in a nest guarded by an adult bird (North side of the composition) (the representation of this one still existing points to a stork, very common in the whole region): We are before an allegorical representation of the seasons of the year, represented not by busts or full-body figures with their respective attributes, but by punctual images of those same attributes as they appear in the eternal cycle of Nature (Duran Kremer 2011:195-196 fig.15-18). Unique until now in mosaics from *Hispania*, this dialogue between theme/representation of theme - space to be decorated shows a strong influence of mosaic art in Roman Africa²⁴. It should be stressed, however, that the pavements where the combination of birds and plant attributes assume by themselves the representation of the seasons of the year are relatively rare²⁵.

Of the quarter-circles that form the corners of the composition only two exist, although one partially destroyed. However, from what we can see, they were filled with different motifs (polychrome pelt with the vertices extended laterally, hedra leaf).

We can assume that, for the filling of the concave squares identified by the compass scheme, 4 different motifs were also chosen. Of the three motifs that have come down to us, we can identify a swastika cross in red *tesserae*, with the repetition of the motif in the space defined by the arms of the cross, probably filled with *tesserae* in blue glass paste (Fig. XX), the poised square filled with concentric lines in colour opposition. The third motif shows a 'quadrilobule of peltae, with the median vertices joined together, forming a cross Fig. XXI. Four cordiform leaves are connected, with their vertices pointing to the centre, to the joining points of the peltae. The quadrilobule is ornamented externally by eight triangular petals' (Correia 2005:66).

Panel 9D (Fig. 18)

Dimensions: 1,28 x 2.38 m

The decorative grammar chosen to decorate the third panel gave rise to a simple, linear, bichromatic composition in black and white, using the square itself as the decorative theme: a row of black *tesserae* defines the squares on a white background, in the centre a crosselet of 5 poised *tesserae*.

The whole composition is bordered laterally by a wide band of white *tesserae*, probably of different dimensions that we cannot partly determine due to the state

24 See La Chebba (Parrish 1984: kat. 49 pl. 67; kat. 30 pl.45).

25 El Jem, Musée National du Bardo, Inv. Nr. 2751 : « this pavement is the only example in the African repertory wich shows a combination of birds and plants as its exclusive seasonal symbols" (Parrish 1984: kat. 41, 186-188, pl. 58).



Figure 18
Room 9, detail Panel D @ Serra / Duran.

of conservation of the mosaic. On the northern side this band presents a line of semis of serrated bichrome squares in chessboard pattern. (Fig. MS/DK)

Relationship floor/space to be decorated: The iconographic programme of this floor was chosen so as to allow a differentiated reading, whether the room was accessed from the peristyle or from space 19. In fact, the compass drawing scheme has, inherent in itself, the capacity to allow a “circular” reading of the composition. In the case of room 9 in Pisões, this characteristic is fundamental, allowing a differentiated reading of the representations of the seasons of the year, ordered in relation to the peristyle according to the priority given to each of them by the commissioner of the work and underlining the meaning of the apotropaic protection granted by Medusa’s head.

This dialogue between composition/space to be decorated/observer is emphasised by the non-repetition of motifs filling the different geometric figures created by this system of ordering of the surface to be decorated.

Dating: For the dating of the mosaic we rely mainly on the composition of Panel C, certainly the most complex and presenting the greatest degree of chromaticism and variety of motifs. The geometric compass scheme, which appears in *Hispania* between the mid 2nd and mid 3rd century. (Salies 1974: 14), probably comes from Africa where the greatest number of examples of this scheme can be found.

For their part, Blázquez Martínez and López Monteagudo attribute to this mosaic from Pisões a date in the second half of the second century, in analogy to the “square mosaic of a compás scheme” (2017: no. 2, 42 - 43 fig. 9). A dating that is confirmed by another mosaic, in Liédena, very close to the decorative syntax of panel B (Blázquez - Mezquiriz 1985: 36-41, Lam. 24, Num.15), and by its situated in the second century.

On the other hand, the iconographic programme chosen for Room 9 in Pisões uses the asymmetrically shaded simple guilloche continues as a defining element of all the central spaces to be decorated, the predominance of the white background on which the different motifs are “cut out”; the theme chosen for the figurative representations - the seasons of the year, the use of the jagged line to highlight the non-figurative motifs of the squares with convex sides, are all defining elements of a possibly later date, between the second half of the 2nd century and the first half of the 3rd century.

Mosaic Room 19 (Fig. 19)

Architectural context: L-shaped room; Present location: *in situ*

Dimensions: 11.30 x 6.30 m

Chromaticism: bichromatic (black, white)

Technique of emplacement: *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm

Material: limestone and ceramics

Support: original; Conservation state: very damaged

On the basis of the photograph available²⁶ (the mosaic is now covered with gravel as a protective measure) it can be seen that, for the decoration of this floor,

²⁶ Between our identification of the decorative composition of this pavement and that published by Costa 1988: 107 there is a disparity that can only be resolved when the gravel covering the mosaic is surveyed.



Figure 19
Room 19 @ Duran Kremer.

the same geometrical system was used as for the decoration of halls 15 (panels A and C) and 2: octagons, forming a square in the centre of each octagon, bordered on all sides by hexagons of unequal sides. The octagons are outlined on a white background by a row of black *tesserae*. The interior decoration of the squares formed by the secant octagons was eventually similar to that of the peristyle: visible are only a pair of backed rows of quasi-tangent juxtaposed *peltae* and an outlined posed square. The decoration of the hexagons and the finishing row of the central composition is reduced to a poised serrated square in the centre of the figure.

The composition, probably in all over pattern, would have been limited near the wall by a strip with an undulating line. However, a part of the floor still visible shows an interruption of this strip and its replacement by a uniform carpet in black *tesserae*, perhaps due to an old patch made on the floor.

Floor/space relationship to be decorated: Room 19 is, from an architectural point of view, a connecting room with room 9 and of interior ordering of the accesses to the adjacent rooms to the east (18, 48 and 47 and 32) and to the west (27). The existence of a surface of about 8m x 2,25m in ground (28), allows to raise the hypothesis of finding here a pseudo-peristyle or interior green space, characteristic of this type of *villa*.²⁷

Dating: The motivic and stylistic proximity to the floor of room 2 points to a dating in the late 2nd, first half of the 3rd century.

Mosaic Room 48 and 47 (Fig. 20)

Architectural context: living room; Present location: *in situ*

Dimensions: 11.40 x 5.00

Chromaticism: polychrome (black, grey, white, red, ochre)

²⁷ See Note 10. However, the IPPAR plan establishes a connection, at a certain point, with room 26, which would imply a direct access to the porticoed gallery from the peristyle and room 9. Although it is not currently possible to confirm this possibility or not, we consider it pertinent to draw attention to it.

Figure 20
Room 48/47 @ Duran Kremer.



Technique of emplacement: *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm

Material: limestone and ceramics

Support: original; Conservation state: very damaged

This mosaic pavement was not identified as such by Ribeiro (1972: 37). However, at the time of the visit in 1989 this mosaic was still visible, although much destroyed. As far as it is possible to reconstruct, for the decoration of the floor, recourse was made, as in room 19, to the geometric system also chosen for the decoration of rooms 15 (panels A and C) and 2: secant octagons, forming in the centre of each octagon a square, bordered on all sides by hexagons of unequal sides. The octagons are outlined on a white background by a row of black *tesserae*. The interior decoration of the squares formed by the secant octagons may have been relatively similar to that on panels 15 and 16, although without the use of the chessboard pattern.

The composition, probably in all over pattern, would have been bounded by a band with an undulating line, followed by two lilacs of black *tesserae* and between this and the wall a wide band of grey *tesserae*.

Relationship floor/space to be decorated: Everything indicates that the pavement, in a surface composition, would cover the entire space to be decorated. However, the impossibility of attributing it without any doubt to one of the rooms does not allow us any additional information in this sense.

Dating: By analogy with the compositions of room 15 and 19 leads us to point out for this pavement a dating between the second half of the second century and the first half of the third century.

Mosaic Room 37

Architectural context: corridor; Current Location: *in situ*

Dimensions: 13.20 x 2.95 m

Chromaticism: bichromatic (black, white)

Laying technique: *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm

Material: limestone

Support: original; Conservation state: destroyed

Identified as “mosaic with black squares on a white background. Inside the squares there is a small motif in black. This mosaic is in a very bad state, really crumbling, only small pieces remain” (Ribeiro 1972: 32) and was progressively destroyed by time. In March 1983, when the pavement was cleaned and conserved by Carlos Beloto, there was only a “very small fragment of mosaic and even then in complete disintegration” (Beloto 1985: Bej. 044).

Today this mosaic is completely destroyed.

Mosaic Room 34 (Fig. 21)



Figure 21
Room 34 @ Duran Kremer.

Architectural context: area surrounding an outdoor swimming pool; Present location: *in situ*

Dimensions: 13.20 x 2.95 m

Chromaticism: bichromatic (black, white)

Technique of setting: opus tessellatum; Size of the tesserae: 10 x 10 mm

Material: limestone

Conservation state: much destroyed

The photograph in our possession shows a bichrome composition, in orthogonal pattern of intersecting black circles, forming saltire of quasi-tangent dentilled spindles and concave squares, with a square of four *tesserae* at the centre of the saltire (Kreissystem Iia Salies 1974, 15; variation of Décor I: 370: pl 239 b)). In the centre of the concave squares a floret.

The pavement shows ancient repairs, with a differentiated (not dentilled) spindel treatment.

Relationship floor/space to be decorated: Without further evidence we cannot

state whether this was a surface or carpet composition²⁸.

Dating: Kreissystem probably appeared during the second Pompeian period, soon becoming an almost generalised all over pattern (Salies 1974: 15). Without further elements and from the stylistic point of view, we can consider a dating of this mosaic in the second half of the second century, first half of the third century.

Mosaic Room 10

Architectural context: living room; Present location: *in situ*

Dimensions: 8.75 x 6.50 m

Chromaticism: bichromatic (black, white)

Technique of emplacement: *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm

Material: limestone

Conservation state: very much destroyed

The photograph taken in the 80's of the few existing fragments from the upper left corner of the room does not allow an analysis of them, however primitive it may be. A future cleaning of the floor may eventually allow more information to be gathered.

Mosaic Room 30

Architectural context: living room; Current Location: *in situ*

Dimensions: 8.75 x 6.50 m

Chromaticism: polychrome (black, white, pink)

Laying technique: *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm

Material: limestone and ceramics

Support (floor of the room): original; Conservation state: very destroyed

Support (floor of the tank): Reinforced concrete; Conservation state: very incomplete

The decorative grammar chosen for this pavement was probably based on a system of differentiated carpets. According to Ribeiro (1972: 29-30), there were found "mosaics" of various types - see compositions: black outlined petals filled with red on a white background black squares on a white background, probably destroyed and small black squares, with a rose cross in the centre, on a white background. Still according to the same author, "this room has the western wall in curve", forming an apse in the vertical axis of the entrance and equally paved with mosaic.

The identification of the floor(s) of this room is very difficult if not almost impossible due to the state of disintegration. Based on the published description one could eventually "identify the mosaics of various types" in Fig. 22. On the other hand, to the west of the room an apse floor was identified (Fig. 23), whose dimensions would match those of room 30.

On the other hand, the photograph of the floor in mosaic described by Ribeiro as

28 Concerning pavements 34 and 37, Couto mentions two fragments of mosaic found next to the north wall of the *apoditerium* and on the north side of the external pool of the baths (2nd phase): "The visible mosaics seem to have formed a fence around the surrounding area of the pool": Couto (2007: XLVI). The published photographs don't allow us a comparison with the available data, so we will keep our classification, subject evidently to a posterior verification, if and when possible.



Figures 22 - 23
Room 30, detail @ Duran Kremer.

“small squares in black, with a rose cross in the centre, on a white background”, dated from the early 1980’s, shows a composition in all over pattern, at least in the east wing of the room (with start still for the north wing), near the connecting door with the peristyle²⁹ (Fig. 24). Between the door and the apse, centred, a rectangular tank, with marble-lined walls and with a mosaic with fishes as flooring³⁰ (Fig. 25). Much destroyed, one can still identify a moray eel swimming from right to left, a fish swimming opposite it and the tentacles of a squid’s head. The water is represented by intermittent strokes. This composition is bordered by an asymmetrically shaded simple guilloche on a black ground.



Figure 24
Room 30, detail @ Duran Kremer.

Figure 25
Room 30, fish mosaic @ Cátia Mourão.

Like the previous composition, this pavement raises some unknowns. Ribeiro (1972: 30) describes it as a “mosaic pavement on a white background, ornamented with fish...The mosaic frame is made of complex braids”. Nowadays, however, this pavement presents itself with a central composition of marine *thiasos*, distributed between it and the walls of the tank are carpets with different motives placed symmetrically (shaded multi-strand guilloche on a coloured ground, a composition of small squares and rectangles in contrast of colour, probably a square on a white background with the diagonals underlined by a row of black *tesserae*). The mosaic has old patches.

²⁹ Room 30 is an example of the near impossibility of identifying some floors with the rooms they originally decorated: only future methodological cleaning works of the still existing floors, accompanied by a detailed study and chronology of the existing structures may facilitate this task.

³⁰ For Bibliography: See Mourão 2008: 102-103.

Floor/space relationship to be decorated: The state of conservation of the floor of this room and the unknowns existing in what concerns the identification of possible compositions do not allow us a careful interpretation of the iconographic programme chosen for it or of the alterations introduced afterwards. In view, however, of the description of the floor made by Ribeiro, one could raise the hypothesis of an ordering of the floor in carpets, an ordering that would be repeated in the mosaic of the tank, giving special prominence to the representation of the marine *thiasos*.

Dating: The elements that we have do not allow us to establish a substantiated chronology for the pavement as a whole, since from the stylistic point of view, we find elements that point to a chronological window from the second half of the 2nd century to the end of the 3rd century.

Mosaic Room 1 (Fig.26)

Figure 26
Room 1 @ Duran Kremer.



Architectural context: Corridor; Present location: *in situ*

Dimensions: 11.50 x 2.3 m

Chromaticism: bichromatic (black, white)

Technique of emplacement: *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm

Material: limestone

Support: original; Conservation state: very destroyed

The decoration of this pavement is based on a relatively clear basic geometric scheme: an orthogonal rapport of paratactic (?) circles (?), on which a second one is placed. The circle centres of the second, superimposed rapport lie in the centre of each of the recessed spherical squares (Kreissystem II: Salies 1974: 15). The spindles thus formed are separated by a small square. This is a system for arranging the surface to be decorated that allows for numerous differentiated decorative syntaxes both in terms of the polychromy and the composition itself.

In Room 1 at Pisões, the geometric scheme chosen to of the structuring of the

surface to be decorated was used as the basic decorative motif: linear, with only two rows of black *tesserae* on a white background delimiting the intersections of the circles, allows us to underline both the flower with four petals thus obtained and the spherical square formed by them. In the centre of the square is a poised serrated square, with alternating rows of black and white *tesserae*. The petals thus obtained are the spherical square formed by them. In the centre of the square is a poised serrated square, with alternate rows of white and black *tesserae*.

The composition is delimited by a border of two black *tesserae*, in which are inserted, towards the interior, triangles defined linearly by a row of black *tesserae*, on one side and black half saltires of tassels, on the other. Between this enclosure and the wall, a wide band of white *tesserae*, without ornaments.

The flooring was carefully laid: as far as we can see, the motif was adapted to the dimensions of the surface to be decorated.

Both the composition and the chosen bichromy, with the overall predominance of the colour white, allow great luminosity to a space that, in itself, would probably have been an enclosed space.

Floor/space relationship to be decorated: According to the current structures, room 1 had a function as a corridor for access, to the south, to rooms 24 and 27, from the peristyle, overcoming the existing unevenness through a step flanked by two columns, all in marble. This corridor was bounded to the south by the gallery wall.

Dating: 2nd half of 2nd century - 1st half of 3rd century.

Mosaic Room 46³¹ (Fig. 27)



Figure 27
Room 46 @ Duran Kremer.

Architectural context: living room; Present location: *in situ*

Dimensions: 4.60 x 3.90 m

Chromaticism: polychrome (black, white, red, pink, yellow)

³¹ This room is mistakenly described by Costa as room 33 (Costa 1988: 106).

Technique of emplacement: *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm

Material: limestone and ceramics

Support: reinforced concrete; Conservation status: incomplete

The floor of this room presents two distinct compositions: at the entrance, a carpet in running-pellet pattern, bichrome, the pellets outlined in black on a white background; and then a carpet that covers the entire surface to be decorated.

Based on a geometric system of octagons, placed diagonally and forming small squares between them, the decorative syntax of this composition was specifically created with the purpose of - using only variations of a central motif filling the octagons (a saltire of spindle) inserted in different decorative spaces - creating an image of a very rich polychrome, full of movement, with a luminosity marked by the transparency of the white background, always present.

Both the composition as a whole and the geometric motifs are enclosed by a tightly braided shaded simple guilloche on a dark ground. The squares between the octagons are filled with knots on a dark background, the side rectangles with a small tightly braided shaded simple guilloche on a dark ground. The octagons, in turn, present in their centre the saltire of spindle of various colours and fills, inserted either in a simple circle, outlined by a single row of black *tesserae*, or in a square above the vertex inserted in a larger square, or in two concentric circles defined individually by a row of black *tesserae*. Inside, a row of red (interior) and yellow (exterior) calices, alternately inverted, *une fleurette de cubes sur la pointe* occupying the spaces thus alternately created. The central octagons are defined inside by a line of black triangles, the two octagons still visible on the left of the composition by a jagged line in black *tesserae*.

The composition is delimited to the outside by a bar of three lines of white *tesserae*, followed by two lines of black *tesserae*. Then a wide row of intersecting and tangent semicircles, forming ogives and scales, in black on white background. Two rows of black *tesserae* finish and finally delimit the whole composition.

Unfortunately, it is precisely on this floor where one of the most serious mistakes in the placing of the cement tiles can be found: the two tiles near the upper right corner of the room have been inverted during their placement, precisely in the part of the mosaic most destroyed, not allowing the identification of a possible symmetry in the distribution of the filling motifs. Nevertheless, and on the basis of the arrangement of the motifs in the right half of the floor, we think we can conclude that the different motifs filling the octagons were distributed symmetrically throughout the composition.

The execution of this pavement was done in a very careful and expert way, the geometric scheme was previously adapted to the surface to be decorated.

Relationship floor/space to be decorated: From an architectural point of view, this room presents the widest entrance of all the rooms flanking the south gallery. The use of a carpet for the entrance to the room, followed by the laying of a “carpet-like” mosaic underline, for its part, the significance that would probably have been attributed to this space.

Dating: Recourse to the orthogonsystem for the spatial ordering of the surface to be decorated was undoubtedly used frequently in the western Roman world: numerous examples from *Germania*³² to *Hispania*³³ attest to this phenomenon.

32 Hoffman et al.1999.

33 In general: CME ; also Oleiro 1992.

However, the style of this flooring, combining a rich chromaticism with the differentiated variation of a single motif framed individually, and its luminosity, which prevents any baroque style in the composition, certainly place it in the 3rd century, when chromaticism not only occasionally enters into exclusively or mainly black and white compositions, but also occupies determining elements of them, without however expressing the horror of vacuity that will be established mainly from the 4th century onwards.

Mosaic Room 26

Architectural context: room; Present location: *in situ*

Size (living room): 5.20 x 2.90 m

Chromaticism: polychrome (black, white, red, yellow)

Technique of emplacement: *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm

Material: limestone and ceramics

Support: original; Conservation state: very destroyed

Having identified “some mosaic fragments” by the archaeologist in charge (Ribeiro 1972:28), we were able to photograph one last fragment still in the 1980s. This fragment presents a composition based on the geometric squareness of ordering of the space to decorate, used here as base element of the decoration: in the squares formed by the grid of filets of black *tesserae* on a white background, spaced saltires of shaded tassels were inserted, alternatively in shades of black and red or yellow and red.

On the basis of this fragment, it is not possible to establish either a reasoned chronology or the type of floor/space relationship to be decorated.

Mosaic room 45 (Fig. 28)



Figure 28
Room 45 @ Serra / Duran Kremer.

Architectural context: south gallery; Present location: *in situ*

Dimensions: 19.60 x 3.30 m

Chromaticism: polychrome (black, white, red, pink, yellow)

Technique of setting: *opus tessellatum*; Size of the *tesserae*: 10 x 10 mm

Material: limestone and ceramics

Support: original (tapestry 45 a); conservation status unknown

Support: Reinforced concrete (remaining carpets); Conservation status: incomplete

Described by the archaeologist who first excavated this Roman *villa* as being “the corridor that lies between the dwelling and the swimming pool” (Ribeiro 1972: 36), it actually corresponds to the south gallery, to which all the rooms of this sector open. We should therefore add to the dimensions calculated by him those of room 25 and the spaces next to rooms 23, 49, 50, despite the fact that, following corridor 1, there is a wall that would probably have divided this gallery into two wings. As it is impossible to make a correct measurement of the length of all or each of the wings of the gallery, we will limit ourselves to introducing the approximate measurements of the different compositions still visible.

For the decoration of this space - and as far as we can ascertain - a composition by differentiated carpets was chosen (Duran Kremer 2021: 157): The floor is divided into several “carpets”, each with a different decorative syntax, generally placed along the entire length of a room, demarcating not only the entrance to it but also differentiating it from the next room. All the carpets point to an all over pattern decoration. In Pisões there are few remaining carpets which allow an analysis of them: our analysis is based on the documentation collected since the 1980s and on the study visits of the authors in the autumn of 2021. For a better structuring of the analysis, we list the carpets in alphabetical order from east to west.

The composition is bordered by a tightly braided shaded (red and yellow) simple guilloche on a black ground, with different finishes from mat to mat for the strip separating it from the wall.

Panel 45 a

Located at the eastern end of the porticoed gallery, it would be opposite the rooms we have given the numbers 51 and 53³⁴. Covered with protective gravel, we have no information or photograph of it.

Panel 45 b (Fig. 29)

This panel was certainly situated along the façade of room 46 with the gallery, so that it could have originally occupied a surface of 4.60 x 3.30 m. We have no indication of the exact place where it was originally located, so its repositioning in situ after the consolidation could have been done in a haphazard way, and even suffered from mistakes of placing them in order, modifying the motive.

Chromaticism: bichromatic black and white, it uses the geometric system of arranging the surface to be decorated - octagonal secant octagons placed orthogonally - as decoration. The geometric figures are outlined on the white ground by two rows of black *tesserae*, without any inscribed decoration. The mosaic shows several probably ancient patches and is bordered by two rows of black *tesserae*, which separate it from a more or less wide, white band to the wall.

³⁴ These rooms, as well as room 50 and other spaces in the eastern part of the *villa* were found during the various archaeological prospection and conservation works carried out over the years: due to the multiplicity of plans of the *villa* and to facilitate the consultation and understanding of the analysis of the same, we gathered them in a single plan, adapting Fernando Ribeiro’s original plan



Figure 29
Room 45, Panel 45 b @ Duran Kremer.

In the same way, the composition is not delimited next to the following panel which, itself, does not have a border in that place either, which could suggest that the cement tiles have been placed in alignment, one after the other, covering eventual gaps left by a destroyed mosaic. On the other hand, we cannot rule out the hypothesis that this was a pavement placed after the next one (to replace a destroyed pavement?).

Panel 45 c (Fig. 30)



Figure 30
Room 45, Panel 45c @ Duran Kremer.

Located along the facade of rooms 33, 19 and at least part of room 26, it extends for 7.77 x 3.30 m. Polychrome, it presents a composition in running-pelta pattern: on a white background, backed black *peltae* line up on a central point, white, touching each other by one of the ends and forming a wheel of *peltae*. At the central point, a flower in alternating yellow and red buds.

The decorative grammar of this carpet is quite complex, certainly demanding a lot of skill from the mosaists. To prove it there are numerous old patches, surely made by different hands in different moments, which largely explains the “variations” of *peltae* used, partly just outlined and with a serrated triangle on the central point, or the abandon of the wheel of *peltae* in favour of filling the empty spaces.

The composition was delimited by a simple guilloche and by a row of superposed right-angled black triangles on a white background, both separated by narrow bands of white *tesserae*.

Although it is not possible to verify the existence of a lateral border of the composition with regard to the carpet 45b, and given the high quality of execution of the original mosaic, it is likely that this demarcation would also have extended to the lateral borders of the same.

Dating: The decorated pavements, either on the surface or on a panel, using different combinations of the *peltae* with each other or with other motifs are very common in mosaic pavements³⁵. In panel 45 c, the *peltae* alternately display a red or yellow flower bud at their apex, stylistically similar to the inscribed *pelta* in room 3.

For this pavement we propose a date in the III century.

Panel 45 d (Fig. 31)

Figure 31
Room 45, Panel 45 d @ Serra / Duran
Kremer.



The paving between the previous panel and panel 45 d is totally destroyed.

Of the panel 45d only a simple guilloche border is visible, which would delimit the composition near the connecting strip to the wall (in grey *tesserae*) and a separating panel from the following composition, decorated with a voluted stylized scroll (Decor 1985: 114, 64b) black on a white background. This enclosure would extend to the wall that separates this panel from the following one, also delimiting the wide band in grey *tesserae* that constitute the lateral finishing of the composition.

35 Selected examples: Hoffmann et al. 1999: Nr.74:124; Neira/Mañanes 1998: Nr. 15 b: 30.

Room 25 (Ribeiro 1972: 28)

In this gallery space we identify at least two panels, conventionally called Panel 45e and Panel 45f, which roughly correspond to Ribeiro's description of them. Also, here the raising and consolidation of the pavements in cement plates and their relocation in the place would not have occurred in the best way: while carpet 45e allows us an identification coherent with the original description, the second carpet demands a graphic reconstruction work that would exceed the frame of the present article.

Panel 45 e (Fig.32)

This panel would occupy a surface of 5.80 x 2.40 (Ribeiro 1972: 28). Carried out in an all over pattern composition based on the geometric squareness of the space to be decorated, it uses this as the basic element of the decoration: in the squares formed by the grid of filets of black *tesserae* on a white background, spaced saltires of shaded tassels were inserted, alternately in tones of black and red or yellow and red. The composition is delimited by a simple guilloche, which is followed by a band of grey *tesserae* up to the wall of room 24 and, probably, of rooms 23 and 49: the state of conservation and cleanliness of the mosaic in this sector of the gallery makes it difficult to identify with certainty the decorative syntax chosen for the western part of the gallery. From what we can see on site, this carpet would extend in L shape in front of room 49.

The floor presents several old repairs, which in some cases imply a chromatic change of composition.

Dated: second half of the III century.

Panel 45 f (Fig. 33)

Identified by Ribeiro (1972: 28) as being part of room 25, this panel should be considered individually, although its state of conservation does not allow a correct identification of the composition itself: the placing of the original floor in reinforced concrete slabs and, finally, the placing of these in situ gave rise to a too confusing image of the composition. However, we believe we can identify in a fragment at least part of the eight-pointed stars referred to by that archaeologist, as well as other unidentified motifs. Cleaning the mosaic and



Figure 32
Room 45, Panel 45 e @ Serra / Duran Kremer.

Figure 33
Room 45, Panel 45 f @ Serra / Duran Kremer.

drawing the different motifs *tesserae* by *tesserae* could possibly contribute to an adequate identification of the composition.

The Roman *Villa* of Pisões: Final Considerations

The systematized analysis of the different mosaic pavements of this *villa*, as hypothetical as it may be since it is carried out on mere stylistic parameters, given the state of deep destruction of most of the pavements and the lack of original documentation about them, confirms the initial hypothesis of the interpretation of the architectonic structures as they are presented today.

In fact, the existence of an iconographic programme for the decoration of the pavements adapted to the spatial separation of the different sectors of social and family life of the landowner who would have commanded the work and of his descendants can be confirmed.

Thus, the space destined for the ‘social life’ of the owner, bearing witness to his economic power and social class, was arranged around a peristyle, whose ornamental syntax identified it as a space of passage and access to the rooms most representative of the message to be conveyed to the visitor: room 30 and, above all, room 9. Unique, so far, in *Hispania*, in the iconographic choice made for the representation of the seasons of the year shows some unusual aspects that give this mosaic a special place within Hispanic mosaics. Apart from the fact that floors on which the combination of birds and plant attributes of the different seasons takes over the representation of the same in isolation are rare, the composition of the mosaic of Pisões unites elements of a “nature morte”- the basket of rose petals as an allegory of spring, the wine as a specific characteristic of autumn, the water vessel as an allegory of winter, the small birds in the nest, fed by their mother or under her observation, ready to fly, as an allegory of summer. If we note that the head of Medusa inserted into a small square located directly in front of the connecting door between the room and the *peristylum* is the only figural representation besides these allegorical figures, the iconographic programme of this room is revealed with greater clarity: The owner of the *villa* of Pisões used the theme of the seasons in an allegorical way to convey as a message the permanent recurrence of life (rose petals opening, young birds flying out into life and protected by the preceding generation) and the close connection with nature (water for field irrigation and to quench the thirst of man and animal, fruit as a source of food and economic prosperity) in an unbroken cycle, protected by the single anthropomorphic representation of the whole *villa* – the Medusa head - whose apotropaic power was undisputed.

This attachment to the earth and nature also certainly show the African influence that dominated, so to speak, the choice of forms of representation of the seasons, although in this last case it should be noted that we are faced with an exceptional form within the totality of seasonal representations in Hispanic mosaics³⁶.

Another aspect concerns the sector of the *villa* probably reserved for family life. With accesses designed to preserve the “intimacy” of family life, it follows an iconographic programme which, from what we can see, almost exclusively uses different variants of the octagonal system of ordering the area to be decorated, using different motifs to fill in the geometric figures, a greater or lesser chromaticism, and the introduction or not of vegetal and sinusoidal motifs.

The area near the pool seems to delimit a third sector of the owner’s daily life,

³⁶ See, in this respect, Duran Kremer 1998: 454; Duran Kremer 1999: 106.

facing the *nataio*, with rooms open to a gallery originally richly decorated but which have suffered wear and tear and repair over the years.

An area that fits perfectly into the role that water would have played in the life and economy of this estate. The first expression of this meaning is found in room 3, where the vase, placed in the centre of the composition, besides its apotropaic aspect, “introduces” the dominant message of this *villa*: water, source of life and well-being (rooms 9 and 30), not only supplies the thermal springs situated to the northwest of the main body of the urban pars and object of remodelling and enlargement around the second century³⁷, remaining as a function during all the time of occupation of the *villa*. It is also the conductor of the aeration and cooling process of the environment during the summer months. Brought to the *villa* from the aqueduct that connected the dam to the baths and the open pool next to it, the water would be channelled to the central tank of the peristyle, from where a conduit under the floor would lead to the opening that still exists today in the north wall of room 27, in marble (Fig. 34) and from where it would drain to the floor of this room, all in marble slabs³⁸. From here, two small canalizations still existing today would give out this water in the swimming-pool.



Figure 34
Room 37 @ Serra / Duran Kremer.

The quality of execution and the decorative syntax used in the mosaic pavements of the Roman *villa* of Pisões is consistent in the different pavements: with the exception of the mosaic of room 6 and, eventually, of room 30 (tank and apse), we believe to be facing the work of a local mosaic craftsman. Or at least regional: the comparison of the pavements with those of other *villae* of Lusitania in general and of the *conventus pacensis* in special can certainly confirm this identification (António 2017: 45-70; Duran Kremer 2017: 161-174).

To go further in the interpretation of the structures of this *villa* would be, given the current state of knowledge on structures and their dating, stratigraphic data, etc. to enter the field of the imaginary.

37 Couto 2007: CXLV mentions that the baths would have remained until the 4th century. We believe, however, that they could have been used during the entire period of habitation of the *villa* which, according to Alarcão, in the 7th and 8th centuries was still inhabited “not only by the servants but also by the owners” (Alarcão 1974: 112).

38 Carneiro 2017: 122 note 15, the author refers to what could probably be considered a second example of this type of room in the Roman *villa* of Rabaçal

We prefer not to do so and, putting all our documentation at the disposal of an interested public, contribute to a “rethinking” of the Roman *villa* of Pisões as what it really is: a manor house, with probably all the *pars* inherent to a land exploitation that knew how to maintain its peculiarity through the centuries. Probably the object of modifications, enlargement of structures, eventual replacement or repair of floors, it has come down to us as testimony to that phenomenon which Dunbabin classifies as a “specifically Hispanic characteristic”: in the course of the second century AD a specifically Hispanic characteristic makes its appearance: the use of limited touches of colour in otherwise bichrome mosaics” (Dunbabin 1999: 146). A characteristic present in the iconographic programme chosen for the Pisões mosaics, where the use of a limited number of schemes for arranging the spaces to be decorated, on the one hand, and the parsimonious use of chromaticism on the other, give this *villa* a character of beauty in sobriety, one more element in the “search of the dominus for a harmonious ideal in the fusion between the human world and natural or cosmic order” (Carneiro 2017: 123).

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